

PROCEEDINGS
OF THE
MASSACHUSETTS HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

Committee of Publication.

EDWARD J. YOUNG.
ALEXANDER McKENZIE.
CHARLES C. SMITH.



R. C. Waterston



PROCEEDINGS
OF THE
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SECOND SERIES. — VOL. VIII.

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PREFACE.

IN this volume may be found the record of fifteen stated meetings of the Society, from October, 1892, to March, 1894, both included, and of the special meeting, held November 21, 1893, in memory of the first Vice-President, Francis Parkman. Perhaps the most striking paper here printed is the autobiographical fragment by Mr. Parkman, read at the latter meeting. It was well said at the time, that even Mr. Parkman's intimate associates did not really know the man until they listened to that touching and suggestive paper. Among other noteworthy communications are Charles Francis Adams's paper on the Spanish Discovery of America, Justin Winsor's paper on the Anticipations of Cartier's Voyages, Mr. Adams's paper on the World's Fair at Chicago, Samuel A. Green's paper on the Formation and Growth of the Library, the translation of the Letters of Pero Menendez, and the numerous original letters and documents communicated at various times by Robert C. Winthrop, Jr., Thomas W. Higginson, and other members. There are also memoirs of HENRY W. LONGFELLOW, by

Horace E. Scudder; of HENRY W. FOOTE, by Winslow Warren; of ROBERT C. WATERSTON, by Josiah P. Quincy; of FITCH EDWARD OLIVER, by Edmund F. Slafter; and of FRANCIS PARKMAN, by Octavius B. Frothingham; each of which is accompanied by a portrait. The portrait of Mr. Waterston is a photograph from the original oil painting, by Otto Grundmann; the portrait of Mr. Parkman first appeared in Stedman's Library of American Literature, and the use of the plate was cheerfully granted by the present publisher of that work, Mr. William E. Benjamin of New York. The other illustrations are fac-similes of the Maggiolo, or Maiollo, map and of the Rufus Putnam map.

For the Committee,

CHARLES C. SMITH.

BOSTON, April 20, 1894.

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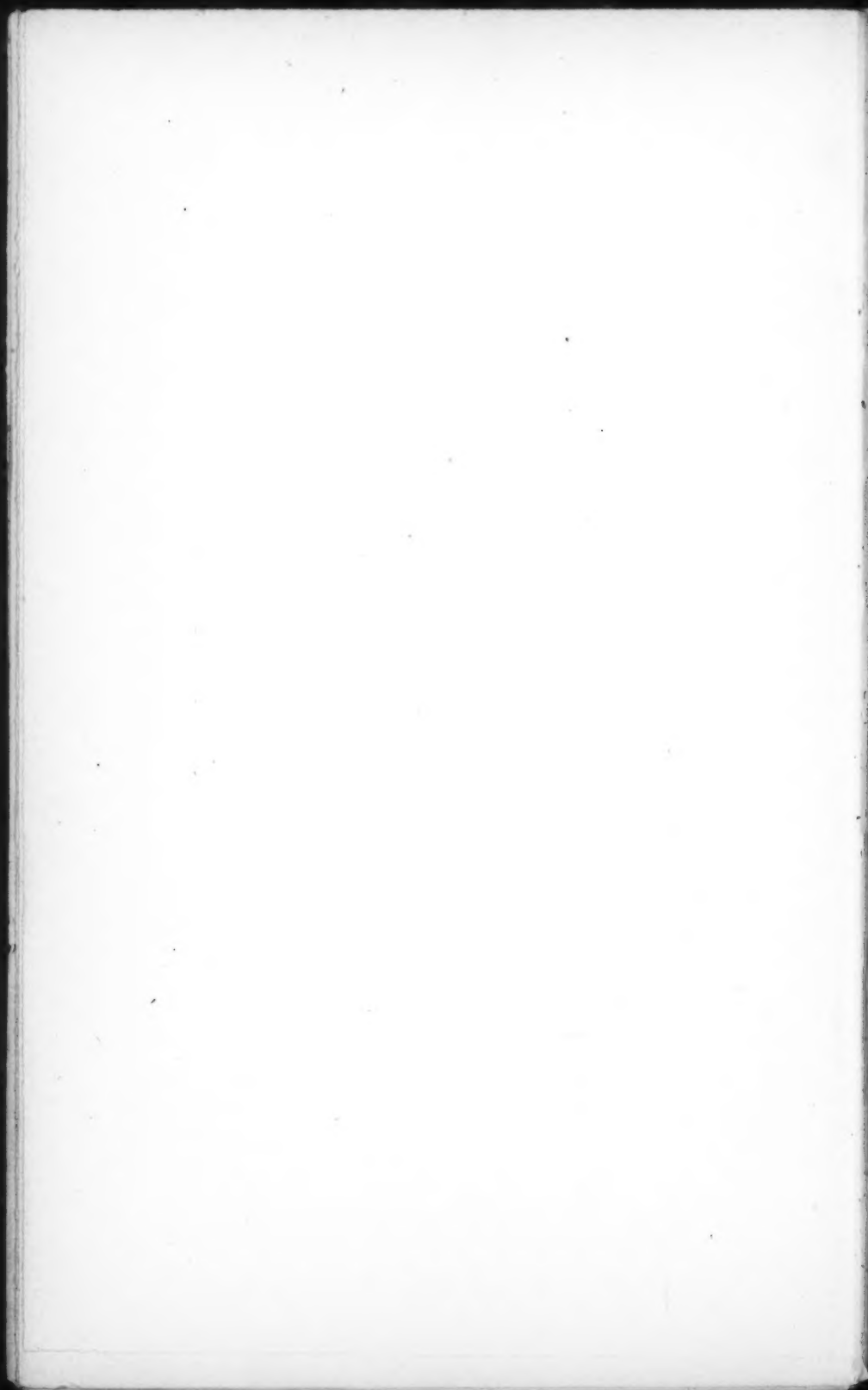
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OF THE
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MEMBERS DECEASED.

Members who have died since the last volume of the Proceedings was issued, Oct. 1, 1892, arranged in the order of their election, and with date of death.

Resident.

Henry Wheatland, M.D.	Feb. 27, 1893.
Francis Parkman, LL.D.	Nov. 8, 1893.
Henry W. Torrey, LL.D.	Dec. 14, 1893.
Rev. Robert C. Waterston, A.M.	Feb. 21, 1893.
Rev. Andrew P. Peabody, D.D.	May 10, 1893.
Fitch Edward Oliver, M.D.	Dec. 8, 1892.
Abbott Lawrence, A.M.	July 6, 1893.
Rt. Rev. Phillips Brooks, D.D.	Jan. 23, 1893.
Edward Bangs, LL.B.	Feb. 16, 1894.
Edwin L. Bynner, LL.B.	Aug. 5, 1893.

Honorary.

Very Rev. Charles Merivale, D.D.	Dec. 27, 1893.
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Corresponding.

George Ticknor Curtis, A.B.	Mar. 28, 1894.
Hon. Charles H. Bell, LL.D.	Nov. 11, 1893.
Rev. Edward D. Neill, D.D.	Sept. 26, 1893.
Sir John Bernard Burke, C.B., LL.D.	Dec. 13, 1892.
William F. Poole, LL.D.	Mar. 1, 1894.

PROCEEDINGS

OF THE

MASSACHUSETTS HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

OCTOBER MEETING, 1892.

THE stated meeting was held on Thursday, the 13th instant, at three o'clock, P. M. ; the President, Dr. GEORGE E. ELLIS, in the chair.

This was the first meeting since the summer vacation ; and in this interval the Society had lost a distinguished Corresponding Member, George William Curtis, LL.D. Mr. Curtis was elected in September, 1875, a few months after the delivery of his centennial address at Concord, and died at his home on Staten Island, New York, on the 31st of August.

The record of the last meeting was read and approved.

The following communication was read on behalf of the Hon. ROBERT C. WINTHROP, who was prevented from being present in person : —

No one of us can have failed to notice the announcement, since our last meeting, from the Lick Observatory on Mount Hamilton, in California, that Professor Barnard had added a fifth satellite to the four satellites of Jupiter which were discovered by Galileo on the 7th of January, 1610. This has been described as one of the greatest achievements in sidereal science in our generation, and as a signal testimony to the wonderful progress which has been made in recent years in the construction of optical instruments. A paragraph has gone the round of the press to the effect that although, since the time of Galileo, nearly three centuries ago, many thousands of persons have gazed upon the four satellites of Jupiter through telescopes, no astronomer has till

now suspected the secret which has so recently been revealed in California. Meanwhile it is added that Professor Barnard is having to fight hard to maintain the priority of this discovery, and that he has been harassed by letters from persons who claim to have made similar observations, including one gentleman who asserts that he not long ago saw this fifth satellite through an opera-glass.

Now I have no disposition to dispute the priority of Professor Barnard's discovery, and I should be one of the last to disparage any result attained by the great Lick telescope, to the skill of the maker of which, — the late accomplished Alvan Clark, — I have myself heard no less distinguished an astronomer than Sir John Herschel bear unqualified testimony. I think it desirable, however, to draw attention to the fact that the idea of the existence of a fifth satellite of Jupiter is not a new one, and that the sixteenth volume of the Proceedings of this Society contains a detailed account of a similar observation, at Hartford, in New England, on the 6th of August, 1664, contained in a letter from John Winthrop, Jr., then Governor of Connecticut, and an active Fellow of the Royal Society, addressed to Sir Robert Moray, the distinguished President of that body. This letter is one of a number which passed between the writer and several of the founders of the Royal Society. They came into my possession partly from the files of that Society and partly from my own family-papers, and I took pains to communicate them not merely to one of our volumes of Proceedings, but in a separate form to other persons interested in the development of science in the seventeenth century, through the medium of a privately printed pamphlet which attracted favorable notice both in this country and in Europe.¹

The precise language in which Winthrop narrates his observation is as follows: —

"Having looked upon Jupiter wth a telescope upon the 6th of August last, I saw 5 satellites very distinctly about that planet. I observed it wth the best curiosity I could, taking very distinct notice of y^e nūber of them by severall aspects, wth some convenient tyme of intermission; & though I was not wthout some consideration whether

¹ Correspondence of Some of the Founders of the Royal Society of England with Governor Winthrop of Connecticut, 1661-1672. Boston: J. Wilson & Son, 1878, pp. 49.

that fifth might not be some fixt star wth w^{ch} Jupiter might at that time be in neare conjunction, yet that consideration made me the more carefully to take notice whether I could discern any such difference of one of them frō the other foure, y^t might, by the more twinkling light of it or any other appearance, give ground to believe y^t it might be a fixed starr; but I could discern nothing of that nature. . . . I have been in much doubt whether I should mention this, w^{ch} would possibly be taken frō a single affirmation but a mistaken novelty; but I thought I would rather beare such sensure than omitt the notice of it to such worthy friends as might, from the hint of it, cause more frequent observations to be made upon that planet."

The letter (which is a long one) goes on to inquire whether Sir Robert Moray, or Mr. Rooke, or other mathematicians with better instruments, have ever met with such a satellite; and the writer adds: "The notion of such a thing is not new to mysele, for I remember I mett wth the like narration many years since in a little book intituled *Philosophia Naturalis* p Joh. Phociliden."

This little book is not to be found among the remnants of Winthrop's library which are still in existence, and I am not aware that there is a copy of it in America. The Mr. Rooke referred to was Lawrence Rooke, the great astronomer, who died some years later. Whether he or Sir Robert Moray ever undertook to verify Winthrop's observation is not certain, as there has been preserved no answer to the letter in question. Long after I communicated it to the Society there came unexpectedly to light another letter, to be found in a later volume of our Proceedings, in which the President and Fellows of Harvard College express their gratitude to John Winthrop, Jr., for the gift of certain astronomical instruments in 1671; and they refer to a previous letter of instructions from him for "fitting the telescope for use, according to the rules of art"; the inference being that he had recently given the College a telescope, probably the one which he had used at Hartford, and which, in his correspondence with Moray, he had described as "a tube of but 3 foote & a halfe, wth a concave eye-glasse."¹

The two letters to which I have thus called attention establish the following facts:—

First, that within half a century of Galileo's discovery of

¹ See 2 Proceedings, vol. iv. pp. 264-267.

four satellites of Jupiter, the existence of a fifth satellite was referred to in a work by "Joh. Phociliden."

Second, that on the night of Aug. 6, 1664, a supposed fifth satellite was observed at Hartford by John Winthrop, Jr., and communicated by him to the Royal Society.

Third, that as early as the winter of 1671-72, Harvard College was engaged in astronomical observations with the assistance of John Winthrop, Jr., although no historian of the University appears to have been aware of it.

Under ordinary circumstances I should not have been tempted to refer at length to what we have already printed; but it happens that, by some oversight, the indexes to the two volumes I have cited contain no references to these matters, and the facts narrated are liable to pass into oblivion. They seem to me worth remembering by any one who is interested in the gradual progress of astronomical research in this country, though they cannot be compared to the results achieved by the gigantic instruments of modern times.

MR. R. C. WINTHROP, JR., said: —

I am about to communicate from the Winthrop Papers a fragment of a diary, long overlooked, in which John Winthrop, Jr., describes a journey made by him, early in the colonial period, through a considerable part of New England, and which contains some interesting allusions both to persons and places. He left Boston in the afternoon of Nov. 11, 1645, and slept at Sudbury. The next day he was somewhat delayed by a fall of snow, encamping that night near the east bank of Blackstone River, and the following night in the woods. On November 14 he passed Quabaug Pond, in what is now Brookfield, and failing to identify the direct trail to the Mohegan country, decided first to visit Tantiusques, a tract of land belonging to him near the Connecticut line. That night he passed in a deserted wigwam, the weather being very cold, with more or less snow. The next morning he was informed by friendly Indians that he had quite missed his way and was heading toward Springfield, to which place he then made up his mind to proceed, but was obliged to camp out another night before reaching it, which he did on Sunday, November 16, having thus been five days on the

road from Boston. His party seems to have consisted only of himself and his servant; but they had with them (for the first week, at least) a horse, provender for which he records having procured of the Indians in exchange for a small quantity of tobacco and two little looking-glasses. In Springfield he stayed in the house of its founder, William Pynchon, and finding the Connecticut River frozen hard above Enfield Falls and that navigation was much impeded below them, he started for Hartford by land, experiencing some difficulty in getting his horse ferried over the river at Windsor, there being then no settlements farther down on the east bank. After passing a day with friends in Hartford, he continued along the west bank, sleeping one night in a wigwam, and on November 20 reached Saybrook, a part of the country with which he was familiar, as he had been Governor there ten years before. After a stay of two days in Saybrook he attempted to recross the Connecticut, but was delayed forty-eight hours by a furious gale, of which he gives a graphic description, including a shipwreck at the mouth of the river. On the 25th of November he succeeded in crossing, passed that night in a fort of the Niantick Indians, and early in the following day reached Nameag (New London), where he was joined by Robin, a well-known Indian chief, and by the Rev. Thomas Peter, younger brother of Hugh Peter, one of the active men in the projected Pequot plantation, the precise site of which was now to be finally determined. Winthrop had been over the ground previously, and made but a short stay at this time. On November 27 he turned his face homeward, crossed successively the Thames, Poquannuck, Mistick, and Pawcatuck rivers, met along the road several noted Indians, and passed two nights in a wigwam, having been delayed a day by a severe storm. On November 30 he reached the trading-house of Roger Williams near Wickford, and the following night the house of William Arnold at Patuxet. The 2d of December he passed in Providence, the guest of Benedict Arnold, afterward Governor of Rhode Island. The following day, after a visit to Walter Palmer, at or near Seekonk, he crossed Wading River, and after camping out one night, reached Braintree on the evening of December 4, and Boston on the 5th, having been absent from home three weeks and a half, during which he underwent at times great hardships.

I have made a point of giving this brief outline of the itinerary because a large part of the original is in somewhat abbreviated Latin, which at first sight might repel or puzzle not a few readers. John Winthrop, Jr., frequently wrote in Latin, in order to keep up his acquaintance with that language; and the internal evidence of these short entries shows them to have been jotted down from day to day, though, toward the close, he changed to English, probably because he was tired or hurried. He evidently found it convenient to use diminutive sheets of paper and to contract his habitual chirography, so that parts of the diary are very difficult reading. For assistance in editing it I am under great obligations to others. Our Corresponding Member, Mr. C. J. Hoadly, of Hartford, successfully deciphered some words which baffled both my father and myself, besides furnishing valuable suggestions for the annotation. Another Corresponding Member, Mr. Amos Perry, of Providence, kindly devoted much attention to the entries relating to Rhode Island, and consulted several of the best local antiquarians with regard to them. One of them, Mr. Charles Hyde Denison, of Westerly, was good enough to prepare for me an interesting map of the old Pequot Trail from Thames River to Narragansett, showing the precise route Winthrop must have taken. Our associate, Mr. Adams, took especial pains to elucidate the allusions to Braintree and its neighborhood, with which I found myself unable to grapple single-handed, as I was puzzled by the conflicting statements of historians with regard to the site of the earliest iron-works in New England, which the writer of the diary went out of his way to visit. Mr. Adams ascertained that Mr. Samuel A. Bates, Town Clerk of Braintree, had collected much evidence on this subject; and the particulars I now furnish entirely confirm the accuracy of that gentleman's researches.

I was thus led to make further search among the unpublished Winthrop Papers for early references to Braintree, and am now able to communicate four additional manuscripts. The first of them is a rough draft (without date, but probably written in the spring of 1644), in which John Winthrop, Jr., narrates his search through Maine, New Hampshire, and Massachusetts for the fittest place in which to establish the iron industry, and he gives at length his reasons for preferring Braintree. The

second is a rough draft (probably of about the same date), in which Winthrop describes the answer of the General Court of Massachusetts to the proposals of the promoters of the ironworks, and the conditions on which a subsidy would be granted in aid of the enterprise. The third is a letter to Winthrop from his associates in London, in June, 1645, introducing Richard Leader, whom they were sending out to superintend the works. The fourth is a letter from the same to the same, in May, 1647, in which they exhibit an edifying spirit of resignation under the pecuniary losses they had met with, and express much gratitude to Winthrop for his good offices in maintaining order among their turbulent workmen. In view of the labor troubles connected with the iron industry in Pennsylvania during the past summer, this last letter is noticeable, showing, as it does, that two centuries and a half ago the earliest ironworks in New England were hampered by unruly operatives, though nothing is said of strikes or lock-outs.

Diary of John Winthrop, Jr.

Ann. 1645.

Nov. 11. Die Martis. Hora 3 iter incepimus et Sudburiam intra horam unam aut alteram post solis occasū appulimus.

12. Mercur. Prima mane nubilosa et tranquilla. Mox nix cecidit; post duas horas cessabat et cū vento occidentali tota dies serena. Liquecebat nix. Pnoctabamus circa dua miliaria a flumine magno de Nipnet partis orientalis.¹

13. Dies nubilosa, flāte vento N. W., rigidus aer. Pernoctabamus a parte occidentali agri ubi arbores nuper multae procella ceciderunt, inter illum agrū et alterū ubi antea arbores ceciderāt. Glaciebat nocte, sed igne magno et loco cōmodo nacto, substratis sarmentis et gramine, et rete impleto gramine tecti, cōmode dormivimus.

14. Dies nubilosa partim et tranquilla. P lacum Quabage² transivimus et, non inventa calle qua milites transibant ad Monhegan,³ via recta versus Agawam⁴ tendebamus, volentes via Tantiusques⁶ ad mi-

¹ Blackstone River.

² Quabaug Pond, Brookfield.

³ The Mohegan country included New London, Norwich, and that region.

⁴ Springfield.

⁶ A tract of land, ten miles square, purchased by the writer in October, 1644, and reputed to contain a mine of black lead. It lay in Massachusetts, near the Connecticut line, in the neighborhood of what are now the towns of Brimfield and Sturbridge.

nerā plumbaginis scriptorij et inde ad Monhegen ire. Pnoctabamus juxta rivum ubi barbari domunculi partem reliquebant, quæ nobis comode serviebat cōtra muriam nivis, quæ prima noctis parte cecidebat, et aeris rigorem. Post 3 aut 4 horas cessabat nix, et nox serena cum rigore. Ante noctem occurrit barbarus qui nobis loquutus est de domunculo barbarorū non longe illinc. Emi ab illo partem carnis cervini. Misi p illū ad barbaros ut portarent frumētū pro equo, quod sine mora fecerūt. Pro speculo parvo et duabus uncis Tobacco circa dimidiam modij dederū, quod bene equo serviebat.

15. Die Sabbathi. Occurrunt multi barbari, viri, faeminae, et pueri et puellae, onerati carne cervini et rebus domesticis etc. Illi nobis dixerunt nos in via ad Agawam tendere. Voluerunt autem Tantiusques nos ducere si velimus, sed melius videbatur tendere Agawam. Non liquabat nix tota die, sed rigeat, vento valde flante N. W. Pnoctabamus quasi 6 miliaria ab Sprinkfeild, collectis sarmentis pinorū et cōpositis modo barbarorū domunculorū cōtra violentiā et rigorē venti, et substrato gramine et tecti rete impleto gramine et cū pannis comode dormivimus.

16. Die Dominico. Dies serena. Perquievimus parte pomeridiana. Paulo ante noctem appulimus Springfield ad domū Domini Pinchon.¹ Ibi flumen totum glaciatus sup partem cataractis.²

17. Die Lunae. Circa horam decimā, paulo ante, versus Hartford itineravimus. Rivi parvi glaciati fuerūt ut et nos et equum ferret. Diu expectabamus cimbam ad Winsor quo equū possimus et nos ipsos transfretare, ita ut ingressis Winsor jam vesper erat et adhuc in altera parte. Cimba transfretavimus in via ad Winsor ubi quondam pons erat sed inundatione disruptus.³ Dies tota serena, sed frigida ante noctem. Comitante D: Allen⁴ et in veræ partem viae ubi errari possit circa horā nonam Hartfordiam appulimus, ad domū hospitis Tho: Ford.⁵

18. Mansi Hartfordiae. Gubernator⁶ et Magistratus abierūt ad Tunesis villam.⁷

19. Dies Mercurij. Nacto barbaro Mohego ad portandas res nostras, iter incepti versus Saybrooke p terrā. Flumē enim glacie obstructum

¹ William Pynchon, the founder of Springfield. There are ten letters of his among the Winthrop Papers.

² Enfield Falls in Connecticut River.

³ This bridge was over Farmington River. There were then no settlements in Connecticut on the east side of Connecticut River below Windsor.

⁴ Doubtless Matthew Allyn, then of Windsor, from whom there are six letters among the Winthrop Papers.

⁵ Thomas Ford, of Windsor, had married in the previous year Mrs. Thomas Scott, of Hartford.

⁶ Edward Hopkins, of whom there are fifteen letters among the Winthrop Papers. The house is still standing in Hartford in which it is supposed he lived.

⁷ Farmington.

fuit adeo ut naviculæ Joh: Trübull¹ et Phoenix de Newhavñ impediti fuere, non satis aquae habentes ante glaciej tempus. Navicula etiam Tho: Stanton² et cimba quaedã de Saybr. Flumẽ Matabeset³ et alia parva flumina sup glaciẽ transivimus, et domum barbari, Wehasse dicti, ubi ista nocte in barbari domo, dicti Seanuxut, dormivimus. Dies tota serena sed frigida.

20. Dies Jovis. Appulimus Saybrooke paulo ante noctem. Dies erat serena frigida.

21. Mansi Saybrooke. Dies serena tranquilla. Circa vesperẽ ventus S. et S. S. E. transijt navicula ad occidentem. Pluebat paulum post mediã noctem.

22. Mansi Saybrooke. Ventus N.W. Dies nubilosa. Venit navicula dict. a catch ab occidente et ancorã posuit ante portũ parte orientali.

23. Dies Dominicus. Ventus W. Navicula tentavit intra portũ venire, sed paulo tardius incipiẽs navigare post incrementũ maris non potuit intrare, sed rursus ancorã posuit. Post prandiũ autem venit cũ cimba navarcha Elias Parmã⁴ et mercator John Tinker⁵ et M^r Williams de Winsor⁶ cũ aliquibus nautis, relicta nave cũ tribus nautis, viz: Frost, Hadfre et puero.⁷ Nocte ventus erat S. vehemẽter flante cũ pluvia, ut magna erat procella, adeo ut navicula non bene tenentibus anchoris (maximã enim ancoram amisit paulo ante juxta insulã dict. Coninicut alias Fishers Iland) in terram impulsa erat, sed loco arenoso sine scopulis, navarcha et reliqui Saybrooke manentibus.

24. Dies Lunae. Ventus W. Vehementer flante neptuno Tho. Merret⁸ impeditus fuit ut non potui transire flumẽ prae vento et maris decremento, ne sup sirtes impelleretur cimba.

25. Ventus W. S. W. vehẽter flante. Circa horã decimã vel undecimã transij flumẽ inter tantos fluctus ut cũ sup vados transivimus sepe intrabant fluctus in cimbam magna violentia. Timui ne cimba fundũ tangeret, quia tunc sine dubio subito impleretur aqua. Non enim profunda erat aqua, sed remis sepe fundum tetigere, et semell vel bis, ni fallor, cimba subsidentibus fluctibus una parte fundũ tetigit. Sed

¹ Probably John Trumbull, captain of a trading-vessel, mentioned in Savage's Genealogical Dictionary, vol. iv. p. 336.

² Thomas Stanton, of Stonington, or his son of the same name. Among the unpublished Winthrop Papers are twenty-five letters of the elder Stanton to John Winthrop, Jr.

³ Mattabesitt River, in Middletown.

⁴ Probably Elias Parkman, mariner, first of Dorchester, afterward of Windsor.

⁵ John Tinker, of Windsor, afterward of Lancaster, Mass., of whom there are nineteen letters among the Winthrop Papers.

⁶ Arthur Williams, of Windsor, afterward of Northampton.

⁷ In the margin is written the word "Nacataquot," probably the name of an Indian boy.

⁸ Perhaps Thomas Marritt, or Merritt, who was Custom-master at New London in 1668.

salvi, Deo dante, terrā appulimus ubi obviam fuimus navarcae et 2 alijs qui nobis de navicula dixerūt: ivimus intueudā naviculā quae periculose agitabatur sup scopulū, sed non adeo nisi ventus de N. N. E. veniret. Ista nocte Niantiga venimus ad barbarorū castellū,¹ sed omnes abierūt cū domibus. Incidi in rivulum ad medium usque.

26. Dies Mercurij. Post lucem itinerantes juxta Nameag² paulo post invenimus domūculos barbarorū et unus illorū nos duxit ad Nameag. Tota ista die circa terram transivimus querendo loco cōmūdo pro Colonia.³ Nox erat valde frigida. Ventus N. W.

27. Circa horā decimā, relicto Dō. Petro⁴ et reliquis, transivi cum unico Jo. R.⁵ et barbaro ducente nos, dict. Sabin, in canoe cū Robin⁶ obvio facto qui semel fratris servus erat, transivi flumē⁷ et transij rivum Poquanuc,⁸ ubi dixit mihi Robin terram frugiferam fuisse sine petris arabilē cū bona quantitate pratorū. Transivi etiā flumē Mistick,⁹ huc comitante nos Robin et frater ejus,¹⁰ qui inde reversus Nameag cū litteris meis ad D: Pet.:. Hora fere, cōposito igne, edendo et scribendo mansi. Circa vesperem venimus juxta flumē Pacatuck,¹¹ sed glaciato solito loco, non autē omni pte nec satis firma, non ibi transire potui, glaciata parte ubi canoe solebat esse. Sed, Dei providentia, fuit barbarus altera pte qui nobis monstravit circa dimidium miliarij inferius ubi sup glaciem tuto transivimus, barbaris aliquibus nobis intuentibus praetranseuntibus. Venientibus tenebris intravimus domum barbari Cutshamekin,¹² cognati Robin, ubi hinc tractati juxta domo Georgij, cujus uxor foemina fuit quondam Momonottuck,¹³ cōmōde dormivimus.

¹ The Western Niantick, or Nahantick, Indians were a branch of the Pequots; and this fort was at the head of Nahantick River, about midway between Saybrook and New London.

² New London.

³ The grant of the General Court of Massachusetts to John Winthrop, Jr., of a plantation at or near Pequod, is dated June 28, 1644. Some few settlers are stated to have been on the ground in the summer of 1645; but it is clear from this entry that the precise site had not been determined on.

⁴ Rev. Thomas Peter, younger brother of Hugh Peter, and sometime chaplain at Saybrook, was actively concerned in establishing the plantation at Pequot. Three letters of his, and one to him, are among the Winthrop Papers already published.

⁵ Perhaps John Robinson, who settled in New London as early as 1646.

⁶ Robin, alias Cassasinamon, was a well-known chief of the Nameag tribe of the Pequots. It would appear from this entry that he had previously served one of the writer's brothers as a guide.

⁷ The Thames at New London.

⁸ An arm of the sea in the township of Groton.

⁹ An arm of the sea between Groton and Stonington.

¹⁰ Sabin, or Sobin, was brother to Robin.

¹¹ The Pawcatuck River now divides Stonington, Conn., from Westerly, R. I.

¹² A well-known Indian, afterward assistant to Robin and Governor of the Western Pequots. See Conn. Col. Rec., vol. ii. p. 39; vol. iii. p. 479.

¹³ Probably "Momonotuk Sam," a Narragansett Sachem, killed in 1637. See 5 Mass. Hist. Coll., vol. i. p. 248.

28. Dies Veneris. Mansi in domo Georgij, quia fere tota dies pluvia, grandine et nive plena. Circa horam 3 pomer. serena fuit etc.

29. Saturday. Fair wether, the wind Northerly & a little E^y towards night. We lodged at Notoriope his wigwā, neere [blank] the great pond,¹ the water runs thence into Pacatucke. We were come about 20 miles from Mimbago² where we ly. Saw Wequashcooke³ only as we passed by his house.

30. We came to the trading-house at Cacō,⁴ M^r Wilcox⁵ house, where were 2 English y^t traded for y^e Duch Gov^r, John Piggest⁶ & John [blank] M^r Williams man. I stepped over a trap just in y^e path right ag^t Pesicus fort,⁷ & saw it not before I was over it, my mā calling to me of it as I stepped over it. George y^e Indian was over it before me &c.

Dec. 1. I came to Tossaconawayes⁸ wigwam. I hired a guide to Providence for 2^s 6^d, who carried of things also. Logged by the way at Patuxet, at old William Arnolds⁹ house, it being a very wett evening & al through that night a great storme & raine; the snow was quite gone before morning. This is counted 15 miles from y^e trading house.

Dec. 2. I came to Providence. Lodged at Benedict Arnolds¹⁰ house, being but 5 miles from Patuxet. M^r Williams brother.¹¹

Dec. 3. Wednesday. I passed in a canoe downe Providence river & so landed 2 miles below Secunke. Staied there about an houre at Wāter Palmers house.¹² Went to the Wading river & waded over &

¹ Worden Pond, near South Kingstown, R. I. the largest body of fresh water in the State, was formerly known as Great Pond.

² Probably a mistake of the writer's for Quiambaug (Stonington).

³ Wequashcook, alias Cashawasset, alias Harmon Garret, a well-known chief of the Eastern Nianticks, is stated to have been then residing in the Debatable Lands (over which both Pequots and Narragansetts claimed jurisdiction), about three miles northeast of Misquamicut ford on Pawcatuck River.

⁴ The word "Sgusset" was written after "Cacō," and then apparently stricken out. It was undoubtedly the place known as Cawcumsquissick, near the present village of Wickford, R. I.

⁵ Edward Wilcox, first of that name in Rhode Island, was then a partner in this trading-house with Roger Williams, but sold out his interest to Williams in the following year.

⁶ Perhaps John Picket, afterward a prominent resident of New London.

⁷ Pessacus was a Narragansett Sachem, and brother of Miantonomoh. This fort was in North Kingstown, R. I.

⁸ Probably Tausaquonawhut, afterward son-in-law of Robin, for mention of whom by Roger Williams see 4 Mass. Hist. Coll., vol. vi. p. 278.

⁹ William Arnold had previously been of Hingham, Mass.

¹⁰ Eldest son of William Arnold, and afterward Governor of Rhode Island.

¹¹ No connection is known to have existed between Roger Williams and Benedict Arnold, and these three words are probably a separate memorandum. The writer was intimate with Roger Williams, who may have been absent from Providence and have sent his brother Robert to represent him.

¹² Walter Palmer is stated to have been of Charlestown in 1629, afterward of Rehoboth, and finally of Stonington. There is a Palmer's River in East Providence.

there rested by y^e rivers side. This is about 14 miles frō Secunke. M^r Coop¹ & M^r Paine² of Secunke came to us in y^e night from y^e Bayward. At moone rise they sett us wth their horses over the next river where the flood had carried away the bridges.³

Dec. 4. Thursday. Waded over Naponset, the tree being carried away by the thaw flood, also another little river before.⁴ A third made a bridge over, felling a small tree.⁵ Passed over Monotaquid⁶ at twilight. Came by the direction of the noise of the falls⁷ to the forge.⁸ Lodged at G. [?] Facksons, M^r Hoffes farmer.⁹

Dec. 5. Came to Boston & home. Deo gratias.¹⁰

¹ Probably Thomas Cooper, first of Hingham, afterward of Rehoboth.

² Stephen Paine, of Rehoboth.

³ He would appear to have crossed Wading River in what is now Mansfield, Mass.; but the "next river" is not easy to identify.

⁴ He would seem to have crossed the Neponset near its source, and to have subsequently turned to the right through Canton, skirting the base of the Blue Hills in order to reach Braintree. He evidently knew his way, and after leaving the direct road to Boston probably followed some Indian trail.

⁵ Perhaps Blue Hill River.

⁶ The Monotaquid, or Monatiquot, is a small river which traverses the township of Braintree and empties into Weymouth Fore River. He probably crossed it in South Braintree.

⁷ There has been from time immemorial a dam on Monatiquot River, between Braintree village and East Braintree, at a point where Morrison's mills now stand. An examination of the ground shows that, if there were not originally falls, the stream ran rapidly over a rocky and broken descent, making noise enough to be heard at some distance on a still night.

⁸ By "the forge" he meant the Iron Works, which he had been instrumental in establishing not long before, a company in London having furnished the requisite capital. Early in 1644 the Massachusetts General Court had granted three thousand acres of common land at Braintree to John Winthrop, Jr., and others, "for the encouragement of an iron worke, to be set up about Monatocot River." The precise site of these original Braintree Iron Works has been the subject of misstatement and controversy. In August, 1889, Mr. S. A. Bates, Town Clerk of Braintree, published a series of articles in the "Braintree Observer," showing that local historians had hitherto been at fault in confounding these works with others built at later periods in East Braintree, West Quincy, and elsewhere. He produced evidence that the real site was near the above-mentioned dam at Morrison's mills, and this diary confirms the accuracy of his conclusions.

⁹ Atherton Hough, a former Assistant of the Massachusetts Colony, was a large landowner in the neighborhood of Boston, where his name is perpetuated by Hough's Neck in Quincy. In 1637 he had a grant in Braintree (Records of Boston, vol. ii. pp. 21, 22), and in 1656 his son, Rev. Samuel Hough, sold four hundred and fifty acres of land in Braintree to Thomas Faxon (Suff. Rec. lib. 34, fol. 184). Faxon had been for some time a tenant-farmer on the estate, and the site of his house has been identified as about half a mile distant from Morrison's mills (see History of the Faxon Family, by G. L. Faxon, Springfield, 1880, with a plan of the farm). It was undoubtedly in this house that John Winthrop passed the night. The initial letter before "Fackson" in the manuscript is apparently a capital G., but it was probably intended for T. or Th.

¹⁰ After inspecting the Iron Works, the writer probably took a boat at Weymouth Landing and proceeded to Boston across the bay.

Considerations about Ironworks.¹

Although this place at Braintree (wherof we have had consultation for the setting up of the Ironworke) was principally in my thoughts (in respect of the Iron ston) both before I went into England and since my last arrivall here, for the fittest and most convenient place for the first setting up of an Iron worke; yet being a worke of consequence I conceived it necessary to have other places searched, and this place well viewed & considered of by the workemen, both for the ore & the conveniency of waters for furnass & forge, & woods for supply of coales for both workes.

Therefore, after my arrivall heere, as soon as it pleased God that I recovered from that sicknesse w^{ch} I tooke at sea in some measure, and the workmen also had recovered their health, I tooke them along wth me to search in such parts of the country as, by information from others or upon view, had probability of good ironston. We went first to Braintree & so towards Plimouth, and at Greeneharbour² we found of the same sort of ironston that was at Braintree, but could not pceive that it lay in any other but loose stones, and being among very thick woods in a swampy ground. After we returned thence I went wth the miner to Richman Iland³ & viewed all the parts betweene that & the Massachusett, it having beene affirmed confidently that both at Pascataway⁴ & Agamenticus⁵ there was ironston & great store, that triall had beene made of it in England by some sent to Bristol & some to London to Captaine Mason. Also at Saco⁶ and at Blackpoint⁷ it was informed that there was certainly great quantity of very good mine in those places. In divers of these places I saw some stones that certainly doe conteine iron in them, but in the judgement of the miner are but poore of iron & doubtfull how they will worke, none of our workemen having seene ever such before. In those parts are very few inhabitants, and labourers hard to be obtained for their ordinary occasions & at deare rates. There is an other place about 30 miles westward up in the country, which the workmen have likewise viewed & where there is of the same sort of ironston that is at Braintree, but noe appearance of quantity (though great probabilitie); there is yet noe people willing, though present intention of plantation.

¹ A rough draft, without date, in the handwriting of John Winthrop, Jr., and endorsed by him "Discourse about the fittest place to begin y^e Iron workes." Probably written early in 1644.

² Marshfield, Mass.

³ Richmond Island, near Cape Elizabeth, Maine.

⁴ Portsmouth, New Hampshire.

⁵ York, Maine.

⁶ Saco, Maine.

⁷ Scarborough, Maine.

This sort of ore at Braintree is of the same sorte w^{ch} they call in Ireland the Bogge mine. We have tried of it since we came over from divers places & the finer hath made good iron out of it divers tymes; that w^{ch} we sent into England was made of that from Braintree. There is of the same sort at severall places neere Greeneharbour, at Nashaway, at Cohasset, at Woburne & many other places; but the most appearance of hopefull quantity is at Braintree, according to the judgement of the workmen, who upon search affirm that it lieth like a veine (w^{ch} is not in other places) and that there is likelihood of ynough for a furnasse for 20 yeaes. There are 2 places w^{ch}, by the judgement of y^e workmen, are convenient for furnasse & forge, but all the ground neere about them is laid out to particular men, as also where the mine is, and cannot be obtained but by purchase. In the comon, w^{ch} wilbe above a mile from any of the workes, Boston hath determined to allot 3000 acres to belong to the worke if we sett it up in that pte y^e belongeth to their towne & Dorchester &c.

Now heere I desire your serious advice what is to be done for the most advancement of the worke & profit of y^e adventurers: whether to goe to some of those remote places where eyther the same sort of ironston is, or probabilities of other as good or better, where the land may be had next to the workes and as much as may be needfull; or, to beginne heere at Brantre, w^{ch} wilbe in the heart of all the English colonies. If the former be thought best, then there must be a beginning in way of plantation, houses must first be built, workmen of all sorts must be carried from these parts & plant themselves there, great store of draft cattle must be provided, & the greatest part of our stock expended in such occations before we begin. If Braintree be thought best, this helpes: we shall have workmen of all sorts more plenty & neere at hand, teemes for carriage may be hired, housing for our workmen conveniently neere to be hired, and wood ynough, for present to be procured neere by purchase, and for future to belong to the workes to be fetched further off &c.

Therefore necessity seemes to drive us to accept of this place.¹

¹ During a visit to England, in 1642, John Winthrop, Jr., had persuaded a number of his friends to invest money in this undertaking, and, at the outset, acted as their agent. Among his papers was found the draft of a petition to Parliament setting forth that, in May, 1643, he "at great costs and charges did imbarque himselfe in the good ship *An Cleeve* of London, wth many workmen, servants, & materials for the said setting up of iron workes"; that the ship, after lying many days at Gravesend, was duly cleared by the proper authorities, but, at the last moment, while setting sail, was unjustly stopped and hindered by an officer named Robinson, thereby losing "the fairest wind which could blow for that voyage" and being forced to lie six weeks off the coast; that in consequence of this most injurious detention the ship was fourteen weeks before reaching New England and forced to be at sea during all the heat of summer, the health of all on board suffering and the workmen not fit for labor when

*The General Court of Massachusetts to the Promoters of the Ironworks.*¹

1. Answer to the first proposition: They are granted the sole privilege in our jurisdiction of making of Iron, provided that any shall have liberty to joyne till the end of March next; provided also that wth in two yeares they make sufficient iron for the use of the country.

2. To the second proposition they answer: It is not in the Courts power to grant, but they will propound it to the inhabitants of severall townes & doubt not of their consent. In wast lands not granted they consent.

3. To the third they answer as to the former.

4. To the fourth they answer as to the former.

5. To the fifth they answer in proprieties as to the former, that it is not in the Courts power, and in wast lands they grant them leave to looke out six places, only provided that they doe wth in 10 yeares set up an iron furnace & forge in each of the places & not a bloomery only. And provided that the Court may grant a plantation in any place w^{ch} y^e Court thinke fitting, w^{ch} may not hinder their present proceeding.

6. The sixth is granted.

7. The seventh: There is granted liberty till the next Court.

8. It is referred to the first proposition.

9. It is answered it does not concerne the Court &c.

10. To the 10th it is answered that the undertakers, their agents and associates & servants, shall have such immunities & priviledges as the lawes of the country doe allow, and for 10 yeares shalbe free from publique charges for any stock they employ in this businesse.

THE PROMOTERS OF THE IRONWORKS TO JOHN WINTHROP, JR.

*To our worthy friend John Winthrop Junior Esq^r, in New England,
present these.*

LONDON, 4 Junij 1645.

S^r, — According to what we have formerly written unto you we now send over our agent, M^r Richard Leader, with full power & instruc-

they came ashore, whereby the petitioner suffered great loss and claimed damages to the amount of £1,000. See 5 Mass. Hist. Coll., vol. viii. pp. 36, 37. Whether this petition was ever presented to Parliament, and what fate it met with, does not appear.

¹ A rough draft in the handwriting of John Winthrop, Jr., endorsed by him "Answer of y^e Court to the propositions of the Ironworke." No date; probably March, 1643-4. Compare Mass. Col. Records, vol. ii. pp. 61-62.

tions from us to undertake & pceed in our affaires there. Wee doe heartilie desire yo^r help & assistance to him therein, which (with that you also have done alreadie for us) wee shalbee thankfull to you for. Wee also pray you to deliver him an accompt of all the moneys that you have received & disbursed for us, and to deliver unto M^r Leaders hands & custodie all such materiall, stock & other things as any way belong to the generall stock, according to o^r instructions given to M^r Leader in this behalfe; whose acknowledgm^t under his hand for what he shall receive from you shalbe yo^r sufficient discharge in that behalfe.¹ Thus wth hearty applicacōn of yo^r welfare we rest

Yo^r assured loving friends,

NICH. BOND.	ROBERT CHILD.	ROBERT HOUGHTON.
LIONELL COPLEY.	THO. WELD.	THOMAS FOLEY.
JO: POCOCK.	GEO. SHARPULLS.	JOSHUA FOOTE.

THE PROMOTERS OF THE IRONWORKS TO JOHN WINTHROP, JR.

*To o^r very loving & much esteemed friend John Winthrop Jun^r Esq^r,
these.*

LONDON, 13 May, 1647.

S^a, — Every new undertaking hath its difficulty. Ours hath met wth much. Casuall accidents have cost us very deare, and want of experience in the minerals in most of o^r workmen hath bin loss and charge to us. And worse qualificacōns in some of them have beene a trouble to you. It is our earnest desire, and we have endeavored all wee can, to be furnished with better men than some of them are; but notwithstanding all our care we have bin necessitated to send some for whose civilities we cannot undertake, who yet wee hope by the good example and discipline of your country, with your good assistance, may in time be cured of their distempers. Wee are informed by o^r agent, M^r Leader, how much we are engaged to you for yo^r reall and ready assistance of him for the regulacōn of some of o^r unruly men; and with a reall sense of yo^r favo^r in it we returne you thanks, desiring the continuance of it upon all occasions, either in regard of the men or

¹ Leader had been concerned in mining operations in Ireland. For a letter from Emmanuel Downing about him, see 4 Mass. Hist. Coll., vol. vi. pp. 61, 62. For a number of letters from Leader, at a later period, to John Winthrop, Jr., see 2 Proceedings, vol. iii. pp. 190-197.

otherwise. And we shall not be wanting with all readiness to imbrace every opportunity to demonstrate o'selves

Yo' affectionate thankfull friends & servants,

NICH. BOND.	GUALTER FROST.	LIONELL COPLEY.
GEO. SHARPULLS.	WILL: HICCOCKS.	JO. POCOCK.
WILL: BEEKE.	SAM. MOODY.	JOSHUA FOOTE. ¹

Mr. HAMILTON A. HILL called attention to the death of Baron Hübnér, the Austrian statesman and diplomatist, which took place on the 30th of July last. The Baron travelled more than once in the United States, and after his second visit published an account of what he had seen here and elsewhere under the title "*Promenade autour du Monde.*" In this work he commented on the Treaty of Washington (1871), which he said was an acknowledgment on the part of Great Britain of the superiority of the United States, and was so regarded in the latter country; and he added: —

"If this erroneous interpretation is spread throughout the Union, and takes root in the opinion of the masses, the conciliatory dispositions which have animated the English negotiators are ill-understood; and this Treaty, while removing present difficulties, will have prepared the minds of men for future complications."

Soon after the appearance of this work, Earl Russell, in 1875, published his "*Recollections and Suggestions,*" in which he quoted what had been written by Baron Hübnér on this subject. Mr. Hill was in London when Lord Russell's book appeared, and took occasion to write a letter to the author in reference to it as follows: —

"I have been reading this volume with great interest, but was exceedingly sorry to observe that your Lordship was disposed to accept the judgment of the Baron that, in the opinion of the public at large in the United States, the Treaty of Washington was, on the part of the English Government, 'an act of deference, — the acknowledgment of the superiority of the power of the United States. England has submitted, — she has capitulated, neither more nor less.'

¹ Of the thirteen persons whose signatures are appended to one or both of the preceding letters, the two best known are the Rev. Thomas Weld and Dr. Robert Child. For a number of letters from Dr. Child to John Winthrop, Jr., see 5 *Mass. Hist. Coll.*, vol. i. pp. 148-164. Writing from Boston, March 15, 1644, he says: "We have cast this winter some tuns of pots, wth prove exceeding good, likewise mortars, stoves, skillets. O' potter is moulding more at Brayntree as yet, wth place after another blowing we shall quit, not finding mine there."

"I think that I have had good opportunities for becoming acquainted with the opinions of various classes in various parts of the country on this subject; and my own statement of the case would have been that, among our intelligent citizens generally, it was felt that England had given a new proof of her greatness in her frank and friendly acknowledgments at Washington and at Geneva with regard to the questions at issue; and it was because of her undoubtedly high position that she could afford to make any amends to the United States consistent with her honor and her sense of right. We did not feel that we submitted to England, or capitulated, in the affair of the 'Trent,' believing that to do what is right and just can never be a humiliation either to a nation or an individual. Nor do we feel that England has derogated from her dignity by what she did at Geneva.

"Of course I would not affirm that no one in America holds the view recorded by Baron Hübner. Undoubtedly, there are those who do hold it, and who gave their opinion to him as he has stated it. I am sure, however, that the general feeling on the subject among our people is as I have endeavored to represent it; and I well remember that the statement of the Baron quoted in the 'Recollections' was promptly challenged by some of our leading American newspapers.

"The many expressions of good-will toward the Government and people of the United States, which your recent work contains make me the more anxious that we should not be misunderstood by your Lordship in so grave a matter."

Earl Russell, after an interval of several weeks, sent the following reply:—

PEMBROKE LODGE, RICHMOND PARK,
Thursday, June 24 [1875].

SIR,—I am glad to hear from you that the statement of Baron Hübner on the Treaty of Washington was not considered in the United States as an act of deference. I did not attend to your statement at the time, and I shall always consider that the abstinence of our Government in reference to the injuries inflicted on our people by the Fenian invaders of Canada was not to do what was right and just,—which I agree with you can never be a humiliation either to a nation or to an individual.

I remain your obedient servant,

RUSSELL.

Lord Russell felt very sore on the question of the Fenian invasion of Canada from the United States, and in the "Recollections" complains that the injuries inflicted on the Canadian subjects of the Queen killed or wounded during that invasion "were not provided for, either by the demands of the British

Government or by the provisions of the Treaty of Washington." He died three years after the date of this correspondence, in 1878.

The Hon. MELLECHAMBERLAIN then spoke as follows :

Mr. President, — On coming into the Dowse Library this morning my eye casually rested on the new books lying upon our table, among which I noticed the fourth volume of the Collections of the Connecticut Historical Society, published this year. Wishing to learn what our sister society is doing, I opened the volume, and found that it contained "The Talcott Papers, Correspondence, and Documents (chiefly official) during Joseph Talcott's Governorship of the Colony of Connecticut, 1724-41, edited by Mary Kingsbury Talcott, Volume I., 1724-36."

During the half-hour then at my disposal I cursorily turned its pages, in which I found many documents concerning the case of Winthrop *vs.* Lechmere, which fills so large a space in our latest volume of Collections; and that these documents not only supplied what is lacking to the completeness of our volume, but also presented in a new form at least several questions raised at an early day in Connecticut respecting the relation of that colony to the Crown and the Parliament, and of their powers, jointly or severally, over it. I will not now go more fully into details of that subject, nor even mention several other matters which interested me; but if, on more careful examination of the "Talcott Papers," I find them what on a cursory glance they appear to be, I may make them the subject of a paper to be laid before the Committee of Publication.

The following memoranda relating to the preservation of royal charters in England, and the ceremonies observed on their receipt, were communicated for preservation in the Proceedings. Mr. CLEMENT H. HILL, in recent letters from England, gives some interesting particulars relating to royal charters. Writing from Axminster, Devon, August 23, he speaks of a visit to Lyme Regis, where the Duke of Monmouth landed in 1685, and says that a friend, who had been mayor of that ancient borough, took him to the Town Hall, and showed him the original charter granted by Edward I.

in 1284, and an additional one, in most excellent preservation, granted by Edward III. in 1333. Lyme Regis is very little altered, being six miles from the railway. In a letter from Torquay, September 14, Mr. Hill refers to what he had previously written, and adds: —

“On the 1st of September I saw the reception of a charter granted by Victoria in 1892. It was brought from London by a committee, which was met by a long procession of volunteers, trades, the High Sheriff, and the mayors of all the boroughs in the county. Lastly came a carriage, surrounded by a detachment of Hussars, with the committee, bearing the precious document on a cushion. At the end of the main street it was read aloud by the newly appointed clerk, and the oath of office was administered to the provisional officers, who hold office until the November election. Considering how important a part royal charters have played in English history, it was an extremely interesting sight, and I was glad to see the old ceremony kept up.”

Brief remarks were also made during the meeting by Mr. WILLIAM W. GOODWIN, Mr. JUSTIN WINSOR, Hon. E. R. HOAR, Mr. HENRY W. HAYNES, and Mr. CHARLES C. SMITH.

It was announced that the new volume of the Proceedings of the Society had been unexpectedly delayed in the bindery, but it would be ready for delivery in the course of the next week. It covers nine stated meetings, beginning with October, 1891, and ending with June, 1892, both inclusive.

NOVEMBER MEETING, 1892.

THE stated meeting was held on Thursday, the 10th instant, at three o'clock P. M.; the President, Dr. GEORGE E. ELLIS, in the chair.

After the reading of the record of the October meeting, the LIBRARIAN read the last two monthly lists of donors to the Library, and said:—

In order to keep the record of the Library clear and complete, I wish to report that the list of Micmac Names, prepared by Miss Frame and given to the Society by her at the last June meeting, has recently been printed at the expense of a gentleman of Cambridge who is interested in Indian philology. At the request of the compiler, the original manuscript list was used by the printer. A bound copy of the pamphlet, which contains several letters relating to the matter, has now been placed in the Library.

Among the gifts to the Library was a photograph of the old Bradford house at Kingston, built about 1675, by Major John Bradford, grandson of Gov. William Bradford, and the last member of the family who owned the manuscript of Bradford's History of Plymouth. The house is still standing, and is in good preservation. The photograph was given by Mr. T. B. Drew, of Plymouth, Librarian of the Pilgrim Society.

Rev. EDWARD G. PORTER presented, in the name of Mrs. James Tucker, of Boston, three large framed engravings.

Rev. Dr. EDWARD J. YOUNG read a note from Dr. O. W. Holmes, who was not able to be present at the meeting.

296 BEACON STREET, NOV. 7, 1892.

To the Secretary of the Massachusetts Historical Society.

DEAR SIR,— In a letter written in Florence and dated September 30, 1892, Mr. Charles K. Tuckerman has called my attention for the second time to an article of his in the "Magazine of American History," relating among other matters to the action of Mr. Seward in regard to the resignation by Mr. Motley of his office as minister to Austria.

In my Memoir of Motley presented to this Society I have referred to the statements of Mr. John Jay and Mr. John Bigelow.

I am gratified to add the following extract from Mr. Tuckerman's paper, and wish that it may be inserted in the records of our Society.

Yours respectfully,

O. W. HOLMES.

"I will, however, record a statement which the ex-Secretary of State requested me to repeat after his death, should I outlive him, to Mr. Motley, formerly Minister to Vienna, in justification of a circumstance which at the time brought upon Mr. Seward unmerited censure. Mr. Motley had been represented, in a note from an American abroad to the Department of State, as having been guilty of aspersions respecting Mr. Seward at his own dinner-table in Vienna. The Secretary felt obliged to report to the minister the charge preferred, but, I believe, without comment. Mr. Motley, in a sharp rejoinder, resigned his post, which resignation was accepted by President Johnson. The conclusion in the minds of Motley and his friends was that Seward had influenced the President's decision, and in spite of Motley's emphatic denial of the truth of the charge, had acted from revengeful motives. 'The truth is,' said Seward, in effect, 'that on the receipt of Motley's despatch I replied, expressing the hope that in view of his acceptable conduct as our representative abroad, he would reconsider his decision and continue in office. This despatch, by some omission, was not laid before the President before being transmitted; and when I subsequently informed him of its tenor, he to my great surprise and regret disapproved of it, and in spite of my efforts to change his opinion, insisted upon Motley's resignation being accepted. I was obliged to telegraph to our forwarding agent in London to intercept and return the despatch to Mr. Motley; and subsequently the despatch accepting the minister's resignation as approved by the President was substituted for it.'

"After Seward's death I communicated this message to Motley, in London, much to the latter's satisfaction. That he should have borne in silence during the life of Lincoln the public reproach of having officially acted in this case from personal pique reflects great credit upon his memory."¹

DR. SAMUEL A. GREEN said:

Through the kindness and courtesy of the Rev. John Keep Nutting, of Glenwood, Iowa, youngest child of the late Joseph Danforth and Lucinda (Keep) Nutting, of Groton, I am

¹ Charles K. Tuckerman's Personal Recollections of Seward: Magazine of American History for June, 1888.

enabled to present to the Society a diary kept by his grandfather, William Nutting, during a period of more than a quarter of a century. It comprises about seventy-five small note-books, for the most part of sixteen pages each, made by folding sheets of writing-paper, and containing the ordinary incidents of a well-to-do farmer's life in New England during the last century. The first entry in the diary is dated May 5, 1777, and the last Feb. 2, 1804; though the part from Sept. 15, 1779, to March, 1780, is missing, and perhaps a few leaves elsewhere are gone. These note-books furnish many little items of local importance, not recorded elsewhere; and for that reason they have some historical interest and value.

William Nutting, the diarist, was a son of Lieut. William and Jane (Boynton) Nutting, and born at Groton, on July 10, 1752. He was married, first, at Groton, on Dec. 30, 1778, to Susanna French, of Dunstable (probably a daughter of Ebenezer French), who died, on Feb. 12, 1800; and secondly, at New Ipswich, N. H., on Sept. 4, 1800, to Mrs. Polly (Barrett) Hubbard, youngest daughter of Deacon Thomas and Mary (Jones) Barrett, of Concord, and widow of David Hubbard, of New Ipswich. Mr. Nutting died at Groton, on April 18, 1832; and his widow on Jan. 16, 1834, aged 76 years. His father died on June 2, 1776; and his mother on Dec. 30, 1779, married for a second husband Timothy Reed, of Dunstable, and died on February 7, 1803, in the 86th year of her age. See "Groton Epitaphs" (page 118), for the inscription on her grave-stone.

Mr. Nutting was a corporal in a company of minute-men which marched from Groton to Cambridge, after the Lexington alarm, on April 19, 1775. On that memorable occasion there were two companies of minute-men and two companies of militia which entered the public service from Groton. During the latter part of the war Mr. Nutting filled the position of constable, and in his journal he makes some references to the duties of his office in connection with the army. He has also interesting entries in regard to the formation of a town library in the year 1796, and gives a list of some of its early officers. Within a few weeks I have found a volume once belonging to the library, having been bought in 1796, which still contains the original book-plate.

Mr. CHARLES FRANCIS ADAMS said : —

Since our last meeting, the four hundredth anniversary of the American land-fall of Columbus has occurred, and, as the members of the Society are well aware, every periodical has had its say on the discoverer; while the newspapers have been full, almost to the exclusion of other matter except what pertained to the impending presidential election, with accounts of celebrations and with utterances called forth by the event. Under these circumstances I call the subject up for two reasons: in the first place it seems only proper that some reference to an occasion of such wide-spread interest should hereafter be found in the record of our proceedings; but more especially, in the second place, because I have failed to find, in such reports of what has been said in the course of the celebration as have met my eye, that view of the event and its consequences which seems to me most in accordance with the truth of history. I may even say that an unfair verdict has been rendered, for honor has been unduly accorded while censure has been withheld; and from my point of view, it is in a certain sense incumbent on the Massachusetts Historical Society, representing as it essentially does the English and Protestant settlement of America, as contradistinguished from the Spanish and Roman Catholic settlement, not to let such a verdict be recorded in silence.

In the general outburst of praise and admiration of Columbus, and of jubilation over the beneficent effects of his discovery, such a caveat as I propose to enter may seem to some ill-timed, — possibly it may sound like a harsh note of discord amid general harmony. On the other hand it is to be remembered that ours is an historical society, and that, while rhetoric and history are two very different things, gush sometimes verges dangerously on falsehood; this, moreover, as I have just said, is not only an historical society, but the Massachusetts Historical Society, and the matter in hand is one in which the record of Massachusetts is not to be ignored. Still, it is never easy to say that which to a certain extent runs counter to a chorus of jubilation without conveying an impression that paradox or sensationalism is the end sought after rather than the correction of error or the effect of a changed point of view; and for this reason, in what I now propose to submit I shall confine myself carefully to the accepted facts, almost the common-

places, of history. Nothing will be said intended to invite controversy, — nothing which, so far as I know, admits of contradiction. Avoiding all parade of authorities, I shall make no pretence of research. The only reference necessary will be to the *Encyclopædia Britannica*, or any other standard work of the same description.

That the opening of the New World was an historical event of the first importance goes without saying; and only the lover of contradiction for contradiction's sake will deny that its results have, taken as a whole, been most beneficial to mankind. Neither does it seem to me that the life and character of Columbus himself call here and now for any considerable discussion. Certain things, and those the essential things in regard to him and his discovery, are well established. We know, for instance, that he was for his day a bold and skilful navigator; a careful student, he was moreover possessed with an idea, the sphericity of the earth, which, though it did not by some two thousand years originate with him, was in its vital respect correct; that he risked his life in a daring attempt to carry out and demonstrate the truth of that idea is undisputed, as also that his attempt was crowned with brilliant success. On the other hand, we know that he was more than devout in religion, — that he was an enthusiast and a visionary, a fifteenth-century crusader; finally, his voyages subsequent to the first in no way added to his reputation as an explorer, while as an administrator he was far from being a success. He achieved one magnificent result, but "he seems to have succeeded in attaching to himself few men who adhered loyally to his cause. Those under him were constantly rebellious and mutinous; those over him found him impracticable."¹ As a scientific explorer it never dawned on his mind that the land he had discovered was not part of Asia, or its inhabitants Asiatics; much less that the whole theory of his first voyage was based upon an error which, but for the fortunate circumstance of his coming up against America while sailing in search of China, must have brought utter failure upon him. In fine, it is not easy to see how, on any recognized principle of classification, Columbus can be assigned a place among the world's really

¹ Dr. John Gilmary Shea, "the most eminent Catholic historical student of the United States," quoted by Winsor (*Christopher Columbus*, pp. 54, 506); and by F. R. Coudert, in his Address before the Catholic Club and the United States Catholic Historical Society, of Oct. 11, 1892, p. 33.

great men ; for to be so reckoned, a man must not only have accomplished something great in itself, but through subsequent events he must sustain himself on the high level of his great accomplishment. This Columbus distinctly failed to do. "Every step in discovery made after his arrival in the islands of the West tended to discredit his belief that he had reached the Asiatic archipelago ; shrewder and less opinionated observers had disbelieved this from the first. Columbus clung to his early belief with a pertinacity which would be astonishing if we did not know that a stubbornness which did no credit to his judgment and self-control was the very secret of his successes and his failures. Only in his earlier years did that characteristic serve him. It procured him his caravels and his crews, and carried him westward over the Atlantic. In all that followed it did but impede him."¹ Indeed, to such an extent did he on one well-known occasion carry this trait of mental "stubbornness" that a recent friendly critic has found himself compelled to say that the great navigator's conduct was "hardly consistent with entire sanity."²

It is, however, wholly aside from my purpose to enter into any controversy over Columbus. It is enough to say that the part he played in the great drama of the discovery and subsequent development of America was no less important than it was dramatic ; but, as it is my purpose to show, the real importance of his part in the discovery was due not to the man himself, but to those he represented, — the company, so to speak, he carried with him to America. Himself a Genoese adventurer, just as ready to sail in the service of France or England as of Portugal or Spain, it so chanced he did sail in the service of Spain, with results for Spain, Europe, the New World, and

¹ Payne's *History of the New World called America*, vol. 1. pp. 190, 191.

² Couder's *Columbus* : Address before the Catholic Club and the United States Catholic Historical Society, p. 34. The character of Columbus is discussed in a condensed form and popular way, with both intelligence and impartiality, by C. K. Adams in his "Christopher Columbus," in the "Makers of America" series. As respects the discoverer's administrative capacity, Mr. Adams says (p. 101) : "The fact is unmistakable that there are no indications of any attachment to him by any of the members of his crew. . . . It is evident that Columbus was quite devoid of tact in the management of men ; for the bitterness that at a later period manifested itself could not otherwise be accounted for." The canons of criticism avowedly laid down by Irving in estimating the character of Columbus are such as to destroy the author's weight as an authority ; while the vein of platitudinous moralizing which runs through the book makes it difficult for a writer of the present day to take it seriously.

indeed for the whole human race, to some of which I now propose to refer.

It is necessary to say only one word more in regard to the discovery of America. Before doing so I want to repeat and emphasize the belief that nothing which scholars can unearth or critics suggest can, or in my judgment should, detract from the brilliancy of the exploit of Columbus, or the admiration it exacts. He sailed due West into the unknown in order to reach the East. He did it; and he alone did it. The fact that the Norsemen had five centuries before done what he now did in no wise detracts from the splendor of the achievement. The scientific result was his; he is entitled to all credit for it.

None the less it is equally indisputable that the discovery of America was then, so to speak, in the air. Had Columbus never lived, or had he and his whole company gone to the bottom of the sea while westward bound, that discovery could not long have been deferred. When the scientific thought or actual experience of the world reach a certain point of development in any direction, it not unseldom becomes apparent that what afterward occurred was inevitable. It is of little consequence whom the light first strikes. It may strike one man, or it may strike several. We have had familiar examples of this in our own time. Darwin's development of the scientific idea of the origin of man is a case in point. Ever since the Mosaic dispensation, through more than thirty centuries, the belief had prevailed that the human race were the descendants of the fallen Adam and Eve, and the doctrine of special creations was unreservedly accepted as an article of all correct scientific as well as religious belief. It is even now less than forty years since, as the logical outcome of a half century of preliminary questioning and investigation, the doctrine of derivation was evolved. Yet, although three thousand years and more elapsed between the Mosaic dispensation and the discovery of Darwin, at the very time his discovery was taking form in Darwin's mind, Alfred Russel Wallace, on the other side of the globe, conceived the same idea; and it was the receipt of a paper from him by Darwin himself which led to Darwin's putting the results of his own thought and observation in the form in which we now have them.

Another familiar instance, which naturally suggests itself.

was the simultaneous discovery in 1846, by Adams and Leverrier, of the planet Neptune; while, again, the very same year, in the case of anæsthetics, two physicians here in Boston used ether at so nearly the same time that no mortal man has ever been able to decide whether Dr. Morton or Dr. Jackson used it first. These were all remarkable discoveries; yet to each of them the world had been patiently groping its way for years, and it was simply a question as to who might chance first to catch the new light. So, while it is undoubtedly true that to Columbus belongs the bold resolution of steering due West to find Asia, and in doing so that he stumbled upon America, none the less the discovery of America was then closely impending as the necessary, logical outcome of what had gone before; and as a matter of fact, it could not possibly have been deferred later than the 22d day of April, 1500, when Don Pedro Alvarez de Cabral, either driven by storm or in order to avoid the troublesome African calms, found himself upon the coast of Brazil. This, indeed, is such a very familiar historical commonplace that it was observed by Dr. Robertson more than a century ago. If therefore Columbus had wholly failed in his attempt, and either gone unheard of to the bottom of the Atlantic or returned to Spain a baffled man, America would have been none the less discovered only eight years later.¹ While this in no way detracts from the brilliancy of the Columbus achievement, it does indisputably limit its consequence as a factor in the course of subsequent human events. In other words, the real importance of the event did not lie in the discovery, — that was inevitable in the stage of human development then reached, — it did lie in the use made of the discovery, in the turn given by it to what followed.

In one of the rhetorical effusions to which the recent occasion afforded a vent, I find it stated that "individual intelligence and independent conscience found here [in America] haven and refuge. They were the passengers upon the caravels of Columbus, and he was unconsciously making for the port of civil and religious liberty." As I scan the passenger-list of the "Santa Maria," I fail to find "independent conscience" there, or any representative of it. I do find on that list various other names not unknown in history, to which I shall more particularly refer somewhat later on.

¹ Irving's *Columbus*, book xiv. chap. 2; Fiske's *Discovery of America*, vol. i. p. 98.

A few days since, at the recent meeting of the American Antiquarian Society at Worcester, our associate member, the Rev. Edward Everett Hale, read a most interesting paper, in which he recounted what he had been able to learn of the third centennial anniversary of the discovery of America as compared with its fourth. The leading feature in Mr. Hale's paper related to a discussion which a century ago took place as to whether the discovery of America had been of advantage to mankind; and it appeared by his quotations from the publications of the Abbés Raynal and Genty and of Chastellux that the general verdict of European thinkers in 1792 was that the discovery of Columbus had upon the whole been to mankind the reverse of beneficent. Such a conclusion is now calculated to excite surprise not unmixed with derision; and another of our associate members, John Fiske, so referred to it in his address delivered here in Boston on the 21st of last month. Nevertheless, I think it not unfair to say that if the Abbés Raynal and Genty had limited their conclusions to the first century and a half after the discovery, those conclusions would have been far less open to criticism than now appears. They would, indeed, have had the facts behind them; nor had the situation changed decisively even one hundred and fifty years later.

To estimate correctly the effect of the discovery on the different countries of the earth and mankind in general during the first century and a half which followed 1492, it is necessary to bear the course of concurrent events clearly in mind. The union of Spain under Ferdinand the Catholic and Isabella of Castile took place practically in 1474. In 1478 the establishment of the Inquisition in Spain was authorized by the Pope; and five years later, in 1483, it was regularly inaugurated under the presidency of Torquemada. In 1492 the edict was issued for the expulsion of the Jews from Spain; and the same year the conquest of Granada was completed. A newly consolidated Spain had thus committed itself to that policy of intellectual repression and religious persecution which it subsequently carried out with a relentless vigor which could not be exceeded, and on a scale to which history presents no parallel. The dates of two other events only need to be specified. In 1517 Luther affixed his famous theses to the door of the church at Wittenberg; and two years later Charles V. became Emperor. Then began the era of what is known as the Ref-

ormation, with its frightful series of wars, leading to the rise of the Dutch Republic, culminating in the massacre of St. Bartholomew, and ending with the famous Spanish Armada of 1588.

It will thus be seen that the discovery of America by Columbus took place on the very eve of the great religious struggle between the Church of Rome and the Protestants, and the great political struggle between constitutional institutions and absolutism. In those struggles, as is again a commonplace of history, Spain was the mainstay both of the Catholic church and political absolutism. From whence did Spain draw the resources which enabled it to carry on the succession of wars which at one time threatened to destroy not only all freedom of religious thought, but all political freedom? Unquestionably, from America. In those days, as long before and long after, it was customary to invoke and to see the direct intervention of the Almighty in the course of human affairs. As the Chancellor of England expressed it to Parliament in 1416, the King's purpose "had been openly determined and approved by the Omnipotent"; or, as our own pious ancestors put it two centuries later, "God himself [brought] in his own vote and suffrage from heaven." In like spirit and manner, only a few days since, Leo XIII. in his letter on Columbus dated "At Rome, near St. Peter's," July 16, 1892, and addressed to the Archbishops and Bishops of Spain, Italy and the two Americas, used this language: "In effect, Columbus discovered America at about the period when a great tempest was going to unchain itself against the Church. Inasmuch as that it is permitted by the course of events to appreciate the ways of Divine Providence, it really seems that this man for whom Liguria honors herself was destined by a special plan of God to compensate Catholicism for the injury it was going to suffer in Europe."¹ And, from the Vatican point of view, this inference is justifiable; for if there ever has been a case where it might fairly be assumed a vote was most opportunely brought from Heaven, that case was the discovery of America by a Spanish expedition just at the close of the fifteenth century. God's vote was, too, brought in unmistakably and emphatically against both religious reformation and political liberty.

¹ Newspaper rendering; New York Herald, August 1, 1892.

Less than a year ago I chanced to be at Madrid. While there, as most tourists do, I visited the Escorial, and among other things worth seeing was shown, as every one is shown, the room in which Philip II. lived, and the adjoining cabinet, in which he transacted business of state, — or, as he expressed it, where, with a pencil and a little slip of paper, he ruled the world. They pointed out to me three chairs, or rather stools with backs to them, of different sizes. Sitting on the largest of these three chairs, or stools, Philip II. — they told me, whether truly or not — was in the custom of transacting business of state with the Duke of Alva, who occupied the larger one of the two lesser chairs, while the secretary who took down the King's conclusions sat on the third, or lowest. Every one who has been at the Escorial remembers the gloominess of the palace, and especially of that apartment in it, — a gloominess typical of the monarch who built the one and occupied the other; for it is again, I think, one of the accepted facts of history, that probably no man ever sat upon a throne who did, in his time and for subsequent times, more harm than Philip II. of Spain. Honest and narrow-minded, an intense religious bigot, endowed with hardly average parts, cruel, he yet ruled with absolute authority over much of the Old World, and nearly all of the New then occupied by Europeans. Spain, it is said, drew from America during the sixteenth century some seven hundred millions of dollars in gold and silver, — a sum which, as a factor in war, meant far more than seven thousand million dollars would mean now; and America thus constituted the military chest from which Charles V. and Philip II. derived the sinews of their wars. Without that comparatively inexhaustible military chest Philip II. could not have attempted his conquest of the Netherlands, much less the organization of the Armada; and Drake and the English freebooters showed the instinct of true fighters when they struck at the Spanish Main as Philip's vital point. They there thrust their knives into the very sources of a feverish life.¹ But, standing in that gloomy cell of the Escu-

¹ "Meantime [1586] . . . Drake was just then engaged in a magnificent career of victory, sweeping the Spanish Main, . . . Europe was ringing with the American successes of the bold corsair, . . . and the supplies drawn so steadily from the oppression of the Western World to maintain Spanish tyranny in Europe were for a time extinguished. Parma was appalled at these triumphs of the Sea-King — 'a fearful man to the King of Spain' — as Lord Burghley

rial, the reality of those days came very forcibly to me. On the larger of the three stools had sat the monkish despot, and with one hand he had drawn to Spain the wealth of that Ind which Spain owed to Columbus; and then, with the other, he had hurled it in the shape of his land mercenaries and his galleons upon the staggering ranks of the patriots and the reformers in the Netherlands, in France, and on the high seas. The great world-tragedy was engineered from that little room in the Escorial.

During the life-and-death struggle of the sixteenth century, therefore, that the whole weight of the discovery of America was thrown against religious and political freedom cannot be denied. It only just failed to turn the trembling scale.

Columbus flourished between the two distinct phases of crusade,—that by Christendom against the Mohammedans, which came to a close in 1275; and that by the Church of Rome against the Protestants, which began in 1520. But, as I have said, he was a crusader,—a knight-errant, in some material aspects not altogether unlike another famous Spaniard of the same period,—and the dream of his life was to discover Cipango, with its gold-roofed temples, that he might use the wealth thence to be derived in marshalling an expedition which was to rescue Jerusalem from the infidel. In his will, executed in 1498, before starting on his third voyage, he provided that the accumulations from the income of his property should constitute a fund to be used for the recovery of the holy places, and the political support of the Papacy. Practically Charles V. and Philip II. constituted themselves the executors of this testament, carrying out its provisions in the most liberal spirit, and to an extent which the testator would never have dared to hope. The gold and silver of Mexico and Peru were used without stint by them in prosecuting the new crusade, not against the Mohammedans, but against those of whom Philip II. was accustomed to say that it was “better not to reign at all than to reign over heretics.” Thus the life dream of Columbus was realized

well observed. . . . The first Englishman, and the second of any nation, he then ploughed his memorable ‘furrow round the earth,’ carrying amazement and destruction to the Spaniards as he sailed, and after three years brought to the Queen treasure enough, as it was asserted, to maintain a war with the Spanish King for seven years” — MOTLEY. *United Netherlands*, vol. i. pp. 494, 503; vol. ii. p. 101.

in all its parts; for not only was well-nigh boundless silver and gold found in the land he discovered, but that silver and gold supplied the means which enabled the Church of Rome to carry on for more than a century the most formidable of all its crusades.

Apostrophizing the Duke of Wellington in one of his poems,¹ Byron exclaimed, —

“ You have repair'd Legitimacy's crutch ”;

and something very similar might with equal truth be addressed to the shade of Columbus. It was Columbus who nerved the arm which held the sword of Spain; it was he who

“ The faith's red ‘auto’ fed with human fuel.”

He “ repair'd ” the Inquisition's “ crutch.”

The formal canonization of Columbus by the Church of Rome has of late been advocated.² The explorer cannot, of course, be held responsible, either at the bar of history or before a conclave of cardinals, for the use made by others of that which he discovered. The Catholic church of to-day repudiates the Inquisition; nor would it deem Philip II. or Torquemada suitable human material out of which to evolve new members of the celestial company. Halos are not for them. Columbus lived and died a faithful child of the Church; he carried the Cross to America, — indeed, he carried it there in every sense of the phrase; he opened the way to the conversion of millions to the Faith: and for these and other reasons it might be meet that his name should be inscribed in the roll of Catholic Saints. That concerns Rome only. But, when the act of canonization is performed, there seems no adequate reason why the descendants of English Puritans, Dutch Lutherans, and French Huguenots — still believing in those principles of civil and religious liberty for which their fathers strove — should join with any peculiar zeal in the sanctification of one whose special heavenly mission, if he indeed had such a mission, was to jeopardize every human being from whom they can trace origin, and every principle of thought or action in which they have faith. A silent acquiescence is, under such circumstances, all that could reasonably be asked of them. They are at least under no call to lead the loud acclaim.

¹ Don Juan, ix. 3.

² Winsor's *Christopher Columbus*, pp. 52, 53, 505.

Turning now from the general to the particular field, it is proper to consider the immediate results during the same period (1492-1588) of the discovery of America on the countries mainly affected by it. So far as Spain itself is concerned, Mr. Douglas Campbell, in a work recently published, makes the following statement:—

"The opening up of the New World has been called the greatest event in history. So perhaps it was; but to Spain it was the greatest curse. Before that time her people were tilling the soil, building up manufactures, and spreading their commerce, laying the foundations of a substantial and enduring prosperity. The wealth of Mexico and Peru changed them into a race of adventurers and robbers. Who would cultivate the land, or toil at the loom or by the furnace, when bold men across the seas were winning with the sword treasures of gold, silver, and precious stones, which they could not count, but measured by the yard? . . .

"The demoralization extended to all classes of the community. Honest labor came to be despised in the race for ill-gotten wealth. Gold and silver poured in, fortunes were amassed; but the prosperity was all illusive; for, with agriculture and manufactures neglected, the land was impoverished, and the sun of Spain was going down. It set, however, in a blaze of military glory."¹

While this statement, taken by itself, would probably be found untenable, in that it limits the subsequent decay of Spain to a single cause, yet, allowing all proper influence in bringing about that decay to those other and more deeply seated causes so powerfully set forth by Buckle² in his famous chapter on the subject, few, I fancy, either in Spain or outside of Spain, would to-day care to controvert the proposition that Spain has never recovered from the misfortunes entailed on it by the fact that Columbus sailed in the service of the crowns of Castile and Aragon; and it would need a bold prophet to express any opinion as to the period which must yet elapse before it does recover from its present low estate.

Leaving Spain, let us next look at the Protestant powers of Europe; and first, the inhabitants of the Netherlands. In connection with them it is only necessary to allude to Alva and "the Council of Blood," to the fifty thousand victims of the In-

¹ Campbell's *The Puritan in Holland, England, and America*, vol. i. pp. 180, 181.

² *History of Civilization in England*, vol. ii. chap. 8.

quisition during the reign of Charles V.¹ and the still larger number during that of Philip II., to the sieges of Haarlem and Leyden, to the assassination of William of Orange, and to the eighty years of warfare through which Holland fought its way to freedom. John of Barneveld estimated that Spain had expended more than two hundred millions of ducats, or four hundred and fifty million dollars, in that struggle prior to 1609;² and the length of the struggle, then more than forty years, was directly due to this vast expenditure of the wealth which Spain drew from the discoveries of Columbus.

These again are all commonplaces of history, in regard to which full information is contained in the pages of Motley.

Coming next to France, though I have said I did not in this case propose to cite any recondite authorities, I cannot refrain from making one most apposite extract from that work of the Abbé Genty so slightly referred to by our associates, Messrs. Hale and Fiske. Speaking of the policy pursued by the rulers of that Castile and Leon to which Columbus gave a New World, the Abbé says:—

“Avec quelle profusion les richesses de l’Amérique furent-elles semées en France, pour y faire germer tous les malheurs et tous les attentats? L’Espagne devint par ses trésors l’âme de nos guerres civiles et de toutes les conspirations qui éclatèrent parmi nous pendant près de deux siècles. C’est elle qui corrompit le cœur de Biron et qui soutint dans la révolte le Connetable de Bourbon, les Guises, le frère de Louis XIII., et Condé. . . . Les Rois d’Espagne s’étoient persuadés qu’ils pouvoient acheter le monde avec leur trésors, et tous les moyens de parvenir à ce but tant désiré sembloient leur être indifférens : il leur importoit peu d’employer le fer des soldats ou celui des traîtres ; le feu de la guerre, les tisons de la discorde ou les torches du fanatisme.”³

Finally, as respects England, the consequences of Spanish domination in America, — and it must be remembered that for the first one hundred and thirty years after the discovery there was, with the exception of the Portuguese, practically no other domination than the Spanish in America, — the consequences of that domination, I say, so far as England was concerned, are fully set forth by Mr. Froude. The story is

¹ Motley’s *Dutch Republic*, vol. i. p. 114.

² Motley’s *United Netherlands*, vol. iv. p. 386.

³ Genty’s *L’Influence de la Découverte de l’Amérique sur le Bonheur du Genre-Humain*, p. 276.

instructive, but it is unnecessary to repeat it here. From the English point of view, as from the Dutch and French, the sixteenth-century results of the discovery were not wholly, or even in greatest part, those usually described as beneficent.

Turning now from Europe to America, in the paper to which I have referred as read by our associate before the American Antiquarian Society at Worcester was a striking poetical quotation,¹ delivered by Mr. Hale with even more than his usual force, in which America was likened to a sheet of white paper, — an “unstained page,” — upon which it had been possible to inscribe things which it would have been impossible to inscribe on the European sheet, soiled by superstition, by feudalism, and by all “the sweat and grime and fraud and blood and tears” of the exodus from the Middle Ages. As I listened to Mr. Hale, I could not help wondering whether it could possibly have occurred to him to look at the story first inscribed on that white American paper, — that “unstained page.” Four hundred years had then elapsed since the land-fall of Columbus. If, therefore, that white paper was converted into pages four hundred in number, the first one hundred and twenty-eight of them would be devoted almost exclusively to the story of Spanish domination in the New World. Dealing again only with the commonplaces of history, saying nothing which I believe is open to contradiction, it would not be unfair to ask whether there is any conceivable sin against God, or crime against man or against woman, any tale of “blood and woe and tyranny,” not inscribed on those

¹ “Give me white paper;

The sheet you use is black and rough with smears
Of sweat and grime and fraud and blood and tears,
Crossed with the story of men's sins and fears,
Of battle and of famine all those years

When all God's children have forgot their birth,
And drugged and fought and died like beasts of earth.
Give me white paper.

“One storm-trained seaman listened to the word;
What no man saw, he saw; he heard what no man heard;
For answer he compelled the sea
To eager man to tell
The secret she had kept so well:
Left blood and woe and tyranny behind,
Sailing still West that land new-born to find,
For all mankind the unstained page unfurled
Where God might write anew the story of the world.”

first one hundred and twenty-eight pages. Leaving Columbus and his individual responsibility for what ensued wholly out of the question, saying nothing calculated to excite controversy, it would not be unsafe to assert that there is no record when "God's children have forgot their birth," in the whole history of mankind, which is, taken altogether, less creditable to those who were actors in it than the history of those first one hundred and twenty-eight years of European domination in the New World,—that "wild debauch of unmerciful brutality," as an enlightened Catholic of our own day has forcibly termed it.¹

I have said that in examining the passenger-list of the "Santa Maria" I failed to find in it "independent conscience," or any human being representative thereof. What names are found in that list? When Columbus made his land-fall, he potentially carried with him in the "Santa Maria," besides his ship's company, Ferdinand, the Catholic; Charles V., Emperor of Germany, Philip II., King of Spain, Torquemada, who had then burned some ten thousand human beings at the stake,

"The bigot monarch and the butcher priest";

Pope Alexander VI., himself a Borgia and the father of the Borgias; and, besides these, Spain, with all that the name implies, including the Fifteenth Century Roman Catholic Church, the Inquisition, and Slavery. Am I stating the case too strongly when I refer to this collection of potentates and institutions as constituting on the whole the most terrible band of pirates ever congregated together in the hold of a ship? I moreover venture to add that never, in the whole history of buccaneering, did any black-visaged gang of ruffians swarming over a vessel's side indulge in such atrocities, in such general plunder, murder, and cruelty, as that stately band which, bearing the Cross before them, potentially issued from the "Santa Maria," with Columbus at their head, on the 21st of October, 1492. They "looted" two continents.

In enumerating those comprising that band I have spoken of the Fifteenth Century Catholic Church and the Inquisition. I did so for the reason that in dealing historically with an institution like the Church of Rome it is well to discriminate. For the mediæval Church of Rome the student of history can-

¹ Coudert's *Christopher Columbus*, p. 38.

not but feel a profound veneration ; for the modern and, so to speak, reformed Church of Rome, observers of more liberal views generally entertain a sincere respect : but of the Church of Rome of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, — the Church of the Borgias, the Inquisition, and the Jesuits, — Luther expressed himself none too strongly when he asserted, in 1511, that “ if there is a hell, Rome is built over it ; it is an abyss whence issue all kinds of sins.” This, and not the Roman Catholic Church of to-day, was the institution for the express benefit of which Columbus discovered a New World ; this was the institution he carried with him to that New World.

I have now enumerated a portion of the potential crew of the “ Santa Maria.” As an illustration of what those composing that potential crew actually did shortly after possessing themselves of the land thus opened to them, let me quote from a recently published work by our associate member, Mr. John Fiske, merely premising, as I do so, that it is another undisputed fact in history that Columbus personally, more than any one else, was responsible for the introduction of slavery into the West Indies.¹

“ Such a cruel and destructive slavery has seldom, if ever, been known. The work of the Indians was at first largely agricultural ; but as many mines of gold were soon discovered, they were driven in gangs to work in the mines. There was a rush of Spaniards to Hispaniola, like the rush of all sorts and conditions of white men in recent times to California and Australia ; and we know well what kind of a population is gathered together under such circumstances. . . .

“ Many of the wretches were the offscourings of camps, the vile refuse of European wars ; some of them were criminals, sent out here to disencumber Spanish jails. Of course they had no notion of working with their own hands, or of wielding any implement of industry except the lash. With such an abundant supply of cheap labor an Indian’s life was counted of no value. It was cheaper to work an Indian to death, and get another, than to take care of him ; and accordingly the slaves were worked to death without mercy. From time to time the Indians rose in rebellion ; but these attempts were savagely suppressed, and a policy of terror was adopted. Indians were slaughtered by the hundred, burned alive, impaled on sharp stakes, torn to pieces by bloodhounds. In retaliation for the murder of a Spaniard, it was thought proper to call up fifty or sixty Indians and chop off their hands. Little

¹ Winsor’s Christopher Columbus, pp. 506, 507 ; Payne’s America, vol. i. p. 188 ; Adams’s Columbus, pp. 103, 104, 105, 134, 145, 146, 150.

children were flung into the water to drown, with less concern than if they had been puppies. In the mingling of sacred ideas with the sheerest devilry there was a grotesqueness fit for the pencil of Doré. Once, 'in honor and reverence of Christ and his twelve Apostles,' they hanged thirteen Indians in a row, at such a height that their toes could just touch the ground, and then pricked them to death with their sword-points, taking care not to kill them quickly. At another time, when some old reprobate was broiling half-a-dozen Indians in a kind of cradle suspended over a slow fire, their shrieks awoke the Spanish captain, who in a neighboring hut was taking his afternoon nap, and he called out testily to the man to despatch those wretches at once, and stop their noise. But this demon, determined not to be balked of his enjoyment, only gagged the poor creatures. Can it be, says Las Casas, that I really saw such things, or are they hideous dreams? Alas! they are no dreams; 'all this did I behold with my bodily eyes.'"¹

It is useless, as well as painful, to dwell upon this portion of that "white" American page to which our associate, Dr. Hale, referred at Worcester. Prescott and Helps and Fiske have told the awful story, and I refer to it now only for the purpose of doing what I look upon as historical justice.

If there is one creditable feature in the whole history of Spanish domination in America, except the lofty protest of Las Casas and the futile efforts of Spain to restrain Spaniards, those authors have failed to reveal it. It certainly is not revealed in what we know of the history of Cuba, where the natives were entirely exterminated; nor in the yet more terrible annals of Hayti: Mexico, you will remember, was conquered by Cortes; Peru was plundered by Pizarro. To-day the condition of the dry leaf in those islands and countries speaks volumes as to what happened in the green. In fine, were I to cast up the balance of advantages and disadvantages resulting from the discovery of the Americas, as between Europe and those continents during the first century and a quarter which succeeded 1492, I should be forced to say that Europe had sent to America bands of pirates and robbers backed by the Fifteenth Century Roman Catholic Church and the Inquisition, bringing slavery in their train; while America had returned this invoice from Europe by some hundreds of millions of gold and silver, to be used, if not wholly yet in greatest part, in prosecuting some of the most cruel wars which ever afflicted

¹ Fiske's *Discovery of America*, vol. ii. pp. 443, 444.

mankind, and besides that gold, as is popularly believed, the most loathsome of human diseases, which for a time threatened to poison the sources of life, bringing about a degeneracy, if not the destruction, of the human race.¹

Such are the uncontradicted commonplaces of history, to use again that expression, respecting the first epoch of European domination in America. It lasted practically until the year 1620, when a new attempt at colonization was made from a wholly different source. The power of Spain being broken by the destruction of the Armada (1588), England and Holland, representatives of the Northern or Germanic races of Europe as opposed to the Latin races, came to the front, and between 1607 and 1620 a new migration set in. Of this migration it is wholly unnecessary for the purposes of this paper to trace either the beginning or the consequences. The allusion suggests what followed, and the proposition I now have to make is the logical consequence of what I have already said. The record, I submit, on my friend Mr. Hale's "white paper," his "unstained page," begins not with the 21st of October, 1492, but with the 21st of December, 1620. Let us insist on credit to whom credit is due; for every material record on that sheet of paper since 1620 is in direct variance with every material record, so far as I know, which preceded it. Hayti, Cuba, Mexico, and the States of South America still bear upon them the mark of the crew of the "Santa Maria"; as the twig was bent four hundred years ago, the tree inclines to-day. On the other and succeeding portion of the paper is the record of the company which came in the "Mayflower"; — a record in parts by no means stainless or free from lines which one would wish to blot. But yet, in a large and general way, it would not be unfair to say that whatever has since 1620 been done on either the North or the South American continent, has been successfully done just in so far as it has undone what the Columbus dispensation did.

I think nothing has been said in this paper which can be successfully controverted. If such is the case, it follows as a logical sequence that the discovery of America by Columbus

¹ It is, of course, matter of common knowledge, that the syphilis is not believed by recent medical authorities to have originated in America. Nevertheless, in its modern virulent form it appeared in Europe by a curious coincidence shortly after the discovery of Columbus, and for centuries was "popularly believed" to have been imported from the New World. See Genty, p. 232.

in 1492, he then sailing in the service of Spain, instead of being an event of unqualified beneficence to mankind, was, upon the whole, one of the greatest misfortunes that has ever befallen the human race,—a misfortune from which Spain has not yet recovered, a misfortune from which the Spanish States of America have not yet recovered, and a misfortune which for more than a century threatened the overthrow and suppression of political and religious freedom in Europe. This is a very considerable indictment at the bar of history. In their two recently published works on Columbus and the discovery of America, our associates, Messrs. Winsor and Fiske, have set forth the truth as they saw it, and so far as they traced results. The former especially has dealt none too leniently with Columbus; indeed, he has seemed to me at times hardly to award him that meed of glory which is fairly his due. The paper of our other associate, Mr. Hale, to which I have freely referred, deals with little more than the utterances of the third as compared with the present centennial, and, except in the one poetic quotation to which allusion has been made, does not touch on remoter historic consequences. Such contributions to this celebration have therefore a solid value, and in the case of the first two, a great and permanent value. They cannot for a moment be classed with the general utterances to which I have referred. But as for the mass of those utterances, I repeat that history is nothing, and worse than nothing, if the historian does not strive earnestly for the truth; and, as I said before, rhetorical gush and general jubilation verge at times dangerously on cant and falsehood. It is well to be good-natured; but hardly at the cost of implying, much more asserting, that which is not.

In dealing with historical problems it is not as a rule profitable to consider what might have resulted had events occurred otherwise than as they did occur. It was written in the book of fate that the New World should, on the very eve of Luther's protest against Rome, be discovered by a papist, and pass into the possession of Spain. It was not to be discovered by the descendants of those Norsemen who had discovered it five hundred years before, in advance of the maturity of scientific knowledge; but if it had so chanced that America was discovered by some Dutch "Beggars of the Sea," or English corsair, or even by Columbus in the service

of England, it is curious to consider what a different record might now be found on Mr. Hale's "unstained" page. In such case it is not impossible the West Indies, Mexico, and Peru might have been occupied by descendants of the Germanic race. Had this been the case, however bad in other respects the record might be, and whatever work of demoralization that sudden influx of unearned wealth might have wrought on the land of the discoverer, the weight of the wealth drawn from America through the whole sixteenth century would in the struggles which then took place have been thrown in the Protestant scale instead of in the Romish scale. The effect of such a transfer on the course of subsequent events it is impossible to estimate. As to the natives, our own record as respects them will not bear a too close scrutiny. On that score it is not for us to cast stones.¹

¹ The aborigines of the West Indies Islands have wholly disappeared, exterminated by the Spaniards; the same may practically be said of the aborigines of the Atlantic States of the Union. The native races of Mexico and Central and South America have to a large extent become merged with those of Spanish blood there settled, and their later condition has been one of gradual improvement. This can hardly be said of any of the other North American races; though, on the other hand, it is unquestionable that the European found the continental native races of the South in a more advanced stage of barbarism than those of the North. As to the relative cruelty of dominant races, while the record of no race is creditable to it, or, so far as appears, consistent with precepts of ordinary humanity, there cannot, it would seem, be much room for doubt that for sustained cruelty Spain stands first on the list. As respects that country, the domestic record is in no respect better than the foreign; for the persecution and expulsion of the Jews and the Moriscos were no less savage than the extermination of the gentle and hospitable Cubans. Indeed, in the case of the Moriscos, the Spanish record is scarcely credible. In the seventeenth century the Archbishop of Toledo met a suggestion that children under seven years of age might be excepted from the general banishment of the race to which they belonged, and kept in Spain, with a declaration that "sooner than leave one of these unbelievers to corrupt the land, he would have the whole of them — men, women, and children — at once put to the sword." In a similar spirit a celebrated and influential brother of the Dominican order, Breda by name, wished that "for the sake of example, every Morisco in Spain [they numbered over a million] should have his throat cut, because it was impossible to tell which of them were Christians at heart, and it was enough to leave the matter to God, who knew his own, and who would reward in the next world those who were really Catholics." (Buckle's *Civilization in England*, vol. ii. pp. 492, 493.) The expulsion was decreed; and out of one single body of 140,000 exiles, 100,000 suffered death in its most frightful forms.

There is, indeed, something grandiose, as well as appalling, in the Spanish method of dealing with the problems of persecution. "Upon the 16th of February, 1568, a sentence of the Holy Office condemned all the inhabitants of the Netherlands to death as heretics. From this universal decree only a few persons, especially named, were excepted. A proclamation of the king, dated ten days later, confirmed this decree of the Inquisition, and ordered it to be carried into

Meanwhile, my present purpose is merely to enter a caveat against the unmeasured language of laudation and jubilation poured out during the last month. It is accomplished by the foregoing statement of facts, and may, in conclusion, be compressed into few words. If on that paper, that white and fair and virgin American paper, to which Mr. Hale referred

instant execution, without regard to age, sex, or condition. This is probably the most concise death-warrant that was ever framed. Three millions of people — men, women, and children — were sentenced to the scaffold in three lines." (Motley's *Dutch Republic*, vol. ii. p. 158.)

So much for the Spanish record; nor is that of France wholly different. Passing over the Albigensian crusade in the thirteenth century, — in which, it is said, "grim fanaticism" so seconded "pitiless orthodoxy" that "no war was ever more atrocious," — it is only necessary to refer to the massacre of St. Bartholomew three centuries later, — that occurrence which caused a Pope of the sixteenth-century Catholic Church to hold a solemn *Te Deum* to render thanks to God for the mercies thus vouchsafed; while Philip II. laughed aloud at hearing the good news, and "seemed more delighted than with all the good fortune or happy incidents which had ever before occurred to him." Passing over these commonplaces of history, and coming to the present century and the French treatment of what are known as inferior races, in 1801 the troops of the Republic occupied Hayti, and in October, 1802, the commander of the expedition, General Leclerc, wrote thus to Napoleon, then First Consul: "Here is my opinion on this country. We must destroy all the negroes in the mountains, men and women, keeping only infants less than twelve years old, we must also destroy half those of the plain, and leave in the colony not a single man of color who has worn an epaulette. Without this the colony will never be quiet." (Henry Adams's *History of the United States*, vol. i. p. 415.)

History, in fact, seems to tell but one tale as to the fate of inferior, when confronted by superior, races. The result, where not slavery, is extermination; and the variations in the several processes through which a result is reached, whether in New England or in the West Indies, are of secondary importance, the Spanish West India variation being probably the most pitiless. Yet the record of the English in Ireland could in this respect hardly be worse than it is; for Froude asserts that the soldiers of Elizabeth "came at last to regard the Irish peasants as unpossessed of the common rights of human beings, and shot or strangled them like foxes or jackals. More than once in the reports of officers employed in these services we meet the sickening details of these performances related with a calmness more frightful than the atrocities themselves; young English gentlemen describing expeditions into the mountains 'to have some killing,' as if a forest was being driven for a battue." (Froude's *The English in Ireland*, vol. i. p. 51.) In the Pequot campaign of 1636 the New Englander also made very thorough work of it, showing what he was capable of when roused. His method then was not dissimilar to the otherwise than "rose-water policy" pursued by Cromwell in Ireland a dozen years later. But the wholesale killing in these latter cases was at least done in hot blood; an alleviation of massacre which cannot always be advanced in the long story of outrage which has caused the more recent dealings of the American people and the United States government with the native tribes to be recounted under the apt title of "A Century of Dishonor."

As is remarked in the text, stone-casting as among nations is on this subject clearly not in good taste.

at Worcester, there is anything written which is good in the sight of God, or which has advanced the prospects of mankind upon earth,—anything in which an American, whether of Latin or Teutonic descent, may take pride,—I submit it will be found on those pages which follow that numbered 128; in other words, it will be found on the pages which follow that opened at Plymouth Rock on the 21st day of December, 1620, and it will not be found on any of the preceding pages which relate to the discovery of the West India Islands on the 21st of October, 1492, or what ensued thereon. Once more,—honor to whom honor is due.

The PRESIDENT then said :—

As Mr. Adams began the reading of his interesting, able, and discriminating paper upon the good or ill service to humanity resulting from the Spanish discovery of America, he expressed his hope and wish that he might open a free and earnest discussion of the subject. There was one statement made by him which I cannot but think he will admit to need qualification at least, if it be not open even to a positive challenge. The statement was to the effect that, as to the treatment of our aborigines here, it made little difference to them that they should have first fallen into the hands of Spaniards rather than of English colonists. It seems to me that the accepted facts of history show, that in the matter of justice and humanity, the preference is vastly on the side of the English in their relations with the natives from their first settlements here down to the present dealings with them of our national government. It is true that both the so-called "Spanish conquests" and the progressive English occupancy of our national domain have alike resulted in the territorial spoiling and the threatened extinction of the aboriginal races. But the way and method by which these tragical results have been reached were marked by ruthless barbarities and atrocities on the part of the Spaniards, of which the English colonists were wholly guiltless. Rightfully do the descendants of the Plymouth Pilgrims boast that on their first coming they sought to meet the natives in the full and best sense of the word as Christians. Having in their own straits for food appropriated a burrow of the Indians' corn, they seized the first opportunity to make restitution. The English Governor affirmed on his own con-

science that his company had not occupied a foot of the territory without paying to the natives what was to them a fair equivalent. The Plymouth Company at once entered into a league and covenant of justice and amity with the natives which lasted unbroken for more than fifty years. They executed an Indian for wronging a white man, and they also executed a white man for wronging an Indian. The most cruel incident in the English dealing with the Indians in our earliest years was in the roasting of hundreds of the Pequots in their own palisades by Capt. John Mason. But the English were provoked to this act by some wanton murders by the Pequots, as first aggressors. If the Bible is to stand as the common source of law and truth and duty alike for both the creeds of the Spaniards and the English, the latter zealously provided that the savages even of their own generation should have the Book translated into their own tongue, and that native preachers should expound it to their own race in their own churches. Neither the Book nor the lessons which it teaches were in use by the Spaniards. "Conversion" was a word of very different meaning with the Spaniards and the English. And from that date on I stand by an affirmation which I have already made in print, that our English and American governments on this soil, both State and national, have in intent and design, and by actual legal enactments and lavish pecuniary outlays from the treasury, sought to be guided not only by humanity, but by generosity towards the natives. The large failures in the working of such intent and efforts come of their being thwarted by the mismanagement and tricks and frauds of agents. The enormous sums of money spent by our government in extinguishing Indian titles and in the funding for pensions have been earned by the industry and toil of our own people for the support of tramps and idlers. What has ever been done by the Spanish government for the reparation of ancient wrongs or the supply of present benefits to the aborigines and their successors in the States under its former sway?

If there were nothing more to be said, these suggestions might indicate that it did matter much to the natives of this continent whether they should have their first relations to Europeans through Spaniards or Englishmen. But what are we to say of those crimson pages of history all from the pens of

Spaniards themselves, and relating the deeds of their own people, the first visitors, conquerors, and so-called missionaries of the Christian gospel to these fair lands and the children of nature who peopled them? Those pages are the most shocking and harrowing in their hue and contents of any to be found in the annals of this distracted world. In reading them we have to take ourselves away from the instincts, promptings, and environments of humanity, and look upon the infernal orgies of fiends. The saintly Las Casas, the faithful chronicler of the enormities and barbarities which wholly depopulated many well-peopled islands and wide reaches of the continent, gives us his shuddering relations, which make us quiver with the agonies he witnessed and described. Drawings and engravings so hideously faithful to the reality in the volumes of De Bry and other original sources of history confound us with the direful possibilities of man's inhumanity to man. The ruthless frenzy of passion, the ingenuity of device in torture, maiming and mutilating the sensitive organs and members of living men, women, and children, the chopping off of hands and feet, and the putting out the eyes of victims left to a wretched remnant of existence, — these were hardly aggravations of the appalling brutality of Spanish inventiveness in cruelty. The surprises and treacheries which attended the beguiling hospitalities offered to confiding victims fill out the distressing story. If we reduce by nine tenths the number of these victims which Las Casas counts by millions, we leave the record unparalleled in the world's annals. All who are living on this continent with English blood in their veins may well affirm that none of their lineage are chargeable with this wantonness of barbarity to their fellow-creatures. Slaughter and butchery are the incidents of every battlefield, heathen or Christian; but the fighters and victims are voluntary and equal parties in it. But the ingenuity, the gloating delight, the persistency and utter aimlessness of Spanish brutality leave us the only relief of being able to charge it only to the people who first desolated the New World. In 1656 John Phillips, a nephew of John Milton, published in London, under the title of "The Tears of the Indians," dedicated to Cromwell, a translation of Las Casas's "Cruelty," etc. Phillips's Preface is a glowing appeal "to all true Englishmen"; and it rehearses the proud position they hold in history for religious liberty and human rights, and denounces

the Spaniards as "a Proud, Deceitful, Cruel, and Treacherous Nation." Yet one more heinous iniquity is to be mentioned as vitally associated with the atrocities of Spanish rule in the New World, of which the English colonists were wholly guiltless. It was the whole Spanish system of the forced enslavement of the natives in gangs for tillage or work in the mines. The cruelties of this system, even in its reduced severities of peonism, in which the natives were flogged to their stunted tasks and to attendance on the Mass, need not prolong this rehearsal. No Englishman ever exacted forced labor or any task-work of an Indian, or stood to a savage in the relation of a master to a slave, after the example of the Spaniard.

Roger Williams from his first coming to New England, and consistently all through his long life here, was, in spirit, purpose, and act, a century later than Las Casas, fully his peer in humane regard and championship of the rights of the aborigines. He maintained their rightful ownership of the soil. He early learned their language, and helped others to learn it. He protested against every wrong done to them. He won their love and confidence. He schooled himself to be their guest in their "filthy, smoky holes." In the quaint metrical stanzas with which he closes the chapters of his "Key into the Language of America," we read the following lines:—

"Boast not proud English, of thy birth & blood,
Thy brother Indian is by birth as Good.
Of one blood God made Him, & Thee & All,
As wise, as faire, as strong, as personall."

Mr. GAMALIEL BRADFORD said that Mr. Adams's comparison of Spanish and English colonization suggested a comparison of the two nations. He believed that the difference is much less of race than of government and circumstances. In England, from the absence of fear of invasion, the parliament obtained early control of taxation; while in France and Spain the necessity of standing armies enabled the Kings of France and Spain to govern without parliaments. Hence liberty on one side and despotism on the other. This was emphasized by the secession of the English Church under Henry VIII., while France and Spain sank deeper and deeper in submission to Rome.

Rev. Dr. MCKENZIE said, in substance, that he thought Columbus was entitled to rank among great men, even if he

had done but one great thing, and was wanting in many of the elements of greatness. Few men do more than one great thing. There is much in the life and character of this man which we cannot admire, but he did find and open the way to the New World. He did not know what he had found, but he knew that he had found land, and he had made it possible for others to know what the land was, and to make use of it. It is true that men had long believed that the earth is a sphere; but they had not made much of the belief. Very likely some one else would have sailed westward and have found this continent if Columbus had not done so. But he did it. He changed the theories and purposes of men into the reality. He did it at a cost, and with rare skill and courage. An allusion has been made, by way of illustration, to the discovery of the anæsthetic properties of ether. Some men knew that ether had these qualities, but the world was not the better off for their knowledge. It was left for a poor dentist, who acquired this knowledge, to put it to practical use; and to him belongs the chief credit. He did what others said could be done. He took the risk and achieved the success. Let him have the honor.

Mr. Adams has spoken of the "jubilation" which attended the recent anniversary of the discovery of America; and he has painted in very dark colors the miseries and crimes which for the first century were connected with that discovery. He has drawn his picture in very dark, perhaps not too dark, colors. But it is not over that century that the country has been jubilant. That period was an incident, an episode, in the history of America. It was cruel and tyrannous, but it was not permanent. Its results have remained in some measure, but they have not been a part of the history of America. Then came the new beginning, which has been so well described in the address to which we have listened; and it is in the centuries following 1620 that we find the meaning of the discovery and its place in the history of the world. If it be true that the primacy of the world is to be with the English-speaking people, and that their seat is to be here, then we cannot over-estimate the significance of the event which brought out of the sea of darkness the continent on which was to stand the Republic which was to teach the lessons of free government, of intelligence and liberty, and to make its beneficent influence felt in all the earth. In this is the reason of our "jubilation."

The PRESIDENT said that among the earnest discussions recently made in relation to the strictures on the character and agency of Columbus, he had noticed the statement that Las Casas — the one best qualified to describe and to judge him — regarded him with respect and admiration. I failed to find any proofs of high and unqualified esteem and approval of Columbus when, in writing the chapter on Las Casas for the "Narrative and Critical History of America," I made as faithful a study of the subject as was within my power. I would ask Mr. Winsor to give us his conclusion on this subject.

Mr. WINSOR then said:—

Las Casas knew two characters. He knew Columbus as a personal friend, for whom he had an affection; and of this character that historian said that no one could say Columbus was not a good and Christian man. Las Casas also knew Columbus as a public actor in events, the kidnapper and enslaver of the natives, and the giver of them over to misery and criminal lust; and of this character Las Casas said,—and I quote the version made by President C. K. Adams to avoid any personal bias of my own in rendering it,—

"Ignoring that which ought not to be ignored concerning divine and natural right, and the right judgment of reason, Columbus introduced and commenced to establish such principles, and to sow such seeds that there originated and grew from them such a deadly and pestilential herb, and one which produced such deep roots, that it has been sufficient to destroy and devastate all these Indies, without human power sufficing to impede and intercept such great and irreparable evils."

It is not meet that any historian should remember the one character of Columbus and forget the other.

I have followed Mr. Adams's paper with entire approval of the general course of his presentation. It is not necessary to enforce it further. The season of commemoration is past. The public has had its surfeit of what it dearly craves. Patriotism has warmed on the rostrum, "America" has been sung in the schools, and sentiment has glowed in the vestry. History is left to face the indisputable facts.

I have said so much in another way upon Columbus and the outcome of his personality, that I willingly turn for a

moment to that unpolluted triumph of science to which Mr. Adams has referred for comparison. The amenities of the broadest Christian sympathies, so plainly significant in the event I shall relate, belong to all ages, whether to the fifteenth or to the nineteenth century, as the existence of such men as Las Casas and Wallace testifies.

The statement which Mr. Adams has made of Wallace's communicating his views on the theory of natural selection to Darwin, as an instigation to the publication of Darwin's views, is true enough for Mr. Adams's purposes, and his statement is that of the encyclopædias; but as told by Mr. Wallace himself, it deserves to be remembered for the generous reciprocity of kindly sympathy.

Some years ago, when Mr. Wallace was the guest in Cambridge of the late Dr. Asa Gray, one afternoon I received a note from my neighbor, saying that Wallace was at his house, and asking me to come and dine with them; and Dr. Gray said further that he would set his guest to talking on the growth of his belief in the theory with which his friend's name was associated. I went. Mr. Wallace told the story with great calmness, and with beautiful recognition of the merit of the twin sponsor of that theory. He said of himself that he was in his camp in the jungles of Java, — as I remember the locality, — and had been reading Malthus. Evening came on, and he sat in darkness in his tent. His thoughts wavered about the subject, and slowly, but with striking precision, grouped themselves so as to account for the progress of life by natural selection. He at last found that his ideas had fashioned themselves into a completed system. He called to his servant to bring a light and his writing-pad, and before he closed his eyes for the night he had outlined the revelation, which had come to him almost as an inspiration. He kept the paper by him for a few days, and then despatched it to Joseph Hooker, with a note, asking him, if it seemed a contribution worth making, to contribute it to the next volume of the Linnean Society. Hooker, upon reading it, said to himself: "Now, this is precisely what Darwin has been these four years working upon, and by hard labor evolving his views from the data which a lifetime has gathered. It is hardly fitting that this happy intuition of Wallace should forestall the results of such labors." Hooker then took the papers to Darwin, and read

them to his friend. "That is indeed just the point I am making," said the naturalist. "Have n't you," said his visitor, "some outline of your theory, written some time since, and dated, which can be published at the same time with this paper by Wallace, so that the joint publication shall preserve your respective rights?" "No, I think not. The theory is in my mind. What I have committed to paper is the mere details of one phase or another. But stay! Yes; two years ago I wrote a long letter about it to Asa Gray. If he has preserved that letter, it is just what you wish. I will write and ascertain." At this point Dr. Gray, who had listened with that animation of countenance which his friends all remember, pulled out the drawer of his table, and pushing about some papers, lifted a packet in a twinkling of an eye, exclaiming, "Here 's the letter! here 's the letter!"

Thus it was that the manuscript penned amid the jungles of Java, and the faithful letter to Dr. Gray, reclaimed from our Cambridge botanist, lay in due time side by side upon the table of the Linnæan Society, and in the next volume of that Society's Transactions they brought in conjunction before the world the greatest synthetical emanation of the scientific mind of our day.

DECEMBER MEETING, 1892.

THE stated meeting was held on Thursday, the 8th instant, at three o'clock, P. M.; the President, Dr. GEORGE E. ELLIS, in the chair.

The record of the last meeting was read and approved.

The Librarian read the list of donors to the Library during the last month.

Mr. Charles C. Smith, Hon. Mellen Chamberlain, and Rev. Henry F. Jenks were appointed a committee to publish a volume of Belcher Papers.

Mr. GAMALIEL BRADFORD referred to the paper of Mr. Adams on the Spanish Discovery of America, read at the November meeting, and said that it was not so much differences of race as differences of government and institutions which affected the character of European colonization in America. The English who went to India were as rapacious as the Spaniards; but the government of India is the most beneficent that the world has ever seen.

Hon. MELLEN CHAMBERLAIN expressed his dissent from the view of Mr. Adams, that only the English colonists should be commemorated here, or that the English or Dutch alone should have discovered America, if the best results were to follow. The Latin races have contributed to our civilization what the Saxons have not. The natives were taken up by them and incorporated into citizenship, whereas the Teutonic races have exterminated them. The Indians have been protected in Canada and Mexico, and nothing so disgraceful occurred as has taken place in our own country in this very century. The Latin races did not aim to found an empire, but to Christianize the inhabitants.

Mr. C. F. ADAMS, in reply, said that he did not differ essentially from Judge Chamberlain, and did not disparage Latin civilization, literature, and art, for these speak for themselves. He referred, however, to the uses which the Spaniards made of the gold they brought from America, and to their persecutions in the West Indies.

HON. MELLEN CHAMBERLAIN said that at that time neither a state nor a church had been established, but an interregnum existed, and individuals alone were responsible for the outrages.

DR. SAMUEL A. GREEN exhibited a collection of fac-similes of Boston newspapers and other rare publications, and made the following remarks:—

The practice of reproducing odd numbers of early Boston newspapers in fac-simile, without any token or explanation of the fact, may cause hereafter some confusion among librarians and others not familiar with all the circumstances of the case. It began, so far as I can learn, nearly forty years ago, before the period when exact fac-similes could be made by the various processes so well known to-day. At that time the appearance of the original print was imitated as closely as type would allow, and, by the use of paper slightly discolored, the general effect was fairly good. For the most part the whole affair was prompted by private speculation, as the sheet generally contained some item of special interest which would help the sale of the reproductions.

Among the earliest of these reprints is "The Boston-Gazette, and Country Journal," March 12, 1770, which gives an account of the massacre in State Street on March 5 of that year. This copy was made by type on tinted paper; and from time to time specimens are offered for sale at these rooms by innocent but ignorant persons, who think that they are genuine copies and not modern imitations. Another reprint from type is "The New-England Weekly Journal," April 8, 1728, a half-sheet newspaper which contains nothing of special interest. Still another is "The New-England Courant," February 11, 1723, published originally by James Franklin; but this particular number was the first that bore the name of his distinguished brother Benjamin as the publisher. This issue was published on the occasion of the dedication of the Franklin monument in School Street, and printed on a press said to have been used by the great philosopher. The number was originally set up from a copy in this library, when the form was stereotyped and many impressions were struck off. It purports to be a fac-simile of the original; but such is not the fact, as the lines in the two numbers rarely agree in their justification.

Perhaps the most common of these reproductions is the first number of "The Boston News-Letter," April 24, 1704, of which only three original copies are known to exist. With a possible exception, the News-Letter was the earliest newspaper published on this continent, and for that reason a copy always excites the curiosity of the crowd. The exception just alluded to is a solitary number of "Publick Occurrences, Both Forreign and Domestick," printed in Boston on September 25, 1690, which was advertised to appear "once a moneth"; but long before the time of its second appearance it was summarily suppressed by an order of the Governor and Council, in which the publication is spoken of as a pamphlet. It was printed on the first three pages of a folded sheet, — two columns to a page, and each page about seven inches by eleven in size. The original number, without doubt now unique, is in the Colonial State Paper Office, London; and more than thirty-five years ago I made a transcript, which appears in the first volume (pp. 228-231) of "The Historical Magazine" (Boston) for August, 1857. This Society has in its library a contemporaneous copy of the printed order suppressing the newspaper; and being a rare document, it is given here, line for line, after the original: —

BY THE
GOVERNOUR & COUNCIL

WHEREAS some have lately presumed to Print and Disperse a Pamphlet, Entituled, Publick Occurrences, both Foreign and Domestick: Boston, Thursday, Septemb. 25th. 1690. Without the least Privy or Countenance of Authority.

The Governour and Council having had the perusal of the said Pamphlet, and finding that therein is contained Reflections of a very high nature: As also sundry doubtful and uncertain Reports, do hereby manifest and declare their high Resentment and Disallowance of said Pamphlet, and Order that the same be Suppressed and called in; strickly forbidding any person or persons for the future to Set forth any thing in Print without Licence first obtained from those that are or shall be appointed by the Government to grant the same.

By Order of the Governour & Council.

Isaac Addington, Secr.

Boston, September 29th. 1690.

Within a year or two, in a catalogue of a London bookseller, I have seen advertised for sale at a comparatively high price, a copy of the "Ulster County Gazette" (Kingston, New York), January 4, 1800, presumably the genuine newspaper of that date, which gave an account of Washington's death. Knowing that this particular number had been reproduced from type, and suspecting that the advertised copy was not an original, I wrote to the English dealer, asking him the question. In due time the answer came, saying that after his attention was called to the fact, he was satisfied the newspaper was a modern reprint, and that it should be at once withdrawn. There are three different editions, and perhaps more, of this reproduction of the Gazette; and in the corner of one of them appear the words "Copy Right Secured," which is the only intimation that the number is not original.

The Historical Library possesses a file of "The Halifax Gazette," extending over a period of more than three years, which first appeared on March 23, 1752, and was the earliest newspaper printed in Nova Scotia. Each number consisted of a single leaf, and the set is supposed to be unique. During the present year the first issue of this sheet has been reproduced on old-looking paper, and appears in folded form as an illustration to the volume entitled "The Canadian Newspaper Directory" (Montreal, 1892); but the copy is set up from type, and is by no means an exact fac-simile. At some future day this reproduction of the Gazette may cause as much confusion as that of the Boston newspapers.

Mr. WINSLOW WARREN mentioned that he had a letter written by James Warren, at Cambridge, the day after the battle of Bunker Hill, in which reference is made to James Otis as being in that battle, and he inquired whether this circumstance was mentioned by any other contemporary writer.

Hon. MELLE CHAMBERLAIN said that at about that time the friends of Mr. Otis were obliged to put him under guardianship, as his mind was unsettled.

Mr. JUSTIN WINSOR said he had been asked if it was not sufficient proof that the Northmen did not remain long here, that they did not have any knowledge of maize and tobacco. This inquiry led to brief remarks by Mr. WINSOR,

Dr. SAMUEL A. GREEN, and Rev. Dr. EDMUND F. SLAFTER
on the knowledge which the Indians had of tobacco.

On motion of Mr. CHARLES C. SMITH, it was

Voted, That the income of the Massachusetts Historical
Trust Fund for the current year be appropriated toward
the publication of the Society's Collections.

A new serial of the Proceedings of the Society, including
the October and November meetings, was ready for distribu-
tion at the meeting.

JANUARY MEETING, 1893.

A STATED meeting was held on Thursday, the 12th instant, at three o'clock, P. M.; the President, Dr. GEORGE E. ELLIS, in the chair.

After the reading of the record of the December meeting and of the list of donors to the Library, the PRESIDENT said:—

In the routine of preliminary business at the opening of our last meeting the usual call was made for the report of the Cabinet-keeper, Dr. F. E. Oliver. There was no response. Unknown to us, his honored and useful life had just at that hour come to a sudden close from a brief illness. We lose in him an highly esteemed associate, faithful, earnest, and helpful in his service to this Society, endeared to many of us by his affability and courtesy, his personal dignity, his refinement and accomplishments. For thirteen of the sixteen years of his membership here he has had the charge of our precious cabinet; an office which engaged his zeal and intelligent interest in identifying and disposing the rich relics and gatherings of a century, — portraits, gems, coins, weapons, trophies, and miscellaneous historical memorials. A recent vote of the Society had recognized its high appreciation of his services. His donations to us began before his election to membership.

After that we owe to him the gift of the missing portion of the manuscript of Hubbard's History and of Increase Mather's family Bible. He was the medium of procuring for this country copies of the publication in England of the "Diary and Letters of Governor Hutchinson," after he had left in sorrow his home and country. Dr. Oliver printed for private circulation the "Diaries of the Two Chief Justices Lynde," father and son, of Massachusetts; and a few years afterward he published the "Diary of William Pynchon," of Salem, during the War of the Revolution. His annual reports to us as Cabinet-keeper contain matter of interest. He came of a family identified with this colony from its settlement. If I am not in

error, that family in all its generations here shows a peculiarity in that its many members have followed professional rather than mercantile occupations; at one period of storm they were in sympathy with the mother country. Dr. Oliver was greatly cherished and esteemed in his domestic, social, professional, and religious fellowships.

The President then presented from Mr. Jacob C. Rogers of Boston an original letter from Rev. Dr. Bentley of Salem, written in 1804, in acknowledgment of his appointment as chaplain of the United States House of Representatives.

Hon. Jacob Crowninshield, Esq., Washington.

SALEM, MASS., 16 November, 1804.

WORTHY SIR,—This morning I received the Official Notice of the honour done me by the House of Representatives of the United States in appointing me their Chaplain. I am not insensible to what recommendation I am indebted for this great honour. My ardent affection for the present happy administration of the General Government, my personal esteem of our worthy President, & of the Gentlemen in the Departments of State, & the extended views I should have of the most happy country on earth, challenge my attention to this distinguished notice from the Representatives of a Free People. But when I remember that I was never free in the wide world, that I was never out of a School or College till I entered on the Christian Ministry, & that above 20 years I have never been away from my pulpit, or far from home, I feel at liberty to plead with my best friend, that he would apologise for me to my friends at Washington, & that he would permit me to stay in Massachusetts where I may be of much greater service to the administration & to my Country & certainly where all my habits contribute to my greatest happiness, & I hope, usefulness.

Relying on your candour to forgive me, & on your knowledge of me to justify me,

I am, Sir, your devoted Servant, & most affectionate Friend,

WILLIAM BENTLEY.

Before this time you will have heard of the great success of our Elections. In our district your choice is most honourably continued. As this is the majority would be double. The Presidential Ticket is already four thousand republican majority. One day later would have saved [?] All Maine you will find of one heart.

You will allow me to tell you one Electioneering trick. The Col' P's¹ centi [?] circulate a report that I had received a Service of Plate from Mr. Jefferson. It flew everywhere. I was challenged. The trick was found out instantly. I had received a Legacy in that form from a Pupil I love. The Old Col. says he heard it from the young Col. The young says nothing. But we laugh all such things I defy imagination to describe the change since you left us.

In response to an invitation from the American Philosophical Society, Dr. Samuel A. Green was appointed a delegate to represent this Society at the celebration of the one hundred and fiftieth anniversary of its foundation, which will take place in Philadelphia in May next.

Mr. WILLIAM H. WHITMORE said that his attention had been called to the establishment of a new society, for historical and other purposes, to be called the "Massachusetts Society," and expressed the opinion that great inconvenience and possible injury might result from the use of a title so nearly like that which was given to this Society more than a hundred years ago. After remarks by the PRESIDENT, Dr. SAMUEL A. GREEN, Rev. Dr. ANDREW P. PEABODY, and Mr. HAMILTON A. HILL, it was unanimously

Voted, That the Council be authorized to take such means as they shall think expedient to secure a change in the corporate name of the new organization.

Communications having been called for, Mr. R. C. WINTHROP, Jr., said:—

Those of us who are at all familiar with the published letters of Mrs. John Adams during the Revolutionary period will remember one written to her husband in Philadelphia the day but one before the battle of Bunker Hill, in which she mentions having paid a visit to James Bowdoin, who was then temporarily residing in Braintree in a very weak state of health, adding that, on her alluding to Governor Hutchinson, Bowdoin, in spite of a racking cough, broke out with the exclamation, "Religious rascal, how I abhor his name!" Since the last meeting I have been fortunate enough to discover, and am about to read to the Society, an unpublished letter from Mrs. Adams, writ-

¹ Probably Col. Timothy Pickering.

ten the day after the one I have just described, and communicating to Bowdoin, at his earnest desire, the latest news from the Continental Congress. Everything from the pen of Abigail Adams possesses interest; and this particular letter exhibits in how pre-eminent a degree she possessed the art, — rare indeed among the women of her day, and in some danger, I fear, of becoming extinct among the women of our own, — the art of putting facts on paper with accuracy and conciseness. By collating it with the published correspondence of her husband, it appears that she undertook to tell Bowdoin the news contained in John Adams's letters of May 26 and May 29, which reached her together; and she does so briefly, without omitting an item of importance, and yet without wasting a line.

To the Hon^{ble} James Bowdoin, Esq., in Braintree.

BRAINTREE, June 16th 1775.

SIR, — I have the pleasure of acquainting you that I last evening received letters from M^r Adams, wherein he informs me that the Congress are determined to support the Massachusetts, that there is a good spirit among them, & that they have an amazing field of business before them, — that it is extensive, complicated and hazardous, but their unanimity is as great as before; that they have a number of new and ingenious members; that the military spirit which runs thro' the continent is truly amazing; the city of Philadelphia turns out 2000 men every day. M^r Dickinson is a Col^l, M^r Reed a Lt Col^l, M^r Mifflin a Major.

The bearer of one of the letters, M^r Hall, is a Maryland gentleman accompanied by his brother, gentlemen of independant fortunes, y^e one a lawyer, the other a physician, and of one of the best families in Maryland, and are come 500 miles as volunteers to the camp, where they intend to spend the season.

Please, Sir, to accept my most respectful regards to M^r Bowdoin, and ardent wishes for the restoration of your health from

Your humble servant,

ABIGAIL ADAMS.

In the same packet I was equally fortunate in discovering, and am about to read, an unpublished letter written to Bowdoin only a few days later by Thomas Cushing, for many years Speaker of the Massachusetts House of Representatives and then a delegate to the Continental Congress.

To the Hon^{ble} James Bowdoin, Esq^r, in Massachusetts Bay. To the care of M^r William Cooper, at Cambridge.

PHILADELPHIA, June 21, 1775.

DEAR SIR, — You will doubtless have been informed that the Congress have unanimously appointed George Washington, Esq^r, General & Commander in Chief of the American Forces. I beg leave to recommend him to your respectful notice. He is a compleat gentleman. He is sensible, amiable, virtuous, modest & brave. I promise myself that your acquaintance with him will afford you great pleasure, and I doubt not his agreeable behaviour & good conduct will give great satisfaction to our people of all denominations.

General Lee accompanies him as Major-General. I hope his appointment will be agreeable to our people & that he will be received with all due respect. I am, with great regard,

Your most humble serv^t,

THOMAS CUSHING.

The Hon^{ble} JAMES BOWDOIN, Esq^r

I am fully sensible how careful we ought to be, in exhuming what appears to be new material, to make sure it has not been printed somewhere in the remote past. When I last read a letter in this room, — it was not a Revolutionary, but an early Colonial one, — Judge Chamberlain darkly intimated that it had a familiar sound, and inquired whether I was quite sure it was new. I believe I convinced the Judge that his suspicions were unfounded; but I am prepared to have him, or some one else, make the same suggestion with regard to this letter of Thomas Cushing, because there is a certain sameness about several of the contemporary tributes to Washington. All I can say is that, after careful search, I have failed to find this one in print, and I do not believe any other copy of it exists. The packet from which I took it bore the pencilled indorsement of a former member of this Society, an elder brother of my father's who died as far back as 1833, having previously assumed the name of Bowdoin on inheriting a part of the property and many of the papers of that family. Before his health failed he had undertaken to sort and arrange a large amount of historical material belonging partly to himself and partly to his father; but he died leaving these manuscripts in great confusion. By some unaccountable mistake portions of them found their way to the bot-

tom of a large chest used by my grandfather as a receptacle for receipted bills, old cash-books, obsolete conveyances, and probate accounts of the various estates administered by him in earlier life. At the time of his death, in 1841, my father was serving in Congress, and found it impossible to absent himself from Washington for any length of time. It was not till many months afterward that he was able to make any thorough examination of his father's papers; and as ill-luck would have it, he never saw or heard of this chest, which, on account of its being cumbersome and supposed to contain nothing of value, had been stored in a loft, where it gradually became forgotten. About six weeks ago it came to light, covered with the dust of more than half a century, and I have since devoted much time to a cursory examination of its contents, four fifths of which are wholly valueless, but the remaining fifth includes family letters of the Revolutionary period; political correspondence and State papers of Governor Bowdoin; political correspondence of Bowdoin's son-in-law, Sir John Temple; diplomatic correspondence of the younger James Bowdoin, who was Associate Minister to France in the early years of the reign of the first Napoleon; and a variety of printed matter of different degrees of antiquity and interest. It remains to be seen how far this discovery will prove of historical importance; as, with the exception of the two letters I have just read and a few others, I have found time only to identify signatures. It may turn out that Adams, Jefferson, Madison, and others of the writers kept copies of their letters to Bowdoin, and that some of these copies figure in their published writings. The only letter I have found from Patrick Henry is interesting only as an autograph, and it is more than likely that this will prove to be the case with those of other personages. But even with these deductions, I am reasonably confident that I have disinterred a not inconsiderable amount of new material, the greater part of which I shall hereafter place at the service of the Society. I only regret that the discovery was not made earlier, as it would have been a labor of love to my father to have edited these papers together with the other Bowdoin and Temple letters which he from time to time communicated to us during his long Presidency. For instance, more than thirty years ago he contributed to our Proceedings a correspondence between

Governor Bowdoin and Gov. Thomas Pownall, and I now find several letters from Pownall which must originally have formed part of the same bundle. In like manner he contributed, at different periods, letters from Arthur St. Clair, Samuel Dexter, Rufus King, William Gordon, and George Grenville, from all five of whom I now find additional ones. The correspondence of Washington and Franklin with Bowdoin was long ago printed by our associate, Mr. Sparks, from originals lent him by my grandfather; but I have stumbled on a scrap of paper, in the unmistakable handwriting of Franklin, indorsed by Bowdoin, "Dr Franklin's rec^d to make milk punch." This can hardly be considered a historical document, and I do not venture to communicate it; but when our revered President is engaged, a few months hence, in hospitable preparations for the Annual Meeting, if it should occur to him to treat the Society to a bowl of punch brewed after the formula of Franklin, this recipe will be heartily at his service.

I had intended that this communication (which I wrote last evening) should stop here; but a few hours ago I accidentally came across a letter of John Hancock previously overlooked, for which the library of Harvard University seems to me a more appropriate place of deposit than that of this Society, and I will therefore read it here before I send it thither. It is indorsed by Bowdoin, "Mr Hancock's letter about the College," and is apparently in answer to an invitation to the Commencement exercises of 1785. Hancock not merely declines to be present, but indulges in some unfriendly language about the government of the College in which another Governor of Massachusetts, much more recently deceased, would have cordially concurred.

DORCHESTER, July 18th 1785.

SIR, — I feel myself much honor'd by the notice your Excellency was pleas'd to express in your written message, which I this afternoon rec'd, and it would afford me much pleasure & satisfaction to have it in my power to attend you, & at the same time gratify my own wishes; but the treatment I met at the Overseers' Meeting two years past, which prevented me the last year, tho' then in office, from attending, operates more forcibly now in a private station, & must plead my excuse, as I cannot with any propriety, or consistent with my present feelings, give my presence where I am convinc'd it is disagreeable.

I must beg that the Governor will not impute my absence to any other motive than the indignity I rec'd when in office; & which had the sanction (at least tacitly) of the whole Board of Overseers.

I have the honor to be, with sentiments of respect,

Your Excellency's most obed^t hum. serv^t,

JOHN HANCOCK.

His Excellency GOVERNOR BOWDOIN.

The indignity here complained of appears to have been the reading aloud in an Overseers' Meeting, in February, 1783, at which Hancock was presiding, of a Report of a Committee calling attention to the fact that his accounts as Treasurer were still unsettled. One of the most entertaining chapters of President Quincy's History is devoted to the protracted unpleasantness between Hancock and the College. So far back as 1773 his wealth and influence induced the Corporation, in an evil hour, to choose him Treasurer; but finding that he would neither do any work nor render any accounts, they vainly endeavored to persuade him to resign in 1775, and were constrained to eject him from office in 1777. In 1778, however, they invited him to sit for his portrait, in 1779 they threatened him with a lawsuit for not producing his books, and in 1780 they presented him with a congratulatory address on being elected Governor. Neither compliments nor threats produced the slightest effect upon his indolence or obstinacy. He fully realized that a majority of the Overseers would hesitate to sue the leader of the popular party; and though, in 1785, he formally admitted that he owed the College nearly eleven hundred pounds, yet he died eight years later without having paid a dollar of it. The debt was ultimately extorted from his heirs, but their refusal of compound interest entailed a considerable loss. Perhaps the least agreeable episode in the long career of the University is its deliberate bestowal for political reasons, in 1792, of its highest honor, the degree of Doctor of Laws, upon a defaulting Treasurer.

Mr. WILLIAM P. UPHAM then said:—

In volume 68 of the Massachusetts Archives, at the Office of the Secretary of State, manuscript No. 36 is in short-hand. I have with considerable difficulty deciphered it, and find it to be the instructions issued to Capt. Daniel Henchman by the

Governor and Council, May 28, 1676. During the winter and spring of 1675-6 HENCHMAN was placed in chief command of the forces raised against the Indians. (Mass. Rec., vol. v. pp. 69, 87, 92.) The following account of him is in the "Memorial History of Boston," vol. i. p. 317:—

"Daniel HENCHMAN first appears in our local history as the assistant teacher in the Latin School, then under the charge of Robert Woodmansey. In 1669 he was appointed on the committee for the survey of a new plantation, and from the history of Worcester it appears that he was one of the most important persons in laying out and settling that town. He died there in the year 1685. He was a connection of Judge Sewall, and there was in Sewall's house a room called by his name. Everything in his letters shows that he was a good soldier and a prompt executive man, and he was, perhaps, the most prominent representative of Boston as the war goes on. Like other commanders he was often blamed. Doubtless he made mistakes like other men. But there is a manliness in his treatment of the Christian Indians which conciliates respect."

The paper which precedes this in the Archives is a letter of instructions to HENCHMAN of an entirely different nature. At the foot of it is the statement by Secretary Rawson as follows: "These signify nothing: y^e originall copie of Instructions being in character & fairely transcribed & dd."

The letter of instructions, of which the following is an exact rendering, is evidently a rough draught, having many words cancelled and many interlineations. I have indicated the end of each line in the original by an upright line. Doubtful words are enclosed within brackets; words cancelled in the original within brackets and stars; and words interlined in the original within upright double lines. The only parts of the original manuscript not in short-hand are the figures of the date, and the letters "J. L. G." at the end, undoubtedly the initials of John Leverett, Governor.

Instructions for Capt. Dan. HENCHMAN commander in chiefe of the forces raised for this expedition

Whereas you are appointed and commissioned commander in chiefe for the service of the Colony of the Massachusetts in New England | against the common enemy of the United Colonies [*and although we*] having had good experience of your conduct and hope | by the

blessing of God upon you we may have further you being [kept up] to have your dependence upon the Lord of | Hosts || and however we must leave much to your prudence and all to the wise [direction] of the Sovereigne Lord || yet for your future management of yourselfe in this affaire and [trust] as we commend you to the grace wisdom and power of that | Lord so we give unto you this following instruction for your [*help therein*] || furtherance and help therein || | You are carefully to see that the name of the Lord be acknowledged in the camp by daily prayers and that the minister | sent out with you be encouraged in his worke as in praying with so instructing the souldiery as | you may have opportunity daily especially that the Sabbath be duly sanctified and observed as much as may be | You are to see that all profaneness be suppressed in your inferior commanders officers and soldiers | You are to see that all your commanders officers and soldiers do attend diligently the duty of theyr | several places || the commanders and officers || by instructing theyr [inferiors] in the use of theyr arms and keeping them in order and others by obedience | You are to give order that all stores and provisions be secured and [not wasted] and in case of any | transgression therein that there be due punishment according to the laws martial and martial discipline | and that none may plead ignorance you are to order and see that the laws martial be duly | published and declared and upon just cause executed | In all momentous matters you are to consult and advise with your council || how best to [effect] orders you receive [not to dispute them] || who are to consist of | the commanders of your companies and your minister your selfe being president | You are to endeavor the best you can to obtain intelligence of the enemies situation and motions and them | to pursue subdue and destroy to your utmost whether at Wachuset or other place | or places | Upon your march to or towards Connecticut river you are to endeavor to get intelligence | of the forces of Connecticut our confederates and to give them intelligence of your situation and motion | that you may come to the speediest and most convenient combination that may be that if possible | you may fall upon the enemy on both sides of the river | You are to carry it with all peaceable correspondency with our neighbors and confederates of Connecticut | In your marches you are to labor to avoid the danger of [ambushments] in order thereunto | as you may reserve the nights for march and days for rest || and in times of doubt be sure to keep guard || and be cautious of even marching | your men or having marched hard [they are] to have some rest before you engage if possible | You are to endeavor to engage the enemy about breake of day in their quarters if possible | You are to improve those forces that are at the upper townes if occasion be for your | strengthening [and] the better enabling you to vanquish the enemy | In case God shall please to [so aid] you that the enemy should desire

peace you shall encourage | them thereto they yielding up the principal instigators to this war as Philip | [Metacomet] the Quaboag sachems and Hadley Northhampton and Springfield sachems whose | perfidious carriage is not to be forgotten nor compensate with but by theyr lives |

You are from time to time to give us speedy intelligence of your actions and God's [dispensation] | toward us by you as also of what meet supply may be wanting to you and you are to attend all orders | you shall receive from the major general governor and council or general court Given at Boston 28 May 1676 | by the Governor and Council

J. L. G.

Mr. JUSTIN WINSOR read the following communication : —

The Anticipations of Cartier's Voyages, 1492-1534.

It was not long after the discovery of Columbus before it became evident to some, at least, that he had not found any part of the world neighboring to Cathay, however remotely connected with the Orient of Marco Polo the new regions might prove to be. After the return of Columbus in 1493, it is apparent that Peter Martyr hesitated to believe that Asia had been reached. It was quite clear on his second voyage that Columbus himself felt uncertain of his proximity to Asia, when, to preserve his credit with the Spanish sovereigns, he forced his companions, against the will of more than half of them, and on penalty of personal violence if they recanted, to make oath that Cuba was an Asiatic peninsula. He even took steps later to prevent one of the recalcitrant victims going back to Spain, for fear such representations would unsettle the royal faith in their having reached the fabled Orient. When the pilot, Juan de la Cosa, who was one of those forced to perjure themselves, found himself free to make Cuba an island in his map of 1500, the fact that he put no Asiatic names on the coast of a continent west of Cuba has been held to show that the doubt of its being Asia had already possessed his mind. The makers of the Cantino and Canerio maps, in 1502 and 1503 respectively, in putting in a coast for Asia distinct from this continent which La Cosa had delineated, establishes the point that as early as the first years of the sixteenth century the cartographers whose works have come down to us had satisfied themselves that areas of land of continental

proportions had blocked farther progress to the west. The geographical question then uppermost was thus reduced to this: Was this barrier a new continent, or had the islands which it was supposed would be found in the path to Asia proved to be larger than was imagined? It was Columbus's purpose in his fourth voyage to find an opening in this barrier through which to reach the territories of the Asiatic potentates and continue the circumnavigation of the earth. It may, then, well be questioned if the statement ordinarily made, that Columbus in 1506 died in ignorance of the true geographical conditions pertaining to a new continent, is true, whatever may have been his profession in the matter. There is, as we have seen, good ground for the belief that he did not mean the Spanish sovereigns to be awakened from a delusion in which he deemed it for his interests that they should remain.

When Balboa, twenty years after Columbus's discovery, made it more palpable that south of the Isthmus of Panama there was a substantial barrier to western progress, and when ten years later Magellan pierced this southern barrier at its Antarctic extremity, it still remained a problem to find out the true character of the northern barrier to western progress, and to find a place to enter the land along a northern parallel far enough to reach the historic India.

There were two waterways by which this northern land could have been explored far inland; but for forty years after the landfall of Columbus, it is not safe to affirm positively that any one had attempted to follow their channels. A local pride among the rugged sea-folk of the north of France has nevertheless presented claims for our consideration that one at least of these passages had been tried at different times early in the sixteenth century. Similar claims have been made for Portuguese mariners a little later, and before the attempt of Cartier. Hakluyt even mentions that the English had known at this early date something of this St. Lawrence region; but it is safe to say that no such record is known to-day. These great waterways lay within the two great valleys of the yet uncomprehended continent of the north, — the Mississippi and the St. Lawrence, — which at the west were so closely connected that the early explorers of the great lakes passed during the spring freshets in their canoes from one to the other, by

that route which enables the modern Chicago to discharge its sewage into the Gulf of Mexico instead of the Gulf of St. Lawrence.

The striking experiences of the Spaniards at the south served to draw their attention from a due examination of the northern shores of the Gulf of Mexico; so that Pineda in 1519, in finding a great river flowing from the north, which we now identify with the Mississippi, was not prompted to enter it in search of gold. This metal was not associated in their minds with such low regions as this river apparently drained; and the white and turbid flow of its waters well out into the gulf, as La Salle later noticed, seems to have raised no conception of the vast area of its tributary watershed. Almost two centuries were to pass before its channel was to be fairly recognized as a great continental waterway; and then the explorations which divulged its extent were from the north and down the stream.

The voyages of the Cabots and the Cortereals had been the outcome of a national rivalry which had sought for England and Portugal some advantage in the north to counterbalance that of Spain in the south. It will be remembered that the line of demarcation moved westerly by the treaty of Tordesillas, had thrown, it was supposed, these northern regions beyond the reach of Spanish rights. Whether the Cabots had discovered at the north a gulf to correspond with the Mexican gulf at the south, and had found an expanse of water which had already coursed another great continental valley, and by which it was practicable to go a long distance towards the west, must probably remain uncertain. Investigation in critical hands has produced a divided opinion. Just what the Portuguese, who soon followed the English into these waters, did, is also not quite certain; and though it can hardly be proved that the Cortereals entered the great northern gulf, it seems to be evident from a Portuguese portolano of 1504, which Kunstmann has reproduced, that at this time they had not developed the entrances to this gulf north and west of Newfoundland; while it is clear by the Reinel chart of 1505, that they had discovered but had not penetrated these passages.

The student in Europe who curiously watched the progress of geographical development beyond the sea during the six-

teenth century naturally followed the revelations in the successive editions of the "Geographia" of Ptolemy, with the new maps of recent progress made to supplement those long familiar as pertaining to the Old World. The man who made the map for the Roman Ptolemy of 1507-8 is believed to have been a companion of Cabot in these northern voyages; and this work of Johann Ruysch is the earliest engraved map which we have showing the new discoveries. This map is interesting as making more apparent than La Cosa, seven or eight years before, had done, that these new discoveries might have been in part along the coast of Asia, but not altogether so. There is no sign in it of the landlocked region where now we place the Gulf of Mexico; and in this respect it is a strong disproof of the alleged voyage of Vesputius in 1497; but it does give the beginning of a continental area, which was soon to develop, adjacent to the West Indies, into what we call North America. But at the north Ruysch places the discoveries of the English and Portuguese unmistakably on the upper Asiatic coast; and while he does not dis sever Newfoundland from the mainland, he goes some way towards doing it.

So we may say that in 1507, one working in Rome with the available material which had been gathered from the Atlantic seaports, had not yet reached a conception of this great watery portal of a continent which lies back of Newfoundland. Whether there might not have been knowledge of this great gulf in some of the seaports of northern and western France may indeed admit of doubt; and perhaps some day a dated chart may reveal the fact. We need not confidently trust the professions of Michel and other advocates of the Basques, and believe that a century before Cabot their hardy fishermen had discovered the banks of Newfoundland, and had even penetrated into the bays and inlets of the adjacent coasts. There seems, however, little doubt that very early in the sixteenth century fishing equipments for these regions were made by the Normans, as Bréard chronicles them in his "*Documents relatifs à la Normand.*"

In the very year when the Ruysch map became known in Europe (1508), it is claimed by Desmarquets and other Dieppese, solicitous for the credit of their seaport, that Thomas Aubert went eighty leagues up the St. Lawrence River. If this be true, the great northern portal was entered then for

the first time, so far as we have any record. We learn from Charlevoix — too late an authority to be assuring — that Jean Denys had made a chart of the west shore of the Gulf two years earlier (1506); but the evidence to prove it is wanting. This map is said to have been formerly preserved in the Paris Archives, but is not found there or elsewhere at this day. What passes for a copy of it, treasured at Ottawa, shows names of a palpably later period. If the original could be discovered, it might be found possibly that this nomenclature had been added by a more recent hand. There does not seem to be anything in the configuration of its shore lines that might not have been achieved in 1506 by an active navigator. If the outline freed from the names is genuine, it would show that there had thus early been explorations to the west of Newfoundland, which might account for the otherwise surprising delineation of the "Golfo Quadrado," or Square Gulf, which appeared on the mappemonde of Sylvanus in his edition of Ptolemy in 1511. This represents in mid-ocean in the north Atlantic a large island, little resembling Newfoundland, however, with a landlocked gulf to the west of it, shut in by a coast which in the north and south parts bends so as nearly to touch the island. That it is intended for Newfoundland and the neighboring parts admits of no question; for the strange interior coast is considered to be the region of the Cortereal discoveries, since there is upon it a Latinized rendering of that name, *Regalis Domus*. Some explorations developing such a gulf, whether Denys's or those of others, must have already taken place, then, before 1511. After this date, for a score of years and more, this landlocked water absolutely disappears from all the maps which have come down to us, — nothing remaining but indications of its entrances by the Straits of Belle Isle and by the southern passage.

France was now to find rivalry in these waters in the renewed efforts of the Portuguese. The French had established a fishing-station in Bradore Bay, just within the Straits of Belle Isle, which they called Brest. This was early in the century; but its precise date is difficult to determine. Showing some of the activity of the Portuguese, we have a chart of that people, of not far from 1520, which indicates that they had looked within the gulf both at the north and at the south, but not far enough to discover its open and extensive channels.

If we are to believe the interpretation which some have put upon a voyage ascribed to João Alvarez Fagundes at this time, the Portuguese had attained far more knowledge of this inner gulf than this anonymous chart indicates. Indeed, a map, made in 1563 by Lazaro Luis, has been put forward as indicating just what Fagundes had done; and this clearly gives him the credit of unveiling the hydrography of the Gulf, so that his results might be considered to exceed in accuracy those of Cartier in his first voyage. This map of Luis makes the shores of the gulf complete, except a portion of the inner coast of Newfoundland, and even gives the St. Lawrence River for a long distance from its mouth. Being made forty years and more after Fagundes, the draughtsman had the temptation to embody later results; and the map naturally starts the question if this posterior knowledge was embodied in it or not. Since Bettencourt in his "*Descobrimentos dos Portuguezes*" brought forward this map, in 1881-82, its pretensions in this respect have been studied, and often questioned; but Dr. Patterson, a recent Nova Scotian writer, has advocated its claims; and Harris in his last book, "*The Discovery of North America*," has committed himself to a belief in the Fagundes explorations, which he had before treated as very questionable. The unquestioned facts are these: Ancient documents mention the voyage as being for the purpose of establishing a fishing-station. The Portuguese king had also promised Fagundes control by patent of the regions which in this tentative voyage he should discover. On Fagundes's return he reported what he had found; and in accordance with his report, his king, March 13, 1521, granted to him these lands, supposed to be a new discovery. This patent describes them, presumably in accordance with Fagundes's report; and it is this description, taken in conjunction with the Luis map, which must enable us to say where Fagundes had been.

The language of the patent, not as clear as we might wish, says that the coast which he had found lay north of those known to the Spaniards and south of that visited by Cortereal, which would put it between Newfoundland and perhaps the Chesapeake, or possibly a region a little farther north than the Chesapeake. The assigned country includes, as the patent says, the Bay of Auguada, which contains three islands; a stretch of coast where are other islands, which he had named

St. John, St. Peter, St. Ann, St. Anthony, and an archipelago, also named by him the Eleven Thousand Virgins; an island "close to the bank," which he called Santa Cruz, and a second island called St. Ann. The patent closes with granting all these islands and lands to their discoverer.

On a coast so crowded with islands and bays as that of Maine and New Brunswick, — apparently the "firm land" of the description, — we need more details than the patent gives us to determine beyond dispute the geographical correspondences of these names. The inscription "Lavrador q̄ descobrio Joaom Alvarez [Fagundes]" is on the Luis map, placed on the peninsula formed by the St. Lawrence Gulf and the Atlantic. This, in the opinion of Harris, requires the Baya d' Auguada, which is described as having a northeast and southwest extension, to be none other than the St. Lawrence Gulf. That writer is convinced that the bay was named the Watering Bay, because Fagundes must have gone through it to the outlet of its great river to fill his water-casks. He also allows that the three islands of this bay may possibly have been Prince Edward, Anticosti, and Orleans; since these islands in the Luis map are all colored yellow, like a Portuguese escutcheon placed on the map. This, however, would have carried Fagundes up the St. Lawrence River farther than he is inclined to believe; and he would rather substitute for the island of Orleans the Magdalen group or some peninsula of the gulf mistaken for an island. Harris also applies rather neatly what may be termed the "liturgical" test in respect to all the names mentioned in the patent; and he finds that the corresponding saints' days in the Roman calendar run from June 21 to October 21. This would seem to indicate that it was in the summer and autumn, probably in 1520, when these names were applied, in accordance with a habit, common with explorers in those days, of naming landmarks after the saint on whose day they were discovered. Another proof of the voyage, also worked out by the same writer, is that names which appear on no map antedating this patent are later found for this coast on the maps known by the name of Maiollo (1527), Verrazano (1529), Viegas (1534), Harleian (1542), Cabot (1544), Freire (1546), and Descelliers (1550).

This is the nature of the evidence which makes Harris give a map, tracking the progress of Fagundes from the time

he passed near the islands of St. Pierre and Miquelon. By this it would appear that he coasted north the west shore of Newfoundland, and at the Straits of Belle Isle turned and followed the Labrador coast well within the St. Lawrence River, and then returning, skirted the New Brunswick coast, that of Prince Edward's Island, Cape Breton, and Nova Scotia to the entrance of the Bay of Fundy, where he bore away seaward, and returned to Portugal. Few, we suspect, will accept this route of Fagundes as proved. Most will be content to acknowledge the fact of an acquaintance with the gulf and its neighboring waters rather than such an extent of the acquaintance.

The advocates of these Portuguese anticipations of Cartier point to the melons and cucumbers which that navigator found among the natives of the gulf region as indicating that Europeans had left the seeds of such fruits among them. They also think that Cartier's own recitals leave the impression that the Indians of the St. Lawrence had before his advent become used to European contact. It is known, however, that the Indians of the interior had long been used to resort to the shores of the gulf and its vicinity during the summer season; and it is not unlikely that by this habit, as well as by a common custom of intertribal communication, the ways of Europeans were not unknown in the interior.

A belief in a comparatively short stretch of unknown sea separating the Azores from Cathay had been no small inducement to Columbus to make his hazardous voyage. Now that the land to the west had proved so far a barrier to a farther westward way, it was in turn no small inducement to those prompted to pierce this barrier to believe that the land which confronted them was even narrower than the ocean had been thought to be. Balboa had proved how narrow the land was at Panama, and Cortes had shown that it was not wide in Mexico. How wide was it farther north?

Columbus had suspected that South America was of continental extent, because of the great volume of water which the Orinoco poured into the Gulf of Paria. Ships when out of sight of land had filled their water-casks from the water poured out by the Amazon, which told of an immense inland drainage. None of the early navigators remarked upon any-

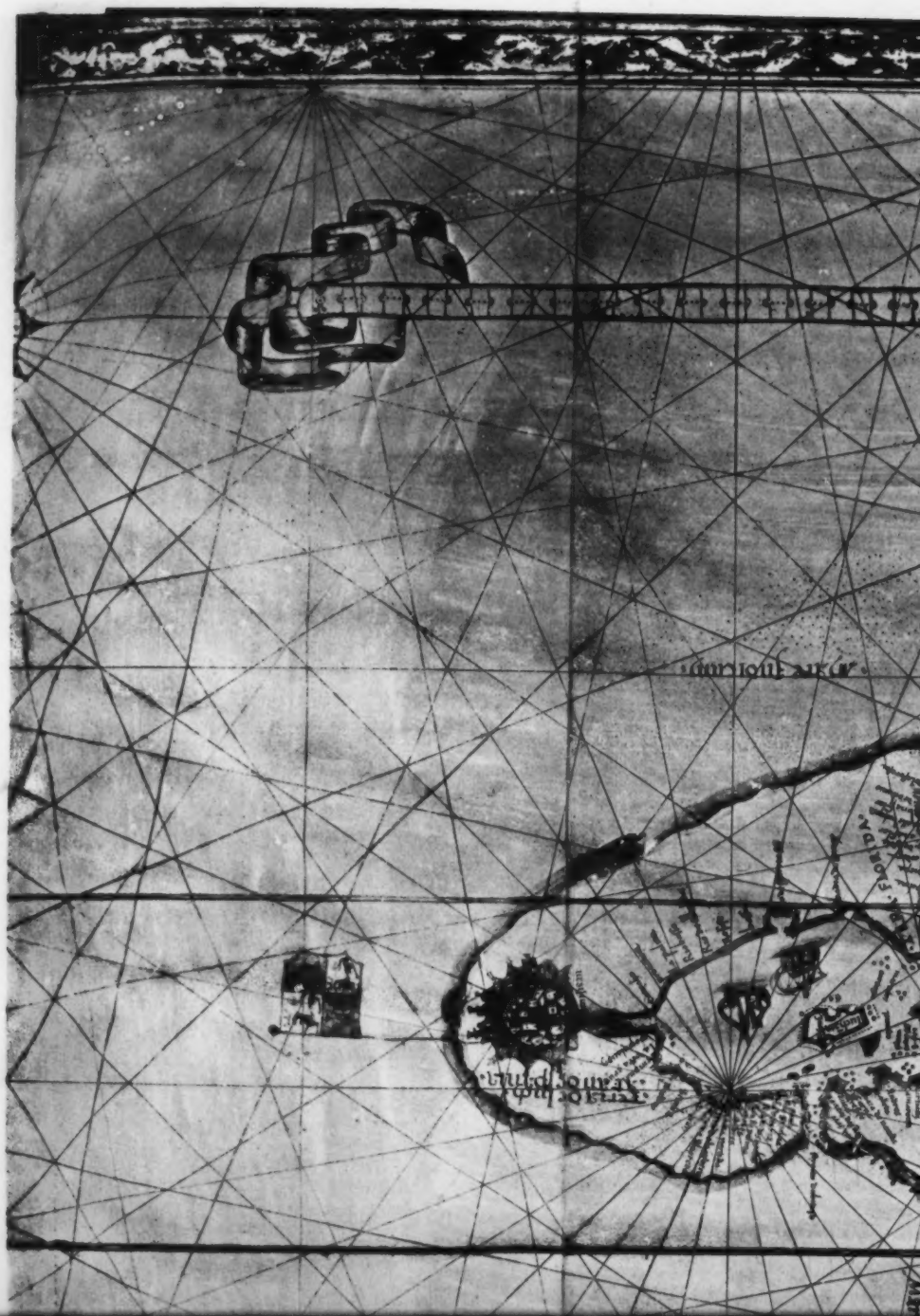
thing of the kind at the north. The flow of the Mississippi did not seem to impress them as indicating an enormous valley towards its source. The early maps given to portraying its supposed system of drainage represent it as very scant. On the eastern seaboard of the northern continent the Alleghany range rendered it impossible for any river to have a very large volume of water. It was only when one got as far north as the St. Lawrence Gulf, and even into its inner reaches, that evidence such as had been indicative on the coast of South America could have suggested a vast continental area at the north. Therefore, before this revelation was made in the St. Lawrence River, it is not strange that there were current views against the continental character of the region lying north of the Mexican gulf and west of the country discovered by Cabot and the Cortereals. Some would believe that it was no continent at all, but only an immense archipelago, filled with passages if they could only be found. Coppo had mapped it in this way in 1525. Others had followed Oviedo in supposing that the land at the north, at one place at least, was as narrow as it was at Panama; for this historian in 1526, in his "Sumario," had first given published indication of what was for many years following known as the Sea of Verrazano. This expanse of water was imagined to fill the space now known to be occupied by the two great valleys of the upper Mississippi and the great lakes; while its easternmost waves nearly broke through the land, to mingle its waters with the Atlantic somewhere along the eastern seaboard of the present United States.

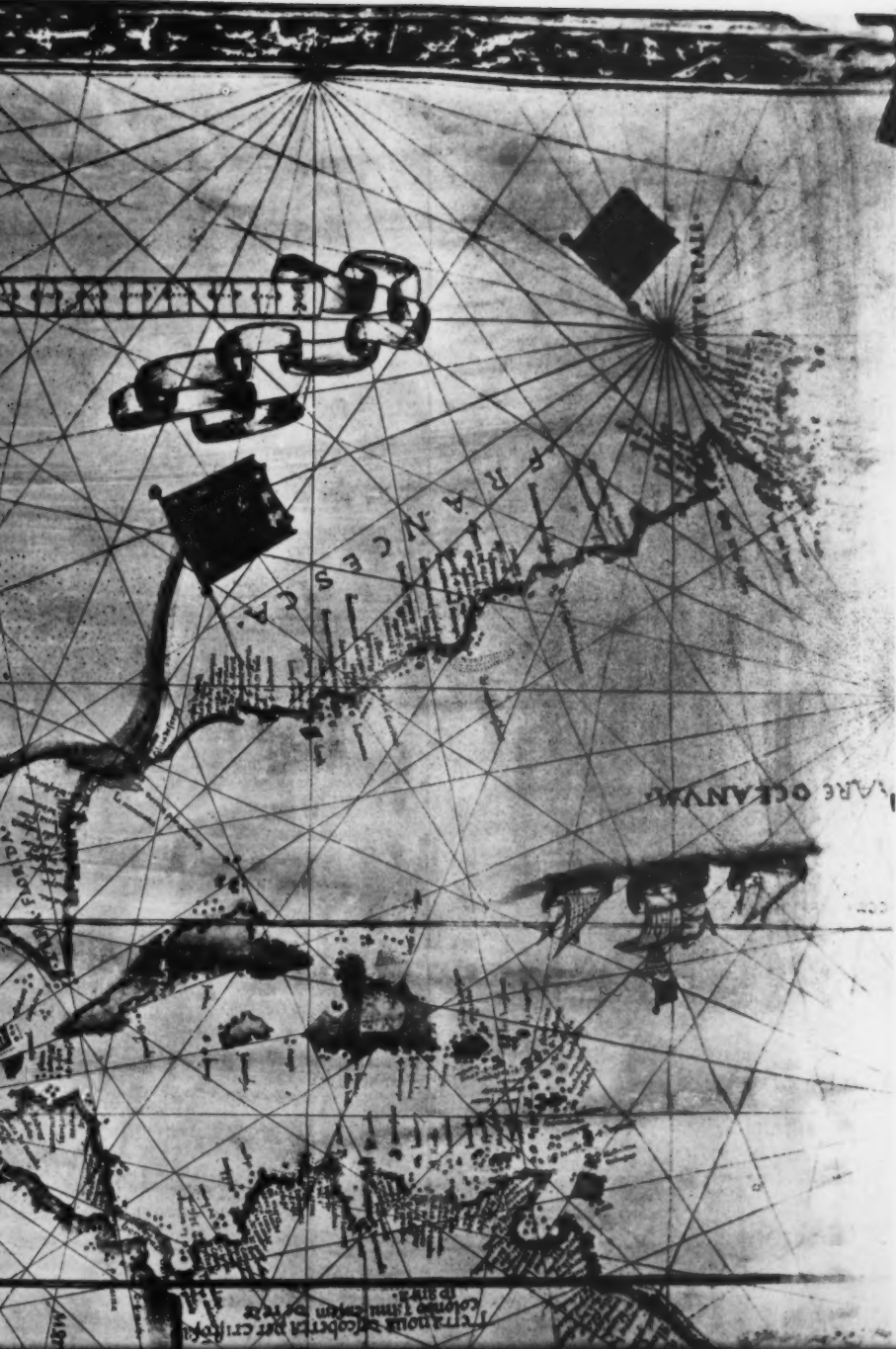
The supposition of this mysterious sea arose from an interpretation of Verrazano's experiences on the coast in 1524, which constitute the first decided and official manifestation of French activity in the new regions. This navigator is supposed to have become acquainted with the coast from Spanish Florida to the seaboard of Maine; and his explorations were held at different times to be the basis of the French claim to territory in the New World. Freville, in his "Mémoire" on the commerce of Rouen, prints a paper by Admiral Chabot, which shows that for a while it had been the intention of Francis I. to follow up this voyage of Verrazano. The political exigencies in which that French king found himself involved had caused delays; and his attention was not again seriously

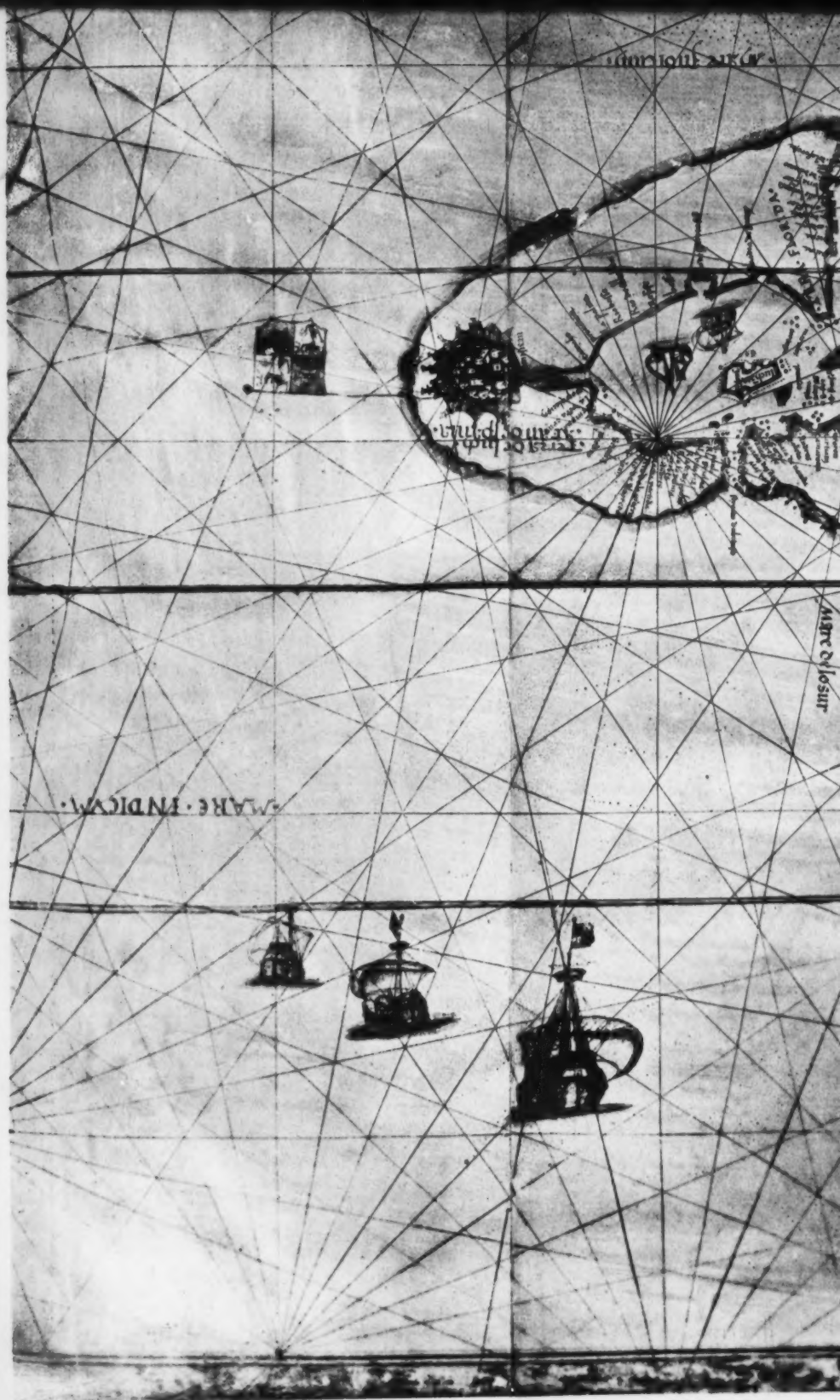
given to such efforts until he commissioned Cartier ten years later. During this decade Verrazano's notion of this sea beyond the barrier had become the belief of a school of geographers; and the believers in it found it not difficult to count the chances good of reaching it by a strait at some point along the Atlantic coast.

There have been two maps brought into prominence of late years, which reflect this belief. One is the map of Hieronimo da Verrazano, preserved in the College of the Propaganda at Rome, made not long after the voyage of that navigator by his brother. This chart shows this sea as a great watery wedge lying athwart the interior of the undeveloped North America, and pointing with its apex to a narrow strip of land somewhere in the latitude of Carolina. Indeed, one might suppose that the sailor brother of the cartographer had described to him a stretch of sea with an obscure distance, as he saw it above the dunes in the neighborhood of Cape Hatteras; while the cartographer himself had given his fancy play in extending it to the west. The other map has been brought within ten years to help elucidate this transient faith in such a western sea. This second chart had long been known in the Ambrosian Library at Milan as the work of the Visconte Maggiolo (Maiollo); but its full import had not been suspected, since it bore the apparent date of 1587. The Abbé Ceriani had discovered its true date to be 1527, and that somebody had changed, in sport or in mischief, the figure 2 into 8. Signor Desimoni, the archivist of Genoa and our Corresponding Member, who was at this time working on the Verrazano problem, happening in the library, was struck with the coast lines and legends on the map as being similar to those of the Propaganda map, with which he was familiar; and he first brought the Maggiolo map to the attention of students in 1882.

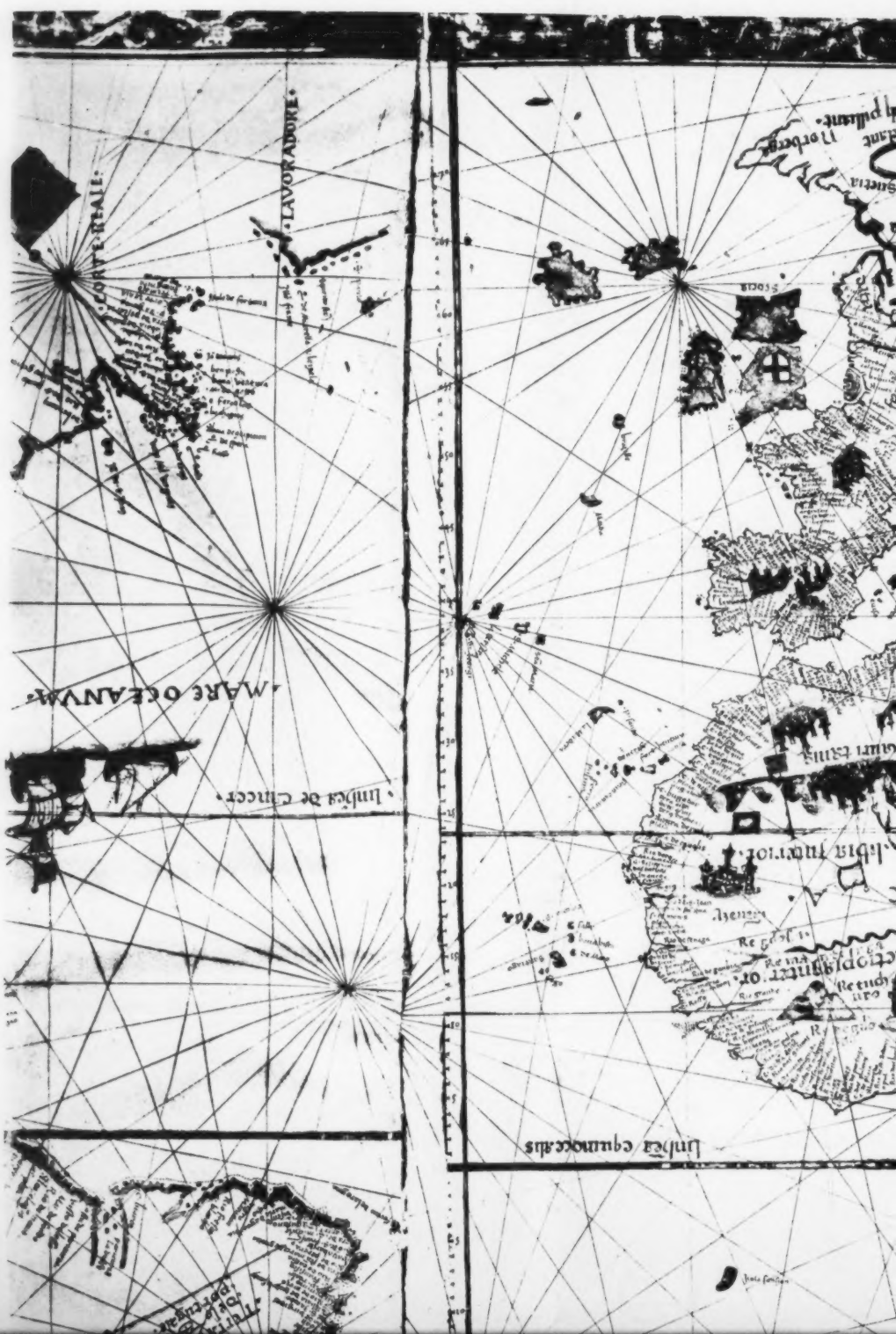
The Sea of Verrazano is much the same in the two maps, and their delineations of this oceanic delusion marked for a good many years yet to come a prevailing opinion as to the kind of goal the searchers for a western passage were striving to reach. The same sea is found in the well-known English map of Michael Lok, published by Hakluyt so late as 1582, — or nearly forty years after the close of the series of explorations which Cartier conducted.

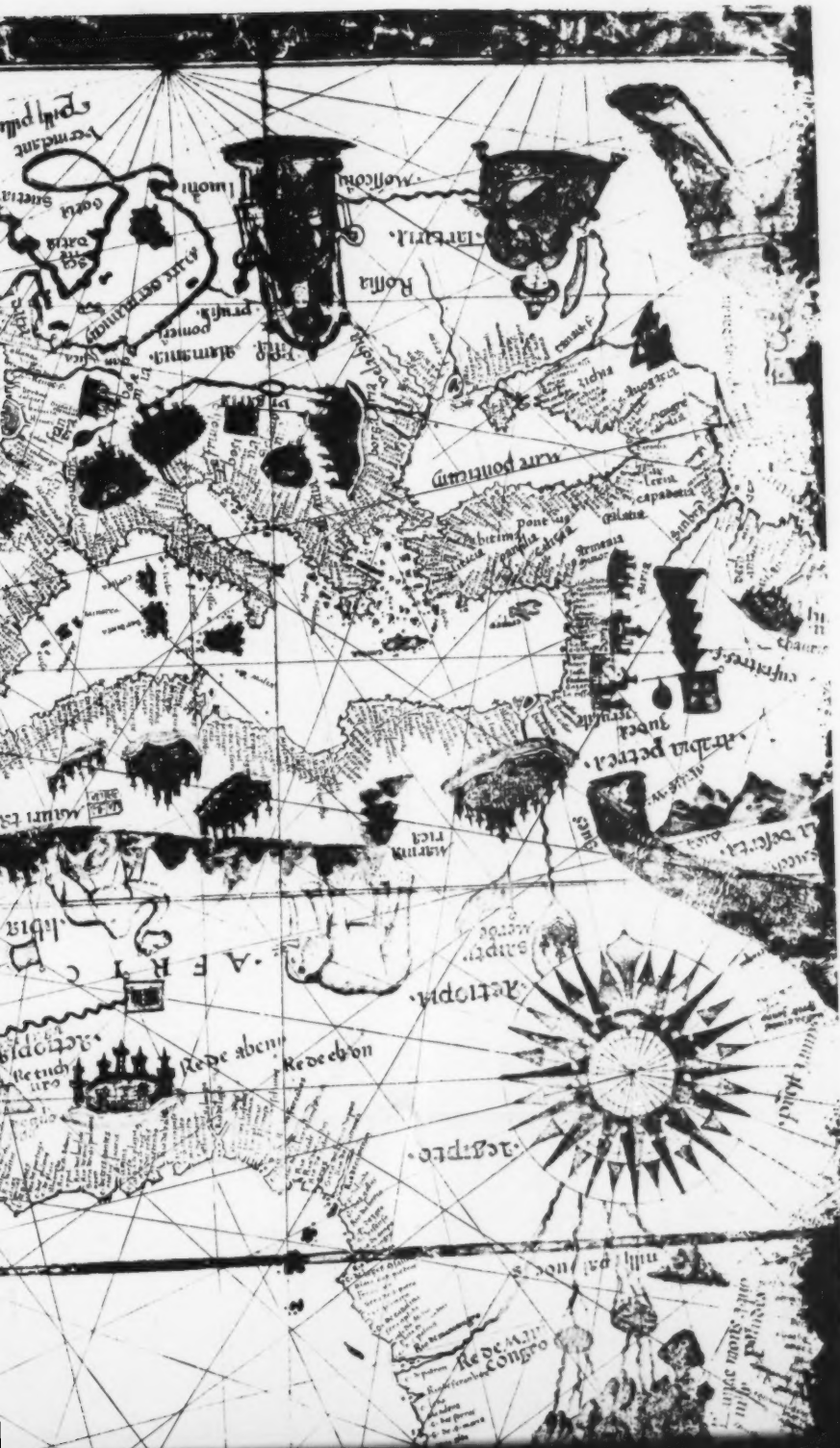


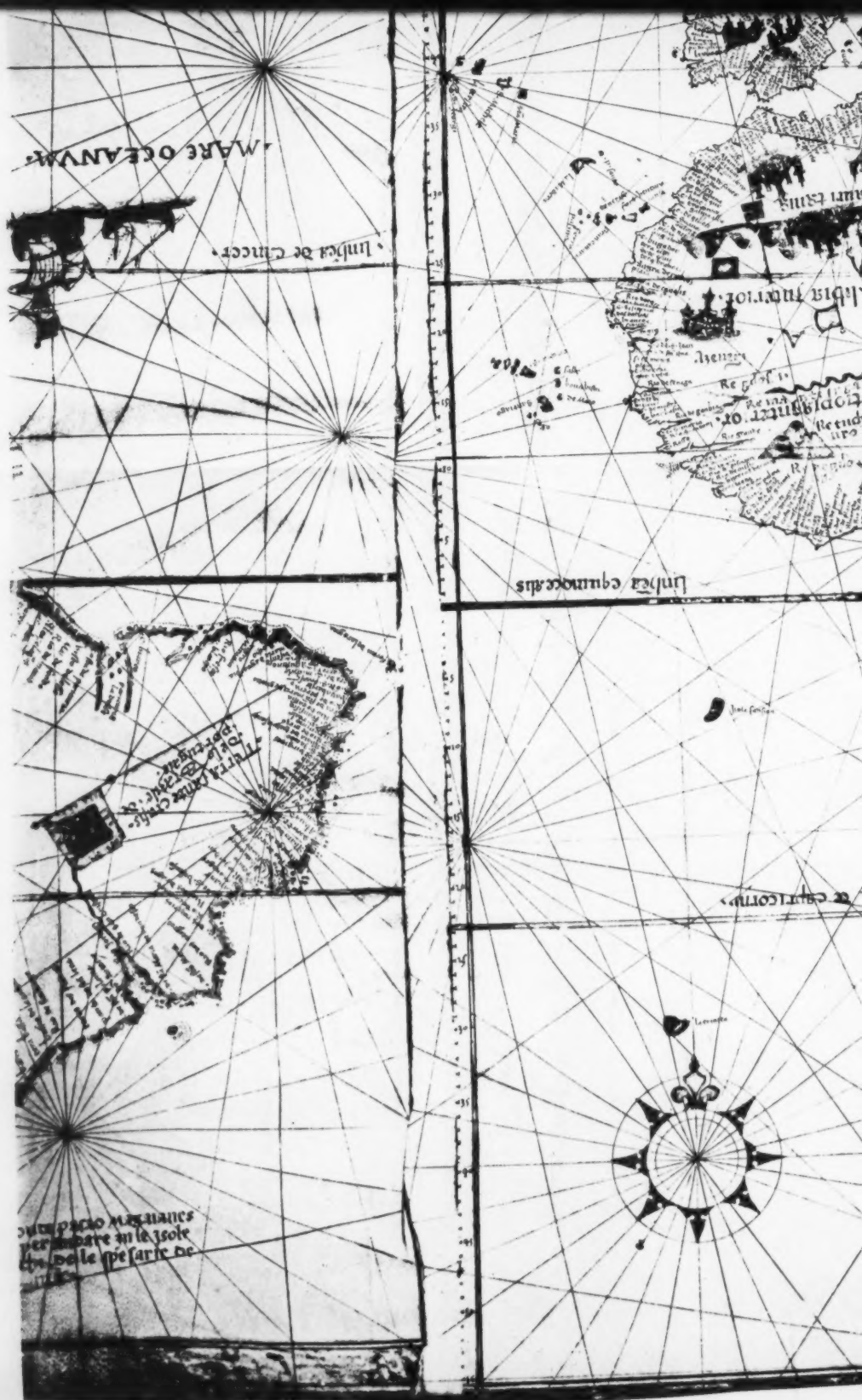




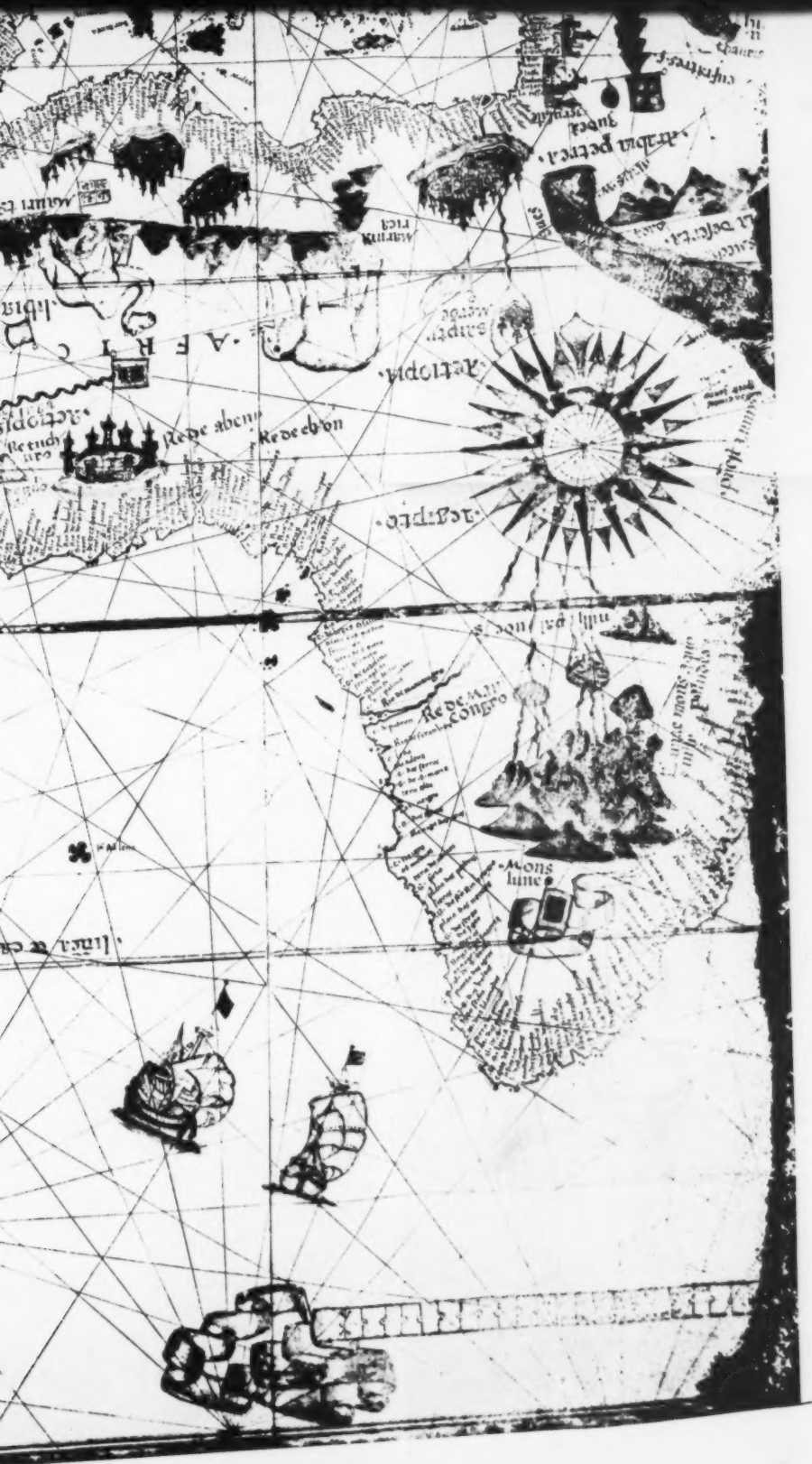
AMERICAN SECTIONS OF THE MAIO







AMERICAN SECTIONS OF THE MAIOL



MAIOLLO MAP, 1527. No. 2.

While it is probable that such geographical conditions as this Sea of Verrazano supplied were a considerable incentive to Francis I. to renew his interest in explorations, the problem was complicated by another view which an eminent German geographer had espoused, and which had already been engaging attention for some ten years. The conditions of political and social life which Cortes had found in Mexico had revived the old hope that Cathay had at last been found; and the reports of the conquerors which were sent to Europe, with all their exaggerations, were welcomed as far more nearly conforming to the descriptions of Marco Polo than anything which had been discovered among the West Indies or on the South American coasts. If the region, then, which Cortes had subdued was in truth Asia, the ocean which Magellan had crossed made an independent continent of South America only; while the northern spaces, instead of being an archipelago or a continental barrier, must be simply an eastern extension of Asia, and its coast must border on the north Atlantic.

It is known, from the text of a little geographical treatise (1533) which has survived, that Schöner, a famous globe-maker of Germany, had made a terrestrial sphere in 1523; but it has not probably come down to us. Some gores which were discovered a few years ago have been held by Henry Stevens and others to belong to this globe; but they delineate North America as a distinct continent, just as it was delineated in other globes by Schöner of an earlier date, which are well known. It is denied, however, by Nordenskiöld, that these gores can be of so early a date as 1523, and he places them more than twenty years later. HARRISSE has later still examined the claim, and contends that the gores cannot possibly be those by Schöner of this date, because it seems apparent from his treatise that the globe of 1523 must have been made in accordance with the theory of an Asiatic extension for North America. If this was so, — and HARRISSE's reasons are not without effect, — this theory of an Asiatic extension in North America is traced to Schöner as its originator, so far as is known. If it is a matter of contention as respects Schöner, it is certain as regards a little figure of a globe made by FRANCISCUS MONACHUS in 1526, which unmistakably represents North America as a part of Asia. This theory got a firm

advocate in Orontius Finæus in 1531, who, however, so far departed from the view held by Franciscus as to unite South America to the Northern continent by the Isthmus of Panama, while the other had substituted a strait in place of that connection. This theory was made prominent in so well known a treatise as the "Novus Orbis" of Grynæus, where the map of Orontius appeared; and at intervals through that century and into the next, other expressions of this view appeared in prominent maps.

If Cartier or his royal master had entertained the expectation of his expedition penetrating into the heart of northern Asia when it started for the gulf back of Newfoundland, it is altogether probable that its equipment would not have been undertaken. It is far more likely that the faith which the earlier expedition of Verrazano had developed in the narrowness of the northern continent prevailed at Paris and St. Malo when Cartier started on his fateful voyage.

NOTE.

The Maiollo, or Maggiolo, map was first brought to the attention of American scholars by the late Mr. James Carson Brevoort in the "Magazine of American History," February and July, 1882. Signor Desimoni first gave a sketch of the North American parts in the "Atti" of the Società Ligure di Storia Patria (Genoa, 1881), vol. xv.; and this was reprinted in Appendice iii. of the Studio Secondo of his "Giovanni Verrazano" (Genoa, 1881). The sketch here given was reproduced on a smaller scale by Mr. Winsor in the "Narrative and Critical History of America," vol. iv. p. 39 (1884); and this reduced reproduction was later used by Prof. E. N. Horsford in his "Discovery of America by the Northmen," and in his "John Cabot's Landfall." Mr. A. J. Weise, in his "Discoveries in America to 1525" (New York, 1884), gave a reproduction from the original of both Americas; and this afforded Mr. Winsor the outline which appears in the "Narrative and Critical History," vol. ii. p. 219. Meanwhile Dr. B. F. DeCosta, who had published his "Verrazano the Explorer" (New York, 1880) before Desimoni had brought the Maiollo map forward, caused a negative to be made of the original on four glasses, which showed the whole world. This negative he gave in January, 1892, to the library of Harvard College. The two glasses which show America have been used in the accompanying reproduction. Since De Costa's negatives were made, another of the American parts has been used by HARRISSE in the reproduction given in his "Discovery of North America" (London, 1892); and the North American parts have been delineated, but not in *fac-simile*, in the Atlas of Kretschmer's "Entdeckung Amerika's" (Berlin, 1892).

Dr. SAMUEL A. GREEN announced the death of a Corresponding Member, Sir John Bernard Burke, which took place in Dublin, Ireland, on the 18th day of December last. He was

a man of literary taste and scholarship, and the author of many works on heraldic, historical, and antiquarian subjects. In connection with his father, and alone since the father's death, he edited the "Peerage" which bears his name. The honorary degree of LL.D. was conferred upon him by the University of Dublin in the year 1862; and he was chosen a member of this Society on April 9, 1874.

FEBRUARY MEETING, 1893.

THE stated meeting was held on Thursday, the 9th instant, at three o'clock, P. M.; the President, Dr. GEORGE E. ELLIS, in the chair.

After the reading of the record of the last meeting and the list of donors to the Library during the month, Dr. S. A. GREEN said that he had received from the widow of the late Cabinet-keeper, Dr. F. E. Oliver, a silver watch, chain, and seals, once owned by Cotton Mather, and an original miniature of Increase Mather. These interesting relics had been sent to Dr. Oliver for presentation to the Society by Mrs. Elizabeth Anna Byles Ellis, of Burlington, New Jersey, a lineal descendant of Cotton Mather. In her letter Mrs. Ellis writes:

"The watch which I now send as a gift to your honorable Society was once owned by the Rev. Cotton Mather. It is the one carried by him among the Indians, who, hearing the ticking, were frightened and thought he carried the Devil in his pocket, and ran away from him. It has been handed down from one generation to another until it came into the hands of my father, who was Belcher Byles. With my two maiden sisters and myself, a childless widow, all well advanced in years, the direct line becomes extinct, and we wish this relic preserved. It would seem that Massachusetts, being the special field of their labors, and Boston the burial-place of the Mather family, is the place where such a relic would be prized and preserved."

The PRESIDENT then said:—

In the quiet and limited range of interests which engage us in this Society, we have our full share in the wide and deep sense of bereavement felt far beyond the bounds of this community and of our own country, in the death of our associate, Bishop Brooks. He was a man signally gifted, we may say inspired, because of the entire consecration of the rich and marvellous powers and qualities of his personality to the highest and most needful services to humanity. Pre-eminent was his devotion to those services, appreciated while he lived, fondly and touchingly recognized by the reverential love which wreathes his continued obsequies.

In the multiplied and incessant occupation of his time and powers devoted to his sacred office, he could find, to his often expressed regret, but scant opportunity for bodily presence here. Yet I speak with reasons when I say that there are few, if any, of our associates who feel more profoundly and tenderly than he felt the earnestness of the motive which prompted the intent and guides the activity of this Society. He drew his lineage from those who were earliest and most serviceable in the foundation of this Puritan Commonwealth, and his tributes to their purpose and virtues have been many and fervent. Indeed, a residuum and deposit from what was best in them, brought down through their generations, was the inheritance which flowered in the loftiness and grace of his expanded and catholic spirit. Such retrospective papers as we have from his pen make us wish that there were more of them. His chapter in "The Memorial History of Boston" on the introduction and development of his own religious communion in the Puritan town is an admirable illustration of his calm, judicial tone and of his kindly temper. In his address on the observance of the two hundred and fiftieth anniversary of that redoubtable corps, the Ancient and Honorable Artillery Company, he seems to have caught some of the old martial as well as the historic spirit. Having been elected a Resident Member of this Society in March, 1879, he may be regarded as filling the place on our roll of his father, William G. Brooks, who died in the previous January, after having served the Society faithfully and devotedly for nearly a score of years, and to whose practical ability we were much indebted in the reconstruction of our building. During the two years in which Phillips Brooks was on our Council he regularly attended its meetings when he was in this country. Still the interest and work which engaged his grand ministry were not those of the ancient days but those of the living present, to be guided and led to fuller fruition by inspirations such as his.

Let our rising and standing in our places here and now give expression to the tribute of love and veneration which we pay to him.

Mr. HENRY LEE, having been called on, spoke in substance as follows : —

Father Taylor, who, like Mr. Brooks, was an inspired preacher and had a wonderful hold upon his hearers, was once ruffled by the preaching of a lay brother upon the text, "Let me die the death of the righteous." Rising he said: "I don't thank any brother for coming here with such talk as that. Messmates, don't you believe that you can fall from the yard-arm and repent before you reach the deck! Let me live the life of the righteous." And that was precisely the difference between Phillips Brooks and the rest of us. He lived the life of the righteous; he did not wait for its close to hear, "Well done, good and faithful servant, enter thou into the joy of our Lord." His look as he walked along the street, as he lifted up his face in prayer, showed that he had already entered into the joy of our Lord. Like Enoch, he walked with God.

Mr. Lee then said that he would read a paper which he wrote some months ago, and which he thought would not be inappropriate now:—

"A word fitly spoken is like apples of gold in pictures of silver."

How few words are fitly spoken; and those few abide in the memories and sink into the hearts of all who hear them.

In our day Emerson has delighted and instructed men by such pregnant words.

A few words uttered by Abraham Lincoln on the field of Gettysburg and in his last inaugural warmed the hearts of men in two hemispheres to that man of sorrows, and made the whole world kin.

In the annals of our College there is a red-letter day, Commemoration Day; when, after years haggard with anxiety, the mother welcomed back the remnant of her children who had escaped "the pestilence that walketh in darkness, the destruction that wasteth at noonday."

On that day words seemed powerless; they did not vent the overflowing of sympathy and gratitude all felt.

But in the exercises came a prayer, a brief prayer of a few minutes, of one inspired to pour forth the thanksgivings of the assembled brethren.

From that moment the name of that inspired young man, till then unknown, became a household word.

For one, I never met his father, whom I knew very well, without an inquiry into his son's welfare.

He was before long sent for and urged to take up his abode with us. He came, and you know the rest.

He came to be the pastor of one parish, the shepherd of one flock; he has become the pastor of all parishes, the shepherd of all flocks. He has been the Bishop of Massachusetts by the laying on of all hands, of priests and laymen.

The walls of the great church he built up are thrown down; like Whitfield, he preaches to the multitude in the fields.

He came to us from the City of Brotherly Love, and wherever he abides there will be the city of brotherly love; for, like the loved disciple, he preaches the new commandment, the gospel of love.¹

MR. WILLIAM S. APPLETON then spoke in substance as follows:—

Many years ago, before Trinity Church and he had ever thought of each other, I was for a time in circumstances of peculiar intimacy with Phillips Brooks. The Rev. Dr. Leeds of Philadelphia, Brooks, and I travelled together for ten weeks by land and sea; and for four weeks in the Holy Land we rode side by side twenty or thirty miles a day, and slept every night in the same tent. It is needless to say that I enjoyed the trip; it will always be one of the very pleasantest and dearest recollections of my life. We were all of us equally enthusiastic in our interest in the country where we were. I shall never forget the headlong races over every stretch of level turf, and the talks of every evening, as Brooks and I smoked our pipes round the wood-fire at the door of our tent; for Brooks was an admirable smoker. Dr. Leeds has been dead for several years, but Brooks and I never met without recalling the distant but well-remembered past. The last Christmas number of the French paper "*L'Illustration*" was devoted to Palestine and its holy places; and as soon as it

¹ A copy of Mr. Lee's paper having been shown to Bishop Brooks when it was first written, he sent the following characteristic note to a friend:—

233 CLARENDON STREET, BOSTON, June 10, 1892.

DEAR MRS. —: It must be some other man, I think, — not me, this good man of whom Mr. Lee is speaking. And yet I remember some such day! At any rate, he is very good, and so are you.

I shall see you, I am sure, before I go; but still good-by.

Sincerely yours,

PHILLIPS BROOKS.

appeared, I sent Brooks a copy with all good wishes. I will read his note of thanks: —

233 CLARENDON STREET, BOSTON, Dec. 19, 1892.

DEAR APPLETON, — Many thanks for the pretty Book, and still more thanks to you for remembering the pleasant days of 27 years ago. I never forget them. Every Christmas brings back Ibrahim & Luttuf & Dr. Leeds & all the rest. When we get to be old men, which we are not yet, they shall still be with us.

Then & now & always I am your sincere friend,

PHILLIPS BROOKS.

I have alluded to our talks of every evening. I suppose we discussed almost every subject under heaven. Brooks certainly gave me the impression — of course it was not his, but he gave it to me — that he was entirely out of place in the Protestant Episcopal Church. He was too big for it and too broad for it. He belonged to the Catholic Church of Christ; and it was only by chipping away till little was left, that he could possibly be a member of any such division of that Church as has among the stones of its foundation the Nicene Creed and the Apostolic Succession. I never thought that he would continue always to be a clergyman of the Protestant Episcopal Church, still less that he would die one of its Bishops. But I was mistaken, and it evidently seemed to the Divine Wisdom that he could do a better work in that denomination than as a member of any freer body, or even standing alone unconnected with any special branch of the Christian Church.

His funeral was rightly claimed by his own denomination, which, however, mourns his loss no more than all other Christian bodies. Among the honorary pall-bearers might well have been clergymen of other branches of the Catholic Church, — our own President, or the Rev. Stopford W. Brooke, by whose predecessor Brooks was baptized; the Rev. George A. Gordon, in whose church Brooks had officiated with pride and pleasure; the Rev. Dr. Miner, with whom in some at least of his enthusiastic efforts Brooks warmly sympathized. I think Phillips Brooks would gladly have had something like this, if he could have spoken.

MR. CHARLES F. ADAMS said: —

Here and elsewhere — more elsewhere than here — so much has been said of Bishop Brooks, and said in a spirit

of deep-felt laudation not undeserved, that I should hesitate to add to the great aggregate were it not that in the little I have to utter I speak from a long acquaintance, and that little, while very different from what has been or is likely to be said by others, conveys a lesson.

I cannot remember the time when I did not know Phillips Brooks. He was my second cousin, for his father and my mother were cousins-german. So, at almost the first school I ever went to, — a little dame school kept in a small wooden house then standing on Bedford Street immediately in the rear of Church Green, as the enclosure on Summer Street was called whereon stood the New South meeting-house in which Dr. Alexander Young then ministered, — in this antiquated little wooden edifice, long since removed, Phillips Brooks and I learned our letters; both of us, I take it, then being about the age of five or six. Some eight or ten years later, I next met him at the Boston Latin School, where he was one year in advance of me. Later on, we were in college together; he, still a year ahead, graduating in 1855. Of him at Cambridge I retain a distinct and pleasant recollection, for we were in many of the same societies, and he had already evinced that peculiar facility of written expression in which afterward he won renown; and he was always chosen, as matter of course, to deliver society orations and read literary papers. He belonged also to a class singularly prolific in young men of ability and interesting character, many of whom — Barlow, Agassiz, Lyman, Dalton, and, above all, Brooks himself — subsequently achieved distinction. Unless my recollection deceives me, his room-mate was Edward Barry Dalton, with whom in after years at the headquarters of the Army of the Potomac my relations were most intimate, — a man who stands out clear and distinct in memory as one than whom few of finer or nobler character were encountered at a period and amid scenes which brought fine and noble characters rapidly to the front. And now, looking backward through a vista of nearly forty years, that two such young men as Edward Barry Dalton and Phillips Brooks should have been among the friends of my youth makes me think better of myself; for, after all, the saying, "Tell me who your friends are, and I will tell you who you are," has truth in it. Those were indeed golden, precious days, — those days passed in the

June sunshine of the college grounds with young men who seemed in no way unusual in our every-day eyes, but who in fact were filled, as the result soon showed, with infinite possibilities, — the Bayards and Sidneys and Bossuets of the fast-coming years; — days I failed, as under like circumstances we all of us always fail, to appreciate at the time, and so grasp them and delight in them as they pass;¹ but now, as I revert to them, and the familiar faces and scenes come up distinct and clear in memory, they bring with them, as a sort of sad refrain, lines of Browning, read then and remembered ever since, —

“T is only when they spring to heaven that angels
Reveal themselves to you; they sit all day
Beside you, and lie down at night by you
Who care not for their presence, muse or sleep,
And all at once they leave you and you know them!
We are so fooled, so cheated!”

We have all of us, I suppose, had some of these Paracelsus experiences. But passing on to what I more immediately have to say, to those who have just seen Phillips Brooks borne out to Mount Auburn amid such an expression of deep-felt recognition as has not been elicited by the death of any private citizen in our time, — to those who saw him only last week thus borne to his grave, the incident I am about to relate cannot be without interest nor without its lesson. It contains in it a whole homily of encouragement to men fresh from college subjected to like trial.

After Brooks graduated, he became one of the ushers at the

¹ While these pages were passing through the press I chanced upon the following passage in Froude's History of England (chap. v.), the reflections contained in which seem sufficiently apposite to warrant a footnote. The years we lived between 1861 and 1865 were not without the element of the “awful”; neither was the “great man” wholly lacking to them. “The immediate present, however awful its import, will ever seem common and familiar to those who live and breathe in the midst of it. In the days of the September massacre at Paris, the theatres were open as usual; men ate, and drank, and laughed, and cried, and went about their common work, unconscious that those days which were passing by them, so much like other days, would remain the *dies nefasti*, accursed in the memory of mankind forever. Nothing is terrible, nothing is sublime in human beings, so long as they are before our eyes. The great man has so much in common with men in general, the routine of daily life, in periods the most remarkable in history, contains so much that is unvarying, that it is only when time has done its work, and all which was unimportant has ceased to be remembered, that such men and such times stand out in their true significance.”

Boston Latin School, then presided over by Francis Gardner, — a man whom many here will remember, rough and harsh in exterior, but not without a kindly side for those whom he liked. To those he did not like, a harder and less charitable man it would not be easy to find; and any one who knew both Francis Gardner and Phillips Brooks would feel instinctively at once that Francis Gardner could never have taken kindly to Phillips Brooks. The former was ingrained a schoolmaster, the latter was born a preacher; nor in saying this do I utter an ill word against either calling.

While Phillips Brooks was thus earning his living as usher at the Boston Latin School and waiting for the future to reveal itself to him, I was studying law in the office of Richard H. Dana, with whom Francis Edward Parker — formerly, as was Dana also, a member of this Society — was associated as partner. Parker was then a member of the Boston School Committee, and as such head of the sub-committee having charge of the Boston Latin School; at which he too in his earlier post-graduate days had held the position of usher. I soon learned that Phillips Brooks was in trouble. The Master complained that the usher had in him no single element of a successful school-teacher, — that he was unable to maintain order among the boys in his room, and in short that the good of the school peremptorily required an immediate change. The change accordingly was decided on, and Brooks's resignation called for. But the young man selected to take his place was not immediately available, and a question arose as to what was to be done during the intervening time, — a period, perhaps, of two or three weeks. Moved probably more by the humor of the thing than any other motive, and not unwilling to try my hand in a new field, I suggested to Mr. Parker that I should make the experiment of taking charge of Brooks's room until the new master came. The idea struck Parker favorably, and he proposed it to Mr. Gardner. Years before I had been in Mr. Gardner's classes, and he saw fit to receive the suggestion with favor, though at first somewhat amused by it, as he had never looked on me as a possible instructor of youth; but I am led to believe he expressed his conclusion in terms not necessarily complimentary to either Brooks or myself, intimating in his usual rough way that any change, no matter what, could hardly fail to be for the better.

He thought, however, that in common decency the opportunity should be given Brooks to remain until his successor appeared; though he hardly believed he would do so. But in this Master Gardner was mistaken. Phillips Brooks, though both discouraged and cut to the quick by his failure, did wish to remain until his successor appeared; and as my services were thus dispensed with, I never occupied an usher's chair.

Now comes the point of my reminiscence. Shortly after this, as I was told at the time and have since seen no occasion to disbelieve, Phillips Brooks — humiliated, discouraged, utterly broken down, indeed, by his complete failure at the threshold of life, not seeing well or at all in what direction to turn or to apply his hand — went despondently to some man in his family acquaintance of assured success, and in the depth of his disappointment and mortification asked him for advice, — could he suggest any way in which it would be possible for him, the recent graduate and the future great preacher, to earn a living!

It was the old, old story. The round peg had found its way into a square hole, or the square peg into a round hole, — whichever way you see fit to put it. Here was a young man having in him qualities of the highest order, who had failed to find his vocation. His first move had been a wrong move, and with results most unfortunate for the time being to himself. No man can do all things equally well; few men can do anything supremely well; most men can do something fairly well. One is reminded of the odd experience of the bright girl in Ireland somewhat more than a century ago, who emphatically announced that she would not go to an approaching county ball if she had got to dance with that "horrid little Arthur Wellesley!" Like Phillips Brooks later on, the future Duke of Wellington in 1785 had in him in his own line very considerable possibilities; but apparently he was not designed to excel as a ball-room performer, while with us the coming Bishop failed dismally as a Latin School usher.

This experience of Phillips Brooks, the memory of which I do not doubt he carried with him to the end, — and he too, I fancy, like myself, though for other reasons, felt a sense of satisfaction, approaching relief, when that gloomy, ugly Latin School edifice in Bedford Street was levelled with the ground and a thoroughfare made to occupy the site where it stood,

for it recalled no pleasant memories to either of us, — that early, mortifying Latin School experience, I say, Phillips Brooks doubtless carried freshly with him to the grave. Yet it was in no way an unusual one; and it contains in it, as I have said, a lesson to which most young men might with profit give ear. The early paths of few are strewn with flowers. It is the fate of nearly all at some period to find themselves confronted with failure. Indeed, he is the really fortunate man who, like Phillips Brooks, meets that failure early. The hard fate must be some day to realize that, a round peg, you are by fate and circumstance inextricably wedged into a square hole.

But this is prosaic expression. The same thought, in no respect novel, of course, has been much better put by another: "It is through continued effort and repeated failure that a man eventually discovers what he is, and what he might do; through this, alone, he attains the station in which he is most useful and happy, and secures the post and employment he was created to fulfil. The most distressful period in life — and likewise the most unsatisfactory — is the period in which a man feels the stirrings of his powers, yet sees no arena for their play; and the most miserable of men are those who, having missed their mission, find themselves on shipboard, bound for Tarshish, when their voice is needed in the streets of Nineveh." In 1857 Phillips Brooks may have thought himself bound for Tarshish; but, later on, his voice assuredly emitted no uncertain sound here in the streets of Nineveh. He arrived!

The incident I have referred to occurred, I think, in 1857. I do not remember again to have met Phillips Brooks until after the close of the war, when, mustered out of the regiment of which I had been in command, I was passing the summer in Newport. He meanwhile had found his vocation, and was there at the great watering place, — a favored, much sought-for guest. Abandoning school-teaching, he had become a preacher. He had sought a career in that line for which the experience of his college life should have told him in the beginning he was best adapted. Settled then in Philadelphia, he was already recognized as the rising young divine of the day, — a pulpit star of the first magnitude, he was just swimming above the horizon. From that time forward his career was one unbroken success.

Nevertheless, when last week I heard the unexpected tidings of his death, though for years I had hardly seen him, my thoughts at once went back to those early days and to that period of his youth immediately succeeding graduation. To be a great schoolmaster is a good thing; to be a great preacher is a good thing. But the great preacher is not necessarily a good schoolmaster, nor the good schoolmaster a great preacher. It is not probable that what I have said here will ever reach the eyes of any young man in a situation like that in which Phillips Brooks found himself in 1857. Should it chance to do so, I may hope that Phillips Brooks and his one great early failure will preach, through me as a medium, a sermon hardly less pregnant with good than any which ever fell from his lips in the pulpit.

After Mr. Adams's remarks, the Society expressed its sense of loss by the members all rising and standing.

Mr. SOLOMON LINCOLN, from the Council, reported that in accordance with the vote passed at the last meeting of this Society he had communicated with the officers of the new Society, and that they had applied to the proper authority for such a change in their corporate name as would prevent any inconvenience from the similarity of names of the two Societies.

Communications from the third section having been called for, Mr. R. C. WINTHROP, Jr., said:—

I desire to communicate the original instructions to Joseph Dudley on his appointment to be Governor of New Hampshire. They are dated April 6, 1702, and are signed by Queen Anne and by the Earl of Manchester, one of her Secretaries of State. Five years ago, when Mr. Smith and I were editing for this Society the fifth volume of selections from the Winthrop Papers, we included in it many letters from Joseph Dudley, and we printed in the Appendix some miscellaneous papers of his which had found their way to the collection through an intermarriage between the two families. We should undoubtedly have printed this manuscript in that Appendix had we been aware of its existence, but it has come to light quite recently. I first looked upon it merely as an autograph of Queen Anne, supposing that her instructions had been issued in duplicate; but on examining the published Provincial Papers

of New Hampshire I found that although Dudley's commission and some shorter and later instructions to him are in print, no reference is made to these original ones. I then communicated with our Corresponding Member, Hon. Charles H. Bell, of Exeter, formerly Governor of New Hampshire, who kindly interested himself in the matter, and now informs me that no such document is on file in that State, where the discovery I have made is regarded as of some importance. I do not, however, imagine that these instructions will be found to differ materially from those issued to other provincial governors at the same period; and as they cover twenty-seven folio pages, I have no intention of reading them to the Society. The manuscript will be deposited in the archives of New Hampshire, and before it leaves Massachusetts, the Publishing Committee may be disposed to print it in our Proceedings.

I wish further to communicate, and am about to read, a letter from John Adams to the Rev. Aaron Bancroft, of Worcester, dated Quincy, Jan. 21, 1823, which I recently found among the papers of my grandfather, who was intimate with Dr. Bancroft, and who appears to have obtained from him a copy of this letter on account of its being so characteristic of the writer, who was then in his eighty-eighth year. Failing to find any reference to it in the "Life and Works of John Adams," I applied to our associate, Mr. C. F. Adams, who said that he had never met with it, and expressed great confidence that it was not in print. Our associate, Mr. Jenks, subsequently drew my attention to a notice of Dr. Aaron Bancroft in the eighth volume of Sprague's "Annals of the American Pulpit," in which occurs an extract from this letter, but a very brief one; and I have therefore been advised to communicate the whole of it to our Proceedings. It is in acknowledgment of a volume of sermons which Dr. Bancroft had just published, and of which John Adams expresses the most complimentary opinion; but he takes occasion, in so doing, to indulge in some interesting reminiscences of religious controversies, and to deliver himself of a by no means flattering appreciation of the New England clergy.

QUINCY, JAN. 21. 1823.

10.578
DEAR SIR, — I thank you for your kind letter of Decr 30th, and above all for the gift of a precious volume. It is a chain of diamonds set in links of gold. I have never read or heard sermons better cal-

culated or adapted to the age & country in which they were written. How different from the sermons I heard & read in the town of Worcester from the year 1755 to 1758!

As my destiny in life has been somewhat uncommon, I must beg pardon for indulging in a little egotism. I may say I was born & bred in the centre of Theological & Ecclesiastical controversy. A sermon of Mr Bryant, minister of this parish, who lived on a spot now a part of the farm on which I live, occasioned the controversy between him & Mr Miles, Mr Porter, Mr Bass & many others. It broke out like the eruption of a volcano and blazed with portentous aspect for many years. The death of Dr Miller, the Episcopal minister of this town, produced the controversy between Dr Mayhew & Mr Apthorp, who were both so connected with this town that they might almost be considered inhabitants of it.¹ I may say that my eyes opened upon books of controversy between the parties of Mr Buckminster and Mr Miller. I became acquainted with Dyer, Doolittle & Baldwin, three notable disputants. Mr McCarty, though a Calvinist, was not a bigot, but the town was a scene of dispute all the time I was there. When I left, I entered into a scene of other disputations at the bar and, not long afterwards, disputations of another kind in politics. In later times I have lived with Atheists, Deists, Sceptics, — with Cardinals, Archbishops, Monks, Friars, of the Roman Catholic persuasion, — with Archbishops, Bishops, Deans & Priests of the Church of England, — with Farmer, Price, Priestly, Kippen, Rees, Lindsay, Disney & Jebb, — with the English & Scottish clergy in Holland & especially with Dr Maclain at the Hague. I have conversed freely with most of the sects in America, and have not been wholly inattentive to the writings & reasonings of all these denominations of Philosophers & Christians. You may well suppose, then, that I have had controversy enough. But, after all, I declare to you that your 29 sermons have expressed the result of all my reading, experience & reflection in a manner more satisfactory to me than I could have done in the best days of my strength.

The most afflictive circumstance that I have witnessed in the lot of humanity is the narrow views, the unsocial humors, the fastidious scorn & repulsive temper, of all denominations except one. I cannot conclude this letter without citing an anecdote. One of the zealous mendicants for contributions to the funds of Missionary Societies called upon a gentleman in Haverhill & requested his charity. The gentleman declined subscribing, but added "There are in and about the town of Newburyport nine clergymen, ministers of nine congregations, not one of whom

¹ For some account of these religious controversies in Quincy, see our late associate Dr. Lunt's "Centennial Discourses," published in 1840, and C. F. Adams's "Episodes of Massachusetts History," vol. ii. pp. 631, 637-640.

lives on terms of civility with any other, will admit none other into his pulpit, nor be permitted to go into the pulpit of any other. Now, if you will raise a fund to convert these nine clergymen to Christianity, I will contribute as much as any other man."

I am, Sir, with great respect & esteem,

Your obliged friend & hum' serv^t,

JOHN ADAMS.

To the Rev^d Doct^r BANCROFT.

The Instructions to Governor Dudley, referred to in Mr. Winthrop's remarks, are as follows:—

ANNE R.

Instructions for Our Trusty and Welbeloved Joseph Dudley Esq^r Our Governor and Commander in Chief in and over Our Province of New-Hampshire in New England in America.

Given at Our Court at St James's the 6th day of Aprill 1702 in the First Year of Our Reign.

With these Our Instructions you will receive Our Commission under the Great Seal of England, constituting you Our Governor and Commander in Chief in & over all that part of Our Province of New-Hampshire within Our Dominion of New-Eng-
Province.
 land in America, lying and extending itself from three Miles Northward of Merrimack River, or any part thereof unto the Province of Maine with the South part of the Isle of Shoals.

And being arrived there you are to take upon you the Execution of the Place and Trust We have reposed in you, and forthwith to call together the Members of Our Council in that Province, Govern^r & Council to be Sworn.
 viz^t William Partridge, John Hinks, Nathanael Fryer, Peter Coffin, Robert Elliot, John Gearish, John Ware, William Vaughan, Samuell Penhallow, George Jeffrey, John Plaisted, and Henry Dow Esq^r At which Meeting after having published with all due and usual Solemnity, Our said Commission, constituting you Our Governor and Commander in Chief in and over Our Province, you shall yourself take and also administer unto each of the Members of Our said Council, as well the Oaths appointed by Act of Parliament to be taken instead of the Oaths of Allegiance and Supremacy, as also the Test, together with an oath for the due Execution of your, and their Places and Trusts, as well with regard to the equal and impartial Administration of Justice in all Causes that shall come before you, as otherwise, and likewise the oath required to be taken by Governors of Plantations to do their utmost, that the Laws relating to the Plantations be observed: And both you and they shall also subscribe the Association mentioned in a late Act of Parliament entituled

An Act for the better Security of His Majesty's Royal Person and Government.

You are to communicate forthwith unto Our said Council such and so many of these Our Instructions, wherein their advice and consent are mentioned to be requisite, as likewise all such others from time to time as you shall find convenient for Our Service to be imparted unto them.

Our Will and Pleasure is, That you permit the Members of Our said Council to have and enjoy Freedom of Debate and Vote in all affairs of Public concern that may be debated in Council.

And altho by Our Commission aforesaid We have thought fitt to direct, that any three of Our Council make a Quorum ; it is nevertheless Our Will and Pleasure, that you do not act with a Quorum of less than five Members, except upon Extraordinary Emergencies.

And that We may be allways informed of the Names and Characters of Persons fitt to supply the vacancies that shall happen in Our said Council, you are to transmitt unto Us, by one of Our Principal Secretaries of State, and to Our Commissioners for Trade and Plantations, with all convenient speed, the Names and Characters of six Persons Inhabitants of Our said Province, whom you shall esteem the best qualified for that Trust : and so from time to time, when any of them shall dye, depart out of Our said Province, or become otherwise unfit, you are to nominate so many other Persons to Us in their stead, that the List of six Persons fitt to supply the said vacancies may be allways compleat.

You are from time to time, to send Us as aforesaid, and to Our Commissioners for Trade and Plantations the Names and Qualities of any Members by you putt into Our said Council, by the first Conveniency after your so doing.

And in the choice and nomination of the Members of Our said Council, as also of the Principal Officers, Judges, Assistants, Justices and Sheriffs, you are always to take care that they be men of good Life, and well affected to Our Government, and of good Estates and abilities, and not necessitous People, or much in Debt.

Our Will and Pleasure is, that you do neither augment, nor diminish the number of Our said Council as it is hereby established, nor suspend any of the present Members thereof without good and sufficient cause ; and in case of suspension of any of them, you are to cause your reasons for so doing, together with the charges and Proofs against the said Persons, and their Answers thereunto (unlesse you have some extraordinary reason to the contrary) to be duly entred upon the Council Books, and you are

forthwith to transmitt the same, together with your reasons for not entering them upon the Councill Books (in case you do not so enter them) unto Us and to Our Commissioners for Trade and Plantacons as aforesaid.

You are to signify Our Pleasure unto Our said Councill of New-hampshire, that if any of them shall hereafter absent themselves from the said Province, and continue absent above the space of Twelve months together, without leave from you, or from Our Governor or Commander in Chief for the time being, first obtained, or shall remain absent for the space of Two years or the greater part thereof successively without Our leave given them under Our Royal Sign Manuel, their Place or Places in Our said Council, shall immediately thereupon become void, and that We will forthwith appoint others in their stead.

You are to observe in the passing of Laws, that the stile of enacting the same be by the Governor, Councill and Assembly, and no other.

Councillrs absence. Losse of place.

Style of Enacting Laws.

You are also as much as possible, to observe in the passing of all Laws, that whatever may be requisite upon each different matter be accordingly provided for by a different Law, without intermixing in one and the same Act such things as have no proper relation to each other, and you are more especially to take care, that no Clause or Clauses be inserted in, or annexed to any Act, which shall be forreign to what the Title of such respective Act imports.

Direction in the passing of Laws.

You are to transmitt authentick Copies of all Laws, Statutes, and Ordinances now in force, or which at any time shall be made and enacted within Our said Province each of them separately under the publick Seal unto Us, and to Our said Commissioners for Trade and Plantations, within Three Months or sooner, after their being enacted, together with Duplicates thereof by the next Conveyance, upon pain of Our highest Displeasure and the Forfeiture of that year's salary, wherein you shall at any time, or upon any pretence whatsoever omitt to send over the said Laws and Ordinances aforesaid within the time above limited, as also of such other Penalty as We shall please to inflict. But if it shall happen that during time of War no shipping shall come from Our said Province within three months after the making such Laws, Statutes and Ordinances, whereby the same may be transmitted as aforesaid, then the said Laws, Statutes, and Ordinances are to be transmitted as aforesaid by the next Conveyance after the making thereof, when ever it may happen for Our Approbation or Disallowance of the same.

Copies of all Laws to be Transmitted.

You shall take care, that the Members of the Assembly be elected only by Freeholders, as being most agreeable to the custom of England, to which you are as near as may be, to conform your self.

Members of ye Assembly to be Freeholders.

And you shall reduce the salary of the Members of the Assembly to such a moderate proportion, as may be no grievance to the Country, wherein nevertheless you are to use your Discretion, so as no inconveniency may arise thereby.

And for as much as great Prejudice may happen to Our Service, and the security of the said Province by your Absence from those Parts, without a sufficient cause and especial leave from Us, For the prevention whereof you are not upon any pretence whatsoever to come to Europe from your Government, without having first obtained leave for so doing, from Us, under Our Sign Manual and Signet or by Our Order in Our Privy Council.

You are to take care, that in all Acts or Orders to be past within that Our Province, in any case for levying money, or imposing Fines and Penalties, express mention be made that the same is granted or reserved unto Us, Our Heirs and Successors, for the publick uses of that Our Province, and the support of the Government thereof, as by the said Act or Order shall be directed.

You are not to permitt any Clause whatsoever to be inserted in any Law for levying money, or the value of mony, whereby the same shall not be made lyable to be accounted for unto Us here in England, and to Our Commissioners of Our Treasury, or Our High Treasurer for the time being.

You are to take care, that fair Books of Accounts of all Receipts and Payments of all such mony be duly kept, and the Truth thereof attested upon Oath, and that the said Books be transmitted every half year or oftner to Our Commissioners of Our Treasury, or High Treasurer for the time being, and to Our Commissioners for Trade and Plantations, & Duplicates thereof by the next Conveyance; In which Books shall be specified every particular Summ raised or disposed of, together with the Names of the Persons to whom any Payment shall be made, to the end We may be satisfyed of the Right and due Application of the Revenue of Our said Province.

You are not to suffer any publick mony whatsoever to be issued or disposed of; otherwise than by Warrant under your hand, by and with the advice and Consent of Our said Council; but the Assembly may be nevertheless permitted from time to time to view and examine the Accounts of mony or value of mony disposed of by virtue of Laws made by them which you are to signifie unto them as there shall be occasion.

Whereas it is necessary that due Provision be made for the support of the Government of Our said Province, by setting apart sufficient

Allowances to you Our Governor and to such as shall hereafter be Our Governor or Commander in Chief residing for the time being within the same, you are to propose to the General Assembly of Our said Province, and accordingly to use your Endeavours with them, that an Act be passed for settling and establishing fixed salaries upon yourself and others Our Governors and Commanders in Chief for the time being, suitable to the ability of the Inhabitants, and the dignity of your office.

The settling fixed Salaries on Governors to be Endeavoured.

We do particularly require and command, that no money or value of money whatsoever be given or granted by any Act or Order of Assembly to any Governor Lieutenant Governor or Commander in Chief of Our said Province, which shall not according to the Title of Acts of Parliament in England, be mentioned to be given and granted unto Us, with the humble desire of such Assembly, that the same be applied to the Use and Behoof of such Governor, Lieutenant Governor or Commander in Chief, if We shall so think fitt, or if We shall not approve of such Gift or Application, that the said money or value of money be then disposed of and appropriated to such other uses, as in the said Act or Order shall be mentioned: And that from the time the same shall be raised, it remain in the hands of the Receiver of that our Province, until Our Royal Pleasure be known therein.

How Acts for Granting money to any Governor &c. shall be composed.

Our Express Will and Pleasure is, that all Laws whatsoever for the good Government and Support of Our said Province be made indefinite, and without Limitation of time, except the same be for a Temporary end, and which shall expire and have its full effect within a certain time.

Acts to be made without Limitation of time, &c.

And therefore you shall not re-enact any Law, which hath, or shall have been once enacted there, except upon very urgent occasions; but in no Case more than once, without Our express Consent.

Laws not to be Re-enacted.

You shall not remitt any Fines or Forfeitures whatsoever above the Summ of Ten pounds, nor dispose of any Escheats, Fines or Forfeitures whatsoever, until upon signifying unto Our Commissioners of Our Treasury, or Our High Treasurer for the time being, and to Our Commissioners for Trade and Plantations, the nature of the offence, and the occasion of such Fines, Forfeitures or Escheats, with the particular Sums or value thereof (which you are to do with all speed) you shall have received Our Directions therein: But you may in the mean time suspend the Payment of the said Fines and Forfeitures.

How Fines are to be Remitted, & Disposed of.

You shall not permitt any Act or Order to pass in Our said Province, whereby the Price, or value of the Current money within your Government (whether it be foreign,

The value of money not to be altered without leave.

or belonging to Our Dominions) may be altered without Our particular leave or Direction for the same.

You are particularly not to pass any Law, or do any Act, by Grant, Settlement, or otherwise, whereby Our Revenue may be lessened or impaired, without Our especial Commands therein.

And whereas We have been informed, that great Spoiles are daily committed in Our Woods in Our Province of New Hampshire, and other parts within your Government, by cutting down, and converting to private uses such Trees, as are or may be proper for the service of Our Royal Navy, and it being necessary that all Practices which tend so evidently to deprive Us of those supplies, be effectually restrained; Our Will and Pleasure is, that upon consideration of the occasions of such Abuses, the Methods by which they are carried on, and the inconveniences that attend them you use your endeavours with Our Councill and the Assembly of New-Hampshire, to dispose them to pass Acts for the better preventing the further spoil of those Woods, and for preserving a Nursery of such Trees, as may be usefull for Our service, and in case you cannot prevail with them to pass Acts proper and sufficient for those Purposes, that you send over hither the heads of such a Bill, as may be effectual for those ends, and fit to be enacted here.

In case any Goods, Money or other Estate of Pirates or Piratically taken, shall be brought in or found within Our said Province of New-Hampshire, or taken on board any Ships or Vessells; you are to cause the same to be seized and secured, until you shall have given Us an account thereof, and received Our Pleasure concerning the Disposal thereof: But in case such Goods, or any part of them are perishable, the same shall be publicly sold and disposed of and the produce thereof in like manner secured til Our further Order.

And Whereas We have been pleased to grant Commissions unto Several Persons in Our respective Plantations in America, for the trying of Pirates in those parts, pursuant to the Act for the more effectuell Suppression of Piracy; And by a Commission already sent to Our Province of New-Hampshire, you (as Captain General and Governor in Chief of Our said Province) are impowered, together with others therein mentioned, to proceed accordingly, in reference to Our said Province; Our Will and Pleasure is, that in all matters relating to Pirates, you govern yourself according to the intent of the Act and Commission aforementioned: But whereas Accessories in Cases of Piracy beyond the Seas, are by the said Act left to be tryed in England, according to the Statute of the 28th of King Henry the Eighth, We Do hereby further direct and require you to send all such Accessories in Cases of Piracy in Our foresaid

Province, with the proper Evidences that you may have against them, into England, in order to their being tried here.

You are to require the Secretary of Our said Province, or his Deputy for the time being, to furnish you with Transcripts of all such Acts & Publick Orders as shall be made from time to time, together with Copies of the Journals of the Council and Assembly, to the end the same may be transmitted unto Us, and to Our Commissioners for Trade and Plantations as above directed, which he is duly to perform, upon pain of incurring the Forfeiture of his Place.

Transcripts of Acts & Copies of ye Journals of Council & Assembly to be Transmitted.

You shall transmitt unto Us, and to Our Commissioners for Trade and Plantations, by the first Opportunity, a map with the exact Description of the whole Territory under your Government, with the several Plantations upon it, and of the Fortifications.

A map of ye Territory to be Transmitted.

You shall not displace any of the Judges, Justices, Sheriffs or other Officers or Ministers within Our said Province, without good and sufficient Cause to be signified unto Us, and to Our said Commissioners for Trade and Plantations; and to prevent arbitrary removals of Judges and Justices of the Peace, you shall not express any Limitation of time in the Commissions (which you are to grant with the Advice and Consent of Our said Council to fit Persons for those Employments) nor shall you execute yourself, or by Deputy, any of the said Offices, nor suffer any Person to execute more offices than one by Deputy.

Civill Officers how to be Comissionated & Remov'd.

You shall not erect any Court or Office of Judicature, nor before erected or established, nor dissolve any Court already erected or established, without Our especiall Order.

No new Court to be Erected, nor any Court to be Dissolved.

You are to transmitt unto Us, and to Our Commissioners for Trade and Plantations, with all convenient speed, a particular Account of all Establishments of Jurisdiccions, Courts, Offices and Officers, Powers, Authorities, Fees and Privileges, granted or settled within Our said Province, to the end you may receive Our further Directions therein.

Account of Establishment of Courts &c. to be Transmitted.

You shall likewise take especial care, with the Advice and Consent of Our said Council, to regulate all Salaries and Fees belonging to Places, or paid upon Emergencies, that they be within the Bounds of Moderation, and that no Exaction be made upon any occasion whatsoever: as also that Fees be publickly hung up in all Places where such Fees are to be paid; and you are to transmitt Copies of all such Tables of Fees to Us, and to Our Commissioners for Trade and Plantations as aforesaid.

Salaries and fees to be regulated.

Tables of all Fees to be made publick: and sent home.

You are to permitt a Liberty of Conscience to all Persons (except Papists) so they be contented with a quiet

Liberty of Conscience.

and peaceable Enjoyment of the same, not giving Offence or Scandal to the Government.

You are to take care, that Drunkenness & Debauchery, Swearing, and Blasphemy be discountenanced and punished, and that none be admitted to publick Trusts and Employments in Our said Province, whose ill Fame and Conversation may occasion Scandal.

You shall administer or cause to be administred the Oaths appointed by Act of Parliament to be taken instead of the oaths of Allegiance and Supremacy, as also the Test, to the Members and Officers of Our Council and Assembly; and to all Judges, Justices, and all other Persons that hold any office or Place of Trust, or Profit in Our said Province, whether by vertue of any Patent under Our Great Seal of England, or Our Seal of New-hampshire, or otherwise, and likewise require them to subscribe the forementioned association; without which you are not to admitt any Person whatsoever into any publick office, nor suffer those that have been admitted formerly to continue therein.

You shall send an Account to Us, and to Our Commissioners for Trade and Plantations, of the present number of Planters and Inhabitants, Men, Women, and Children, as well Masters as Servants, Free and unfree, and of the Slaves in Our said Province, as also a yearly Account of the Increase or Decrease of them, and how many of them are fitt to bear arms in the Militia of Our said Province.

You shall also cause an exact Account to be kept of all Persons born, christened and buried, and you shall yearly send fair Abstracts thereof to Us, and to Our Commissioners for Trade and Plantaçons as aforesaid.

You are to take care that no Man's Life, Member, Freehold, or Goods be taken away or harmed in Our said Province under your Government, otherwise than by established and known Laws, not repugnant to, but as much as may be, agreeable to the Laws of England.

You shall take care, that all Planters and Christian Servants be well and fitly provided with Arms, and that they be Listed under good Officers, and when, and as often as shall be thought fitt, mustered and trained, whereby they may be in a better readiness for the Defence of Our Province under your Government.

You are to take especial care, that neither the Frequency, nor unreasonableness of remote Marches, Musters, and Trainings be an unnecessary Impediment to the Affairs of the Inhabitants.

You shall not upon any occasion whatsoever establish or putt in

execution any Articles of War, or other Law martial, upon any of Our Subjects, Inhabitants of Our said Province, without the advice and Consent of Our Council there.

Martial Law not to be Executed without Consent of Council.

And whereas there is no power given you by your Commission to execute Martial Law in time of Peace, upon Soldiers in pay, and that nevertheless it may be necessary that some care be taken for the keeping of good Discipline amongst those, that We may at any time think fitt to send into Our said Province (which may properly be provided for by the Legislative power of the same) you are therefore to recommend unto the Generall Assembly of Our said Province, that, (if not already done) they prepare such Act or Law for the punishing of Mutiny, Desertion and false Musters, and for the better preserving of good Discipline amongst the said Soldiers as may best answer those ends.

Act for punishing Mutiny &c^a to be recommended to be made.

Whereas upon Complaints that have been made to Us of the irregular Proceedings of the Captains of some of Our Ships of War in the impressing of seamen in several of Our Plantations, We have thought fitt to order, and have given Direction to Our Lord High Admiral accordingly, that when any Captain or Commander of any of Our Ships of War in any of Our said Plantations shall have occasion for Seamen to serve on board Our Ships under their Command, they do make their Application to the Governors and Commanders in Chief of our Plantations respectively, to whom as Vice-Admirals We are pleased to commit the sole power of impressing Seamen in any of Our Plantations in America, or in sight of any of them; you are therefore hereby required upon such application made to you by any of the Commanders of Our said Ships of War within Our said Province of New-Hampshire, to take care, that Our said Ships of War be furnished with the number of Seamen that may be necessary for Our Service on board them from time to time.

Power of Impressing Seamen for Ships of War committed to y^e Govern^r

And Whereas it is absolutely necessary, that We be exactly informed of the State of Defence of all Our Plantations in America in every respect, and more especially with relation to the Forts and Fortifications that are in each Plantation, and what more may be necessary to be built for the Defence and Security of the same; you are so soon as possible after your arrival in New Hampshire, to prepare an Account thereof with relation to Our said Province in the most particular manner; and to transmit the same to Us, and to Our Commissioners for Trade and Plantations, and the like Accounts afterwards yearly.

Account of fortifications to be Transmitted.

You shall cause a Survey to be taken of all the considerable Landing Places and Harbours in Our said Province, and with the Advice of Our Council there, erect in any of them such Fortifications as shall be necessary for the security and advantage of that Province, which shall be done at the publick Charge of the Coun-

All Harbours to be fortified.

try, and you are accordingly to move the general Assembly to the passing of such acts as may be requisite for the carrying on of that work, in which We doubt not of their chearfull concurrence from the Common Security & Benefit they will receive thereby.

You shall take an Inventory of all Arms, Ammunition and Stores remaining in any of our Magazines or Garrisons in Our said Province, and send an Account of them forthwith after Your Ar-
Account of Arms &c. to be taken. rival, and the like Account Yearly to Us, and to Our Commissioners for Trade and Plantations.

Storehouses for Arms &c. to be Settled.

You are to take especial care, that fit store-houses be settled throughout Our said Province for receiving and keeping of Arms, Ammunition, and other publick Stores.

Other Plantations to be Assisted in Distresse.

In case of any distress of any other of Our Plantations, you shall upon Application of the respective Governors thereof to you, assist them with what aid the Condition and Safety of your Government can permitt.

That We may be the better informed of the Trade of Our said Province; you are to take care, that due Entries be made in all Ports of
Due Entries to be made in all Ports &c. all Goods and Commodities, their species and quantities imported or exported from thence, with the names, Burden and Guns of all Ships importing and exporting the

same, also the names of their Commanders, and likewise expressing from and to what Places the said Ships do come and go, a Copy whereof the Naval Officer is to furnish you with; and you are to transmitt the same to Us, to Our Commissioners of Our Treasury, or Our High Treasurer for the time being, and to Our Commissioners for Trade and Plantations, quarterly, and Duplicates thereof by the next Conveyance.

Whereas We have been pleased to give orders for the Commissionat-
Officers of Admiralty & Customs to be Incourag'd. ing of fitt Persons to be Vice-Admirals and Officers of Our Admiralty and Customs in Our Severall Plantations in America; and it is of great Importance to the Trade of this Kingdom, and to the Welfare of Our Plantations, that illegal Trade be every where discouraged; you are to give all due Countenance and Incouragement to the said Officers of Our Admiralty and Customs in the Execution of their respective Offices and Trusts.

You are to suppress the Ingrossing of Commodities, as tending to the
Ingrossing of Commodities to be Suppress'd. Prejudice of that Freedom which Trade and Commerce ought to have, and to Settle such Orders and Regulations therein, with the advice of Our said Council, as may be most acceptable to the Generality of the Inhabitants.

You are to give all due encouragement and Invitation to Merchants
Merchants to be Encouraged. and others who shall bring Trade unto Our said Province, or any ways contribute to the advantage thereof, and in particular to the Royal African Company of England.

And you are to take care, that there be no trading from Our said

Province to any place in Africa, within the Charter of the Royal African Company, otherwise than prescribed by a late Act of Parliament, entituled An Act to Settle the Trade to Africa. Trade to Africa to be regulated.

You are not to grant Commissions of Marque, or Reprizals against any Prince or State, or their Subjects in Amity with Us, to any Person whatsoever, without Our especial Command. Comissions of Marque to whom to be Granted.

You are not to admit or allow of any Appeals whatsoever to be made from the Governor & Council unto the Assembly; But whereas We judge it absolutely necessary, that all Our Subjects may have Liberty to appeal unto Us, in cases that may deserve the same; Our Will and Pleasure is, that if either Party shall not rest satisfied with the Judgement or Sentence of you Our Governor or the Commander in Chief for the time being, and Council, they may then appeal unto Us in Our Privy Council, Provided the matter in difference exceed the real value or summ of Three hundred pounds sterling, and that such appeal be made within fourteen days after sentence, and good security first given by the Appellant, that he will effectually prosecute the same and answer the Condemnation as also pay such Costs and Damages, as shall be awarded by Us, in case the sentence of you the Governor or the Commander in Chief for the time being, and Council be affirm'd; And provided also, that Execution be not suspended by reason of any such Appeal unto Us. Direction abt Appeals.

And in as much as it may not be fit, that Appeals be too frequently, and for too small a value brought unto the Governor and Council, you shall therefore with the advice of the Council propose a Law to be passed, wherein the Method and Limitation of Appeals unto the Governor and Council may be settled and restrained, in such manner as shall be found most convenient and easy to Our Subjects in Our said Province.

You are for the better Administration of Justice to endeavour to get a Law passed in the Assembly (if not already done) wherein shall be set the value of Men's Estates, either in Goods or Lands, under which they shall not be capable of serving as Jurors. A Law to be Pass'd for Qualifying Jurors.

You are to propose an Act to be passed in the Assembly, whereby the Creditors of Persons becoming Bankrupts in England, and having Estates in New-Hampshire, may be relieved and Satisfyed for the Debts owing to them. Bankrupts not to hide, & their Estates to be secur'd for y^r Credit^r.

You are to take care by, and with the advice & Assistance of Our said Council, that the Prison there, if it want reparation, be forthwith repaired, and put into, and kept in such a Condition, as may sufficiently secure the Prisoners that are, or shall be there in Custody of the Provost Martial. Prison to be made & kept Sufficient.

You shall endeavour to gett a Law passed, for the restraining of inhuman severities, which by ill Masters or Overseers may be used towards their Christian Servants, and their Slaves, and that Cruelty to servants to be Prevented. Provision be made therein, that the willfull killing of Indians and Negroes may be punished with Death, and that a fitt penalty be imposed for the maiming of them.

You are also with the assistance of Our Council & Assembly to find out the best means to facilitate and encourage the Conversion of Infidels. version of Negroes & Indians to the Christian Religion.

You are to recommend to the Council & Assembly, the raising of Stocks for the Poor. Stocks, and building Publick Work-Houses, in convenient places, for the imploying of Poor and Indigent People.

And for as much as great Inconveniencies may arise by the Liberty of Printing within Our said Province, you are to provide Restraint of y^e Presse. by all necessary Orders, that no person keep any Press for printing upon any occasion whatsoever, without your especial License first obtained.

particular Acc^o to y^e L^{td} Commiss^{rs} of Trade. You are upon all occasions to send unto Us, and to Our Commissioners for Trade and Plantations a particular Account of all your Proceedings, and of the Condition of Affairs within your Government.

You are from time to time, to give unto Us and to Our Commissioners for Trade & Planta^{co}ns as aforesaid, an Account of the Wants & Defects of Our said Province, what are the Chief Products thereof, what new Improvements are made therein by the Industry of the Inhabitants or Planters, and what further Improvements you conceive may be made, or advantages gained by Trade, and which way We may contribute thereunto.

And if any thing shall happen, which may be of advantage or security to Our said Province, which is not herein, or by Our Commission Present Orders provided for, We Do hereby allow unto you, with the in great Cases. advice & Consent of Our said Council, to take order for the present therein, giving to Us, by one of Our Principal Secretaries of State, and to Our foresaid Commissioners for Trade and Plantations, speedy Notice thereof, that so you may receive Our Confirmation, if We shall approve the Same.

Provided always, and Our Will and Pleasure is, that you do not by Colour of any Power or Authority hereby given you, commence or declare War but by Direction. declare War without Our Knowledge, and particular Com- mands therein; except it be against Indians upon Emergencies, wherein the Consent of Our Council shall be had, and speedy notice thereof given unto Us.

Whereas We have been pleased by Our Commission to direct, that in case of your Death or Absence from Our said Province, and in case there

be at that time no person upon the Place commissioned or appointed by Us, to be Our Lieutenant Governor or Commander in Chief, the then present Council of our foresaid Province of New-Hamp- Council to shire shall take upon them the Administration of the Gov- Govern in case. ernment, and execute Our said Commission, and the Severall Powers and Authorities therein contained, in the manner therein directed; it is nevertheless Our Express Will and Pleasure, that in such a case the said Council shall forbear to pass any Acts, but what are immediately necessary for the Peace and Welfare of Our said Province, without Our particular order for that purpose.

And whereas the Lords Spiritual and Temporal in Parliament upon consideration of the great Abuses practised in the Plantation Trade, have, by an humble address represented to Us the great All Acts of Importance it is of, both to this Our Kingdome, & to Our Trade to be Plantations in America, that the many good Laws which observed. have been made for the Government of the said Plantations, and particularly the Act past in the 7th and 8th Years of the Reign of the late King of Glorious Memory, entituled an Act for preventing Frauds and regulating Abuses in the Plantation Trade be strictly observed; you are therefore to take notice that whereas notwithstanding the many good Laws made from time to time for preventing of Frauds in the Plantacon Trade, it is nevertheless manifest that very great Abuses have been, and continue stil to be practised to the Prejudice of the Same, which Abuses must needs arise either from the Insolvency of the Persons who are accepted for Security, or from the remissness or Connivance of such as have been, or are Governors in the several Plantations, who ought to take care that those persons who give Bond should be duly prosecuted in case of nonperformance, We take the Good of Our Plantations, and the Improvement of the Trade thereof, by a strict and punctual observance of the Several Laws in force concerning the same to be of so great Importance to the Benefit of this Our Kingdome, and to the advancing of the Duties of Our Customs here, that if We shal be hereafter informed, that at any time there shall be any failure in the due observance of those Laws within Our foresaid Province of New Hampshire, by any wilfull fault or neglect on your part, We shall look upon it as a breach of the Trust reposed in you by Us, which We shall punish with the loss of your Place in that Government, and such further marks of Our Displeasure as We shall judge reasonable to be inflicted upon you for your offence against Us, in a matter of this Consequence, that We now so particularly charge you with.

By her Majesties Command

MANCHESTER.

Dr. SAMUEL A. GREEN, after showing two volumes that had been completely riddled by the ravages of insects, as well

as some specimens of the animals in various stages, made the following remarks : —

For a long period of years I have been looking for living specimens of the so-called "book worm," of which traces are occasionally found in old volumes; and I was expecting to find an invertebrate animal of the class of Anellides. In this library at the present time there are books perforated with clean-cut holes opening into sinuous cavities, which usually run up the back of the volumes, and sometimes perforate the leather covers and the body of the book; but I have never detected the live culprit that does the mischief. For the most part the injury is confined to such as are bound in leather, and the ravages of the insect appear to depend on its hunger. The external orifices look like so many shot-holes, but the channels are anything but straight. From a long examination of the subject I am inclined to think that all the damage was done before the library came to this site in the spring of 1833. At all events, there is no reason to suppose that any of the mischief has been caused during the last fifty years. Perhaps the furnace heat dries up the moisture which is a requisite condition for the life and propagation of the little animal.

Nearly two years ago I received a parcel of books from Florida, of which some were infested with vermin, and more or less perforated in the manner I have described. It occurred to me that they would make a good breeding-farm and experiment station for learning the habits of the insect; and I accordingly sent several of the volumes to my friend Mr. Samuel Garman, who is connected with the Museum of Comparative Zoölogy at Cambridge, for his care and observation. From him I learn that the principal offender is an animal known popularly as the Buffalo Bug, though he is helped in his work by kindred spirits, not allied to him according to the rules of Natural History. Mr. Garman's letter gives the result of his labors so fully as to leave nothing to be desired, and is as follows : —

MUSEUM OF COMPARATIVE ZOÖLOGY, CAMBRIDGE, MASS.,
February 7, 1893.

DR. SAMUEL A. GREEN, Boston, Mass.

SIR, — The infested books sent for examination to this Museum, through the kindness of Mr. Geo. E. Littlefield, were received July 15, 1891. They were inspected, and individuals of a couple of species of

living insects were at once enclosed in glass for further developments. A year afterward live specimens of both kinds were still at work. Besides those that reached us alive, a third species had left traces of former presence in a number of empty egg-cases.

Five of the volumes were bound in cloth. On these the principal damage appeared at the edges, which were eaten away and disfigured by large burrows extending inward. Two volumes were bound in leather. The edges of these were not so much disturbed; but numerous perforations, somewhat like shot-holes externally, passed through the leather, enlarging and ramifying in the interior. As if made by smaller insects, the sides of these holes were neater and cleaner cuttings than those in the burrows on the edges of the other volumes.

The insects were all identified as well-known enemies of libraries, cabinets, and wardrobes. One of them is a species of what are commonly designated "fish bugs," "silver fish," "bristle tails," etc. By entomologists they are called *Lepisma*; the species in hand is probably *Lepisma saccharina*. It is a small, elongate, silvery, very active creature, frequently discovered under objects, or between the leaves of books, whence it escapes by its extraordinary quickness of movement. Paste and the sizing or enamel of some kinds of paper are very attractive to it. In some cases it eats off the entire surface of the sheet, including the ink, without making perforations; in others the leaves are completely destroyed. The last specimen of this insect in these books was killed February 5, 1893, which proves the species to be sufficiently at home in this latitude.

The second of the three is one of the "Buffalo Bugs," or "Carpet Bugs," so called; not really bugs, but beetles. The species before us is the *Anthrenus varius* of scientists, very common in Boston and Cambridge, as in other portions of the temperate regions and the tropics. Very likely the "shot-holes" in the leather-bound volumes are of its making, though it may have been aided in the deeper and larger chambers by one or both of the others. The damage done by this insect in the house, museum, and library is too well known to call for further comment. Living individuals were taken from the books nearly a year after they were isolated.

The third species had disappeared before the arrival of the books, leaving only its burrows, excrement, and empty egg-cases, which, however, leave no doubt of the identity of the animal with one of the cockroaches, possibly the species *Blatta Australasiae*. The cases agree in size with those of *Blatta Americana*, but have thirteen impressions on each side, as if the number of eggs were twenty-six. The ravages of the cockroaches are greatest in the tropics, but some of the species range through the temperate zones and even northward. An extract from Westwood and Drury will serve to indicate the character of their work:—

"They devour all kinds of victuals, dressed and undressed, and damage all sorts of clothing, leather, books, paper, etc., which if they do not destroy, at least they soil, as they frequently deposit a drop of their excrement where they settle. They swarm by myriads in old houses, making every part filthy beyond description. They have also the power of making a noise like a sharp knocking with the knuckle upon the wainscoting, *Blatta gigantea* being thence known in the West Indies by the name of drummer; and this they keep up, replying to each other, throughout the night; moreover they attack sleeping persons, and will even eat the extremities of the dead."

This quotation makes it appear that authors as well as books are endangered by this outlaw. With energies exclusively turned against properly selected examples of both, what a world of good it might do mankind! The discrimination lacking, the insect must be treated as a common enemy. As a bane for "silver fish" and cockroaches, pyrethrum insect powder is said to be effectual. For a number of years I have used, in the "Agassiz Museum," a mixture containing phosphorus, "The infallible Water Bug and Roach Exterminator," made by Barnard & Co., 459 Washington St., Boston, and, without other interest in advertising it, I have found it to be entirely satisfactory in its effects. Bisulphide Carbon, evaporated in closed boxes or cases containing the infested articles, is used to do away with the "Buffalo Bugs."

Very respectfully yours,

SAMUEL GARMAN.

The Hon. Mellen Chamberlain presented the following paper:—

I have noticed in Mr. Doyle's "History of the Puritan Colonies" an error which I think should be corrected, especially as it relates to a matter which has been discussed by members of our Society, and reported in part in our Proceedings.

In February, 1869, our late associate, Prof. Joel Parker, in an elaborate lecture delivered before the Lowell Institute, discussed, among other subjects, the legality of the transfer of the corporation and charter of the Massachusetts Bay Company from England to Massachusetts in 1630. His views were not in accord with those which had been generally adopted by jurists and historians.

In December of the same year our late associate, Dr. Charles Deane, read before this Society a paper on "The Forms in issuing Letters Patent by the Crown of England," in which

he set forth facts tending to invalidate the views presented by Professor Parker.

I regard the facts and reasons contained in Dr. Deane's paper so conclusive that I do not propose to reopen the question; and I only refer to it that I may place upon our records my dissent from Mr. Doyle's opinion which has been accepted by very high authority among our members.

What Mr. Doyle says is as follows:—

"In anticipation of a future want, the grantees [of the Massachusetts charter] resisted the insertion of any condition which should fix the government of the company in England. Winthrop explicitly states that the advisers of the Crown had originally imposed such a condition, but that the patentees succeeded, not without difficulty, in freeing themselves from it.¹ That fact is a full answer to those who held that in transferring the government to America the patentees broke faith with the Crown."²

And again:—

"In describing the constitution of the colony Winthrop emphatically states that the original members of the Company were specially careful that no condition should be inserted in the original patent limiting the government of the colony to any corporation living in England. We may regard this as an answer to the charge that the transfer was an act of bad faith, an answer too all the more effective because it arose incidentally out of a different controversy."³

It is not a little remarkable that a writer of Mr. Doyle's erudition and judgment should have fallen into the mistake indicated in the foregoing extracts. His mistake is in assuming that Winthrop's language has any reference whatever to the transfer of the corporation and its charter to Massachusetts Bay. I shall presently quote what Winthrop says; but before doing so I will give a mere outline of events which led to the transfer of the corporation and charter.

March 19, 1628, Sir Henry Roswell and several other English gentlemen bought of the Council established at Plymouth in England a tract of land which comprised what is now the greater part of the State of Massachusetts.

¹ This is stated by Winthrop in a pamphlet written in 1644, and published in an appendix to his *Life*, vol. ii. p. 443. — *Note by Mr. Doyle.*

² The Puritan Colonies (Amer. ed.), vol. i. p. 90.

³ *Ibid.* p. 263.

These grantees were not a corporation, and consequently they took title in the lands they purchased as tenants in common. Their grant did not carry with it any rights of jurisdiction over the soil, or government of the people who might settle upon it.

They therefore needed an agent to reside on their newly acquired property and to look after their interests therein; and accordingly, a few weeks after the date of their deed, they chose John Endicott, who left for Salem in June, 1828, and arrived there in September.

Though Endicott seems to have been a very efficient land-agent, yet affairs on neither side of the water were entirely satisfactory. The grantees in England needed corporate powers to enable them to conduct their business efficiently; and the planters in Massachusetts needed some sort of government.

Accordingly, after Endicott had been at Salem six months, Rosewell and his associates obtained from the king a charter, dated March 4, 1629, which constituted them a body corporate, with power to establish two governments, — one for themselves as a corporation in England, and another for the colonists or plantation in Massachusetts Bay.

This dual government under the charter needs to be clearly understood in order to avoid the misapprehension into which so many — among whom Mr. Doyle seems to be one — have fallen in treating the subject.

The charter authorizes the corporation to choose a governor, a deputy-governor and assistants, and "such other officers as they shall think fit and requisite for the ordering, managing, and despatching of the affairs of the said Governor and Company and their successors, and to make laws and ordinances for the welfare of the said company [that is, in England], and for the government and ordering of the said lands and plantation, and the people inhabiting and to inhabit the same." This more clearly appears in the final paragraph, in which the corporation is authorized to make such laws as are incident to English corporations, and also "for the settling of the forms and ceremonies of government and magistracy fit and necessary for the said plantation and the inhabitants there, and for naming and styling of all sorts of officers, both superior and inferior, which they shall find needful for that government and plantation."

Thus authorized by charter to conduct the general affairs of the corporation in England, and at the same time to set up a separate but subordinate government on and for the plantation, within a month thereafter (April 30, 1629), they chose Endicott governor of the plantation, gave him a deputy and council, and authorized them, as they say, "by power derived from his Majesty's letters patent, to make, ordain, and establish all manner of wholesome and reasonable orders, laws, statutes, ordinances, directions, and instructions, not contrary to the laws of the realm of England, for the present government of our plantation, and the inhabitants residing within the limits of our plantation."

Now, it was this subordinate government to which Winthrop referred, as will presently appear, and not to the government consolidated in the colony after the transfer of the charter. These two governments—one general in England, and the other subordinate in the colony—existed, and harmoniously performed their several functions until they were united by the arrival of Winthrop with the charter at Salem, June 12, 1630.

Such were the facts, and such was the interpretation of them by the company itself, by Winthrop, Endicott, and by all concerned.

It only remains to confirm these statements by placing by the side of them the passage from Winthrop's paper on "Arbitrary Government" which seems to have given rise to misapprehension. The passage is as follows:—

After stating the general provisions of the charter respecting the powers and organization of the corporation, he says:—

"The last clause is for the governing of the Inhabitants within the Plantation. For it being the manner for such as procured Patents for Virginia, Bermudas, and the West Indies to keep the chief Government in the hands of the company residing in England (& so this was intended & with much difficulty we got it absconded) this clause is inserted in this & all other Patents whereby the company in England might establish a government & officers here in any form used in England, as Governor and Councill, Justices of the Peace, Mayor, Bayliffs &c, and accordingly Mr Endicott and others with him, were established a Governor & Council here, before the government was transferred hither."¹

¹ Life, vol. ii. pp. 442, 443.

Winthrop then quotes the clause from the charter which warrants this setting up of a government in the colony, while the corporation still remained in England, and in complete exercise of all its functions there.

He states the powers of the colony government "before," as he expressly says, "the Government was *transferred hither*"; and it was, as appears with equal explicitness, the right to set up this subordinate government that was obtained with much difficulty. So little reason, therefore, is there for quoting this passage as affirming the right to transfer the charter,—the thing complained of as an act of bad faith.

MR. CHARLES F. ADAMS then read the following communication:—

A small stitched memorandum book, made of that coarse writing-paper in use a century ago, has recently been put in my hands, containing data jotted down by one Ebenezer Miller between the years 1777 and 1799. In Teele's History of Milton and in the "Three Episodes of Massachusetts History" will be found somewhat of an account of the Miller family, originally of Milton, and then of the North Precinct of Braintree, subsequently Quincy; and Ebenezer Miller, known as Major Miller in his day, was a son of the Rev. Ebenezer Miller, D.D., rector of Christ's Church, referred to in the letter of John Adams to the Rev. Aaron Bancroft, just submitted by our associate, Mr. Winthrop. Shortly before the Revolution he was one of the selectmen of Braintree; during the Revolution Major Miller, in common with all the other prominent members of Christ's Church, was a Tory "suspect"; and, later, he was one of the first board of selectmen of Quincy, when that town was in 1792 set off from Braintree.

Like most similar memorandum books kept in our New England country towns for their personal use and subsequent reference by men in no way remarkable,—whether in the last century or in this,—the book referred to contains few entries of interest. Such entries as there are relate as a rule to the dates at which the writer put his "ox and cow in Mrs. Beal's pasture," or "fetched" his "colt and heffer from Coll Millers," or when his "sow took boar at E. Haydens." Records of this description are, perhaps, about as valuable and as well worthy of preservation as much of the original matter of history

which is emptied out from the press in the collections of this and other similar societies, but that is a matter not immediately to be discussed; meanwhile in the course of Major Ebenezer Miller's memoranda — covering as they do a period of twenty-two years — I find a few entries, relating, I am sorry to say, chiefly to the weather, which have a certain interest. The period covered, it is true, was not without its events of greater moment. The later years of the Revolution are included in it; the time of dreary depression which followed the War of Independence; Shays's insurrection; the incorporation of Quincy. In regard to not one of these things is an allusion even to be found in Ebenezer Miller's book; he notes only farm and household events — and the weather.

We are quite accustomed even now whenever we have one or more cool summers or mild winters to newspaper theorizing over unmistakable climatic changes, attributed usually to some alteration in the current of the Gulf Stream or other equally plausible though recondite cause. We also periodically hear reminiscences of what are referred to as "old-fashioned winters," — a description of winter supposed to have passed out of date; the fact apparently being that the "old-fashioned" winter, formerly as now, occurred once in about twenty years, but was, now is, and hereafter will be remembered for exceptional severity, while the intervening and ordinary winters pass into quiet oblivion.

Of these "old-fashioned Winters" that of 1780 was among the most memorable. It was the famous and trying winter of Valley Forge. Writing from Braintree, a neighbor and acquaintance of Ebenezer Miller described it as "the sublimest winter I ever saw. In the latter part of December and beginning of January there fell the highest snow known since the year 1740; and from that time to [the close of February] the Bay has been frozen so hard that people have walked, rode and sledded over it to Boston. It was frozen across Nantasket Road so that no vessel could come in or go out for a month after the storms."¹ Writing on the 27th of November, 1779, Ebenezer Miller noted "their has not been but very little Rain all this fall till yesterday when it came on a violent storm of Rain which turned to Snow in the evening." Then on

¹ Familiar Letters of John Adams and his Wife, p. 377. See also 6 Mass. Hist. Coll. vol. v. p. 392

December 2 "a cold Rain Storm," and on the 5th "a snow storm Good Sleding." Then, 1780, January 1, "the ground has been covered with Snow from 26 Nov'r and this day set in Violent Cold. 10 it has Snowed almost every day from the first of this month the snow over the tops of many fences. Feb. 7 Supposed to be $3\frac{1}{2}$ feet Deep if Leavel. it has been fair for about 4 week but extrem cold but verry few days from 1 Jan'y that it has Dropt of the house till to Day. 8 Snow and Rain. 9 Fair and Cold. Feb'y 15 went to Boston with a Sled Load of wood over the ice. 15 Feb'y it began to thaw and kept thawing gradually with Some Rain till 15 March when the Roads in some places was passable with Carts. April 13 Snow all gone except a few Banks under the fences." So ended the famous winter of 1780. Next, on the 19th of the following May came the equally or even more famous "dark day"; of which Ebenezer Miller made the following record: "this day about Sun Rise it thundered and was cloudy all Day some rain in the morning about 11 o'clock A. M. there Came on a thick Darkness & between 12 and one it was so Dark we were obliged to light Candles to go about the house and to Dine by about 2 o'clock it began to grow lighter by 3 o'clock got to be as light as it commonly is of a Raney Day remained Cloudy till night with some Rain in the afternoon but no rain in the Darkest time the Night was the Darkest that ever was known till one o'clock you could not se anything that was white out of Doors tho it was within a foot of your eyes and when you put the candles out in the house you could not Desern where the window was from the other part of the room, the next morning Cloudy but Cleared of Fair."

Then follow a succession of years in no way noticeable, except now and again for some February freshet or August drought, until towards the end of the memorandum book comes this entry of a climatic experience the like of which this generation certainly has never witnessed in the vicinity of Boston. It is merely necessary to premise that, in direct lines, Squantum and Hough's Neck, though in different directions, are each some two miles from where the writer lived: "1797 July 14 Friday about half past 3 o'clock afternoon came on a most violent storm of Rain & the largest hail that ever was known here & wind some of the hail stones weighed

between one eighth and a quarter of an ounce the hail was near over Shoes under the side of the House & broke many panes of Glass for me it beat almost all the barley out of the ear tore the corn & every vegetable almost to peaces no hail at Hough's neck & little at Squantom, but very Bad at Mr. John Billings on Judge Cranches farm the hail rold of a Sideling piece of Land so that it was 3 feet deep in the Valley. I got hail from their on Commencement Day which was 19 to make punch with it was then one foot Deep!"

Judge Cranch's farm is now, as it has been for the last century, the property of the family of which I am a member; and it is still known as "the Cranch pasture." The "Sideling piece of Land," off which the hailstones rolled into the valley, I take to be the west side of the deep hollow immediately in rear of the house in which I live. In that hollow it thus appears the hailstones lay three feet deep on the 14th of July, 1797, and five days later, being still a foot deep, afforded one of the necessary ingredients of a cold punch on Commencement Day at the neighboring college.

I find absolutely nothing further of interest in the Miller memorandum book.

Rev. Dr. Edmund F. Slafter was appointed to write a memoir of the late Fitch Edward Oliver, M.D., and Rev. Dr. Alexander V. G. Allen to write a memoir of the late Right Rev. Phillips Brooks, D.D., for publication in the Proceedings.

MARCH MEETING, 1893.

THE stated meeting was held on Thursday, the 9th instant, at three o'clock, P. M.; the President, Dr. GEORGE E. ELLIS, in the chair.

The record of the last meeting was read and approved; and the Librarian read his list of donors to the Library.

The PRESIDENT then said:—

For a third time at our succeeding monthly meetings we have to recognize the loss by death of members from our roll; and now it is of two honored and useful associates who had filled their fourscore of years,—Rev. Robert C. Waterston and Dr. Henry Wheatland. For many recent years we have missed their presence at our meetings; Mr. Waterston having been in retirement under painful physical infirmities, Dr. Wheatland's time and interest being engrossed by his devoted zeal in many other societies with objects kindred to our own.

Our older members can hardly fail to associate Mr. Waterston here with his brother-in-law, Dr. Charles Deane, so honored and cherished by us, to whose removal from us we have hardly as yet become reconciled. Starting their career in mercantile life as contemporaries, brought into close friendly and domestic relations, they may have mutually influenced each other in the direction of their tastes and interests in objects which brought them into membership and engaged their zeal in this Society.

Mr. Waterston, born to a favored lot, while yet a clerk, was a fond collector and reader of books, and keenly engaged in the cultivation of his artistic tastes, in which by time and later travel abroad he acquired accomplishments. He had also strong impulses to benevolent activity and philanthropy. It was while doing effective services in these fields that he was prompted to prepare himself for the Christian ministry, in which he was engaged with devotion and fidelity for many years.

He came into membership here in 1859, and did much intelligent and kindly work in the service of the Society, enriching it with donations and acting on its committees. His gifts to us were largely of autographs, portraits, and relics of men of fame and of historical objects. He wrote for the Proceedings memoirs of our associates, George Sumner and George B. Emerson, and paid tributes here to the poets Sprague and Bryant, to William G. Brooks, President Quincy, and Motley.

There are some here who will recall the delightful evening when we shared the hospitalities of his home in commemorating the centennial of the Boston Tea Party, December 16, 1873. The account of that meeting, with many documents, in our Proceedings, is an instructive historical narrative. In our Proceedings also will be found an interesting letter which Mr. Waterston addressed to the Society in 1870 from San Francisco, whither he had gone with the Board of Trade. In another piece from his pen, he makes the old elm on the Common the relator and commentator on what has transpired for centuries on this peninsula. Mr. Waterston was an active member of the Natural History Society and other associations, and gave much time and labor to the city on the School Committee.

Dr. Henry Wheatland was elected to membership in 1847. He identified the principal work and interests of his long life mainly with institutions in Salem devoted to the preservation and illustration of the historical relics of that, the first of the permanent settlements in the Bay Colony. Those relics in objects and documents are rich and copious, covering, indeed, in a well-nigh complete and exhaustive collection long under his charge as the head of the Essex Institute, the antiquities and memorials accumulating for nearly three centuries.

They begin with the reconstructed rafters and timbers of the first meeting-house of the settlement, in which Higginson, Hugh Peters, and Roger Williams preached and Governor Winthrop exhorted and "prophesied." In no other ancient town in our country, not even in the Pilgrim Hall at Plymouth, is there gathered so full and continuous a collection of articles identified with the life of the succeeding generations of the people. The household, domestic, culinary, mechanical, and agricultural implements of the elders are all represented.

Their apparel and furniture, as well as their effigies, journals, letters, and books, present themselves in order. It was largely through Dr. Wheatland's zeal and care that two earlier organizations in Salem, the Essex County Natural History Society and the Essex Historical Society, were united to form the Essex Institute in 1848, from which date Dr. Wheatland has been its head and its indefatigable servant.

He had previously been the superintendent of another unique and characteristic institution of Salem, the Museum of the East India Marine Society. That museum, with its curious gathering of objects from all seas and lands, is a striking memorial of the once world-wide commerce of Salem, all its contents having been picked up and transported by Salem shipmasters in the ships of Salem's old merchant princes.

Dr. Wheatland was also a trustee of the Peabody Academy of Science, and of the Peabody Museum of American Archaeology and Ethnology. Our Society is indebted to him for many valuable donations, and for memoirs of our associates, Dr. Benjamin Merrill and Benjamin R. Nichols.

Mr. Josiah P. Quincy was appointed to write a memoir of Mr. Waterston, and Mr. William P. Upham a memoir of Dr. Wheatland, for publication in the Proceedings of the Society.

The President presented from Mrs. Henry V. Poor, a daughter of the late Rev. Dr. John Pierce, a manuscript volume in her father's handwriting, containing transcripts of ten addresses to which he had listened when a young man, and some of which, it is believed, have not been printed.

It was voted that the thanks of the Society for her valuable gift should be communicated to Mrs. Poor by the Secretary, and that the volume should be placed with the manuscript diary given by Rev. Dr. Pierce.

MR. WILLIAM S. APPLETON, of the first section, read the following communication:—

Hugh Peter in Literature.

Hugh Peter figures largely in literature. He was the author of several small works; he has of course an important place in every one of the oft-reprinted accounts of the Trials of the Regicides; his own life has been written several times;

and he is the principal character, or is incidentally introduced, in various other volumes.

Of his own works the best known is the "Dying Father's Last Legacy to an Only Child: or Mr. Hugh Peter's Advice to his Daughter," published soon after his death, and reprinted at Boston in 1717. It shows his best and tenderest side; but the advice is indeed solemn and heavy. The only other of his works which I shall notice is the "Good Work for a Good Magistrate. or, A short Cut to great quiet. by Honest, homely plain English Hints given from Scripture, Reason, and Experience, for the regulating of most Cases in this Commonwealth. Concerning *Religion; Mercie; Justice*," published at London in 1651. It is a remarkable book; and if really and wholly by Peter, shows what a many-sided man he was, with some ideas far in advance of his time. In the introduction and in a dedicatory letter to his "dear friend J. T." he intimates, however, that this friend had some share in the work. It treats of, I. the Advancement of Religion; II. Mercie to the poor; III. Justice, with supplementary chapters on the Advancement of Learning, the Improvement of Nature, the Incouragement of Arts and Manufactures, and the Increase of Merchandise, with a postscript Concerning Printing. I wish to call attention to a few of its most striking paragraphs.

Under "Mercie to the poor" he urges the establishment in every town of a "*Lombard* (or bank of lending), . . . where the poor, that have no friends, or will not make their need known, and such as on a sudden are fallen into some strait, may have money upon their paune upon a reasonable Interest; A *Lombard* well regulated, would bee a worke of much mercie; and the monies of orphans might bee imploied in this waie to maintein the fatherless, and increas their stock, so would good bee don both waies." Surely in later times we have something very like this, whether known as a "Mont de Piété," "Institution for Savings," or otherwise. Justice is by far the longest division of the book. In it Peter urges the establishment of Registries of Deeds, the abolishment of Entail, the punishment of thieves by sending them to two Gallies "to row from *Gravesend* to *Queenborow*," "That it bee inacted through the Nation, that none drink to another, directly, or indirectly, upon the forfeiture of twelve pence, whereof six pence to the informer, and six pence to the poor;

which, though it seem ridiculous, will prove the likeliest waie of prevention ; the practice beeing of men ingrammatical, and practised in no Countries, but among our neighbors in *Germanie*, &c."

One would hardly expect to find Hugh Peter writing of the "Improvement of Nature" and the "Incouragement of Arts and Manufactures"; but we certainly do. Under the former he proposes the "*cutting of Rivers*, where none are, and making them deeper that are too shallow," thus anticipating a River and Harbor bill as atrocious as any the American Congress ever passed. Under the latter he would liberally reward inventors, and would "suffer all Commodities, from all parts of the world to bee brought in free without Custom."

Under the "Increas of Merchandise" he would "have special care to keep the Soveraintie of the Sea," and gives space to his ideas for the reformation of the English Navy, in which "the offer of New-England may bee entertained, who tender the building of what Ships, or Frigats are desired, and to bring them into the Thames, and there their value impartially judg'd ; who likewise may furnish iron guns, masts, &c.;" he also would "take of all incumbrance from Merchandise, as Custom, Excise, Pasports, &c.," in this anticipating one reform of very recent date and another which this country has not yet reached. He gives at length his ideas on Money and Banking, and then, writing not of Paris but of London, anticipates Baron Haussmann as follows : —

"That Thames-street, for a mile or two long, bee made as broad, or broader than anie street in *London* ; . . . The difficultie seem's to bee in pulling down, and new building of houses, or removing them on screws, as at *Amsterdam* : But things may bee so ordered, as the profit to bee made, by convenient building ; and the value, houses, and ground will bee at, by bettering the street and the Key, will fully countervail the charge of all this whole work."

Dirty streets next have his attention ; and then "All wooden houses in *London* must down ; . . . and no new houses to bee built, but with brick or stone, to prevent fire."

In the "Postscript Concerning Printing" he would have a proper copyright law, and "That no Books printed originally in England, may bee imported from beyond Seas into this Commonwealth : other States will not suffer it : and wee finde

by experience that neither Autor, nor Printer, nor bookseller can bee encouraged, when the Book, assoon as it is out here, shall bee printed beyond Sea, when they have paper and printing at a cheaper rate, and hither imported, oftentimes to the ruine of the undertakers of a good work here." I did not intend to say so much about this volume, but the more I studied it, the more interesting I found it.

The Life of Hugh Peter has been written several times, even so lately as 1851 by our associate, the late Rev. Joseph B. Felt. I will only mention the Life of 1663 by that black-guard Dr. William Yonge, and that of 1751, "After the Manner of Mr. Bayle." But the Rev. Samuel Peters, LL.D. of Connecticut wrote "A History of the Rev. Hugh Peters, A.M.," published in 1807, which is certainly a literary curiosity, if there be any such. I await with a decided feeling of eagerness and interest the memoir which shall appear in the new English "Dictionary of National Biography"; and I hope it will be written by an impartial person, who will judge Peter not alone from the words of his avowed enemies and detractors, but also from his own writings, including the letters printed by this Society in the Winthrop Papers.

My principal object in beginning this was to notice the various works in which Hugh Peter figures either principally or incidentally. There is the "Tales and Jests of Mr. Hugh Peters," printed in 1660, and reprinted in 1807. I can find not much fun in the book, and probably as little truth. There is "Peters Patern," a pretended Funeral Sermon after the false report of his death in 1659, and "Hugh Peters's Dreame," both dreary attempts at wit. There is a play "The Famous Tragedie of King Charles I." of 1649, in which Peter is presented as the pimp and pander of Cromwell, who calls him "my fine facetious Devill," "my deare Buffone," etc. The Rev. Thomas Edwards devotes to Hugh Peter more than twenty-five pages of the "Gangræna," and quotes him as authority for the statement that near New England was an island twenty miles long and three miles broad, "which was so full of pigeons, that the Island was all covered over with pigeons dung two foot deep." I am in doubt whether to consider this a proof of Peter's powers of observation or of exaggeration.

My intention, however, was to quote only references to Peter

of a comic or serio-comic character. In the "EPULÆ THYESTÆ: OR, The THANKSGIVING-DINNER: WHERE The Devill finds all, Meat, Cooks, Guests, &c. TOGETHER WITH THE CITY PRESENT. ALSO A Short GRACE after a Long Dinner. AND A GOD-SPEED," printed at London in 1648, we read, —

" There *Peters*, the *Denyer* (nay, 'tis said
He, that (Disguis'd) Cut off his *Masters* Head)
That Godly Pidgeon of Apostacy,
Does buzz about his Anti-Monarchy:
His Scaffold-Doctrines; and such murdering stuffe,
Which yet Wounds nought but the affrighted Ruffe
Of the Laps'd *Aldermen*."

In "PAUL'S CHURCH-YARD. *Libri Theologici, Politici, Historici, Nundinis Paulinis (und cum Templo) prostant venales. Juxta seriem Alphabeti Democratici*. Done into English for the Assembly of Divines." Number 1 is "*Guzman's* Cases of Conscience; Revised and augmented by *Hugh Peters*"; Number 132 is "An Act for repealing a former Act [called *An Act disabling Clergy-men to intermeddle in civill Affairs*] that so Mr. *Peters* may be of the *Committee for altering the Law*"; and Number 175 is "Whether Master *Peters* did justly preach against Christmas Pyes the same day he eate two Mince-pies to his dinner?" In "THE Assembly-man," printed 1662-3, but said to be "Written in the Year 1647," we read "His sole comfort is, he can-not out-sin *Hugh Peters*: Sure, as Satan hath possessed the *Assembler*, so *Hugh Peters* hath possessed Satan, and is the Devil's Devil. He alone would fill a whole Herd of *Gadarens*." In "The Posthumous Works of Mr. Samuel Butler, Author of *Hudibras*," is "*Hugh Peters's Thanksgiving Speech for a Farewel to the City, in the behalf of the General and Lieutenant-General*," too long to quote here.

Peter is introduced of late years in Praed's ballad "Marston Moor," a worthy mate to Macaulay's Naseby. After the total defeat of the Royalists in the battle, Sir Nicholas, returning on foot to his home, says to his wife, the Lady Alice, —

" Sweet! we will fill our money-bags, and freight a ship for France,
And mourn in merry Paris for this poor land's mischance:
For if the worst befall me, why, better axe and rope,
Than life with Lenthal for a king, and Peters for a pope!
Alas! alas! my gallant Guy! — curse on the crop-eared boor
Who sent me with my standard on foot from Marston Moor!"

Hon. MELLEN CHAMBERLAIN spoke in substance as follows :

At the October meeting of our Society, I briefly adverted to the Talcott Papers, then recently laid upon our table, and expressed a purpose of giving them a more careful reading. This I have done, and now present some of the results.

They form volume four of the Collections of the Connecticut Historical Society, with this titlepage: "The Talcott Papers, Correspondence, and Documents (chiefly official) during Joseph Talcott's Governorship of the Colony of Connecticut, 1724-41. Edited by Mary Kingsbury Talcott. Volume I. 1724-36."

These papers cover a period of Connecticut history hitherto regarded as lacking interest ; but now, by reason of the light thrown upon the constitutional relations of that colony to the Crown and Parliament, this history becomes important. They also supplement and make more intelligible the case of Winthrop *vs.* Lechmere in the sixth volume, sixth series, of our own Collections ; and the form in which they are presented revives a question raised many years ago by Dr. Palfrey as to the classification of the State Archives.

Governor Talcott appears to have been assiduous and methodical in his conduct of public affairs, and careful to preserve the documentary evidence of those transactions in which he participated ; for in this volume we find not only letters and documents, but also, in many instances, the answers and counter documents. These the editor has arranged in chronological order, and with commendable diligence has filled from other sources some gaps in the Governor's files, and added succinct biographical and explanatory notes. In this way the reader has before him, in exact sequence as it was forming, and in its most authentic character, a large part of the public history of Connecticut, from October 5, 1724, to November 30, 1736, with promise of another volume which will bring it down to 1741.

Apart from the remarkable journey of Hooker and his party, with their herds of cattle, through the wilderness to the valley of the Connecticut, in the summer of 1636, and the extermination of the Pequots the next year, the history of that colony hardly excites popular interest. Protected by her position from Indian incursions, her annals afford no tales

of massacres, or of burning houses so common elsewhere in New England. She banished no Antinomians ; she hanged no Quakers, nor is her history saddened by the witchcraft delusion of 1692. Her development centres around no romantic personality like Roger Williams, nor was it guided by the calm statesmanship of the elder Winthrop.

Here was a colony remarkable neither for the fertility of its soil, nor the extent of its domains. It had little timber, and produced no staple. None of its harbors attracted the commerce of Europe, and its people were too remote from the larger fisheries for profitable participation in them.

Doubtless this isolation was not without compensations ; for if the people did not share the wealth of European trade, neither did they suffer from the deteriorating influences which accompanied it. No circumstance of their condition attracted undesirable immigrants ; and so this people, mainly agriculturists, homogeneous in race and ecclesiastical predilections, were free to work out the problem of self-government. No people are more happy than those who have no other history.

The marvel is how it came to pass that this little community of farmers, small tradesmen, and mechanics, remote from the centres of civilization and having little to do with European thought, so managed their affairs and wrought for self-culture, that at the outbreak of the Revolution it brought to the front, in the person of her Governor, Jonathan Trumbull, an unequalled administrator of public affairs in New England ; sent to the wars one of its ablest generals ; was ably represented in the Continental Congress, and in the Convention of 1787 by that unsurpassed triumvirate of constitutionalists, Sherman, Johnson, and Ellsworth ; and before the close of the century became distinguished for her theologians, jurists, poets, and men of letters. We have something more to learn about this history.

Two periods in Connecticut history had much to do with the phenomena I have mentioned, especially in respect to her progress in constitutional government. One of these, well known, has made her famous among the thirteen colonies ; and the other, to me at least very little known, is the administration of Governor Talcott, of which I propose to say something. But first, a word about the earlier period.

When Massachusetts writers—assuming with characteristic

assurance her pre-eminence among the colonies for intelligence, character, and conduct of affairs — account for it by quoting old William Stoughton that “God sifted a whole nation that he might send choice grain over into the wilderness,” Connecticut writers are swift to add that the simpler, more democratic, and more rational life of her people was due to the *twice-sifted seed* with which she was planted.

And that certainly was a very select and admirable body of men who, under the lead of Hooker and Stone, Haynes and Ludlow, settled the upper Connecticut valley in 1636–37, and formed the Constitution of 1639, whether agreeably to an antecedent purpose brought from Holland by Hooker, or as an expression of what was not only desirable in their situation, but also practicable to a people unhampered by the restrictive conditions of a charter, or by any potential jurisdiction of the Crown. But whatever may have been the origin or vitality of these primitive principles and conduct, there came a time when, under changed conditions, neither the civil nor the ecclesiastical autonomy of Connecticut essentially differed — certainly not for the better — from that of the parent colony.

Nevertheless, an interval passed over, Connecticut again came to the front among the leading colonies which carried on the War of the Revolution, and was second to none in framing the new constitution, and in setting in operation the government under it.

The Talcott Papers throw light upon the causes which led to this state of facts; and to these I now turn.

At the outbreak of the Revolution, though the exigencies of their situation forced the colonists to question their relations to parliamentary authority, they affirmed even with vehemence that they were “dutiful subjects to the best of kings.”

But fifty years before this, their trials — peculiar in kind, degree, and pervasiveness — must have led the people of Connecticut gravely to consider the power both of the Crown and of Parliament over them; and in the history of these events as set forth by the Talcott Papers, is to be found an interesting chapter of their progress in constitutional affairs, new to me, and it may be to others.

These questions arose in one form in the case of *Winthrop vs. Lechmere*, which, though filling a large space in the latest

volume of our Collections, is seen in its completeness only when supplemented by the Talcott Papers. A mere outline of the case will serve to bring the subject before us. Wait Winthrop, son of Gov. John Winthrop of Connecticut, died in 1717, leaving two children, — John Winthrop, the plaintiff, and Ann, wife of Thomas Lechmere, the defendant. His landed estates in Connecticut were large, and their descent was regulated by the law of that colony, which divided the property of an intestate among his children; giving, however, a double portion to the eldest son. By this rule John Winthrop would be entitled to two thirds of the estate, and his sister to one third. Dissatisfied with this division, he claimed the whole of the realty (as by the law of England he would be entitled), on the ground that the colony law above referred to was invalid, being in contravention of the charter of King Charles, in 1662, which by implication forbade the making of any law "contrary to the laws of this realm of England." This, however, was not the view taken by Thomas Lechmere and his wife; and in 1724 they began proceedings to recover one third of the real estate. These proceedings before different courts in Massachusetts, Connecticut, and England, terminated in a decree of the king in Council, February 15, 1728, which declared the Connecticut law void, reversed the judgments of her courts, and gave the whole of the real estate to John Winthrop.

The appalling effect of this decree can be easily understood. In general, litigation concerns only the parties to it, and those immediately connected with them; but in this case the decree of the king affected every person, old or young, male or female, in Connecticut; and even the child unborn might rue the ruling of that day. It reversed the policy of distribution and settlement of estates which, either by practice or positive law, had prevailed in Connecticut from the beginning, and must have been very alarming to the other New England colonies in which a similar usage prevailed. It unsettled the foundations of property, and threatened universal litigation in families.

Many of the grievances which the colonies complained of at a later day were merely theoretical, such as an assertion of authority over them by the Crown or Parliament, or a prospective tax which was neither paid nor levied, and therefore not intolerable. But the decree of the king in the case

of Winthrop *vs.* Lechmere, *ipso facto*, threw all rights in real estate into a confusion from which immediate and dire distress followed.

In this alarming exigency the first question was as to the likelihood of relief by a reversal of the king's decree as matter of law; and if not, then whether the king, as successor to Charles II., who granted their charter, by a supplementary charter could and would abscond that clause which forbade their passing any law contrary to the laws of England; and if this lay outside his power or will, then could and would Parliament do so?

On the one hand, it was doubtful if the king could absolve any of his subjects from their express obligations to the laws of the realm, even though, had Charles II. so chosen, he might have omitted the restrictive clause; and on the other hand, it was questionable whether Parliament had power to regulate the disposition of lands the title to which, as well as the power to govern their inhabitants, was derived exclusively from the Crown, in which, by the public law of Europe, they vested on their discovery by English subjects.

Of the king's property in lands so discovered, or of his prerogative in governing them, there had been no accepted doubt; though in Coke's time his right to grant monopolies — such, for example, as the exclusive right to fish in American waters, with the sole use of adjacent lands for curing the catch — had been questioned with some effect.

These questions were in abeyance during the interregnum which ensued on the death of Charles I., when the prerogatives were engrossed by the parliamentary government. But on the restoration, Charles II. resumed the old prerogatives of the Crown, and in 1662 granted to Connecticut a charter with powers of government little short of absolute and independent.

And so the case stood at the time of the decision of Winthrop *vs.* Lechmere. The king's title to ungranted colonial lands was good; but was it personal and absolute, or, like his other prerogatives, in trust for the common welfare of his subjects? Without doubt he, and he alone, could erect colonial governments, appoint their officers, and allow or disallow their laws; but then, again, were these prerogatives absolute, or subject to some sort of parliamentary regulation? The power and its limitations are best seen in examples. In

1691, William and Mary granted the second charter of Massachusetts, in which they prescribed its constitution, its legislative and judicial powers, and reserved to themselves the appointment of certain officers. Here was a clear and unquestioned exercise of the royal prerogative; but in 1725 the Privy Council, which apart from the king had nothing to do with the matter, forced an explanatory charter upon Massachusetts, with threats that in case she rejected it, *Parliament would take the case in hand*. This was the first effective entrance of that wedge which in 1776 split the empire, — Parliament, by the passage of the Boston Port Bill, having assumed the prerogative of the Crown.¹

In this unsettled state of the royal prerogatives, Connecticut might well doubt whether to seek relief from the king or from the Parliament; but, as we shall see a little later, she could safely apply to neither. For if George II. could amend the charter, by the like exercise of prerogative he could take it away altogether; and if Parliament could make one law affecting the king's prerogative in colonial matters, it could make any law.

Acceptance of either horn of this dilemma might prove fatal; and a clear perception of this brought home to every citizen of Connecticut through their representatives in the General Assembly, which was consulted at every stage of the proceedings, more than any other fact in their history, made them familiar with constitutional questions, and prepared them, in the fulness of time, to reject the authority of both king and Parliament.

It remains to verify these statements by the Talcott Papers.

The case of Winthrop *vs.* Lechmere was a private suit, in which neither the people nor the government of Connecticut had any direct interest; and therefore, when Winthrop appealed from the Superior Court of the colony to the king in Council, the case was argued only by the counsel of the respective parties. Connecticut did not appear by her agent, nor, had she appeared, would she have had any standing of record in court. But neither the restless activity nor the animosity of Winthrop, smarting under real or supposed injuries, permitted him to remain quiet; for during the pen-

¹ Of course these measures received the customary royal assent, for the veto power had been practically given up.

dency of his appeal he exhibited to the king in Council a long and bitter complaint against the government of Connecticut. To make answer to this, Jeremy Dummer, the agent of the colony, resident in London, was summoned in February, 1727; and of this, on the 13th of the same month, he notified Governor Talcott, adding that "if you expect me to manage the cause you must send me at least a hundred Pounds Sterling by the first opportunity. Every hearing will cost me Forty Guineas, and the other side who employ Solicitors and attorneys a great deal more. By the next ship I'll send you a copy of the Complaints." This document is not found among the Talcott Papers; but if we may infer its tenor from the answer, it must have been very alarming.¹

It does not appear, however, that any action was taken by the Connecticut government for more than a year afterward. In the mean time the king in Council had reversed the judgments of the Connecticut courts, and declared null and void the colony statute respecting the settlement of estates, as also an Act which empowered Lechmere, as administrator of the estate of Wait Winthrop, to sell certain of his lands for the payment of his charges.² Before a copy of the decree reached Connecticut in June, news of its import had come by the way of Boston, late in May, 1728; and on the 28th of that month Governor Talcott sent a message to the General Assembly, communicating the intelligence, and recommending that a special agent be sent to London "to espouse our cause before his Majesty in Council."

The General Assembly, appreciating the gravity of the situation, acted at once; and on the 29th Governor Talcott wrote to Jonathan Belcher of Boston, afterward governor of Massachusetts, offering him the agency, to act in concert with Dummer, the resident agent.

Belcher accepted, and, provided with the necessary documents, including his credentials, instructions, arguments, and an address to their Majesties, arrived in London, "after a fine passage of 20 days." April 11, 1729, he wrote to Governor

¹ Though Winthrop's "Complaints" and his "Appeal" are different papers, they appear to have contained some matters in common. The latter, with the brief of counsel, is in 6 Mass. Hist. Coll., vol. v. p. 440 *et seq.*

² This of course invalidated the title of the purchaser, who afterward applied to the General Assembly for relief; and the business occasioned much trouble.

Talcott that he found "Mr. Winthrop [with whom he had had an interview] full of wrath and prejudice against Connecticut, and I believe now endeavoring to do them all the ill offices in his power."

Belcher's instructions form an extraordinary paper, and, if drawn by Talcott, evince him to have been a statesman with clear knowledge of law, a man of ability and great good sense. The document, in fifteen printed pages, covers the whole ground of facts, argument, policy both colonial and British, and constitutional law. No synopsis of the document is practicable within my limits, but a few points may be given: that the policy of dividing real estate among all the children, giving a double portion to the oldest son, is suitable to a new country, where land is cheap and chattels dear, for otherwise the land will remain unoccupied; that large masses of land in a single proprietor are of no value, not being rentable,—for, with an epigram worthy of the best of Poor Richard's, he adds, "if the landlord lives, the tenant starves"; that if the younger sons could not have lands, either they would go where they could find them, thus retarding the population of the colony, or turn to manufacturing,—an argument of much force when addressed to a government which, was then making laws against setting up manufactories in the colonies; that all the settlements of estates would be broken up, titles disturbed, suits multiplied, and general confusion ensue; and finally, that the law had received the implied assent of the Crown, and was satisfactory to the people. He then replies *seriatim* to the twenty-nine articles of Winthrop's complaint.

Belcher and Dummer lost no time before getting to their work. On the 20th of May, 1729, the former wrote to Governor Talcott that they had "drawn up the state of the Colony and laid it before the Council, respecting the King's declaration upon your Law for the settling intestate Estates, and considering the King has declared what you call a Law to be null and void, the Charter not giving you power to make such a Law, it is the opinion of the best Council here, upon their most mature deliberation, not to apply to the King in Council, and that for this reason: Inasmuch as there is not power by the Charter you have already, to make such a Law, the King cannot by any after acts ratify that for a law to you, which you had not an original power to make. An order of the King and Council

might indeed look forward and give you such a power, but that would not help or relieve the Colony in the practice they have been in from their first settlement to this time. Beside, upon an application for an order to look forward, they would be ready to say it could be done no otherwayes than by a new Charter, and it would be too dangerous an experiment to resign the present Charter for such an one as would now be given. It is therefore the advice of our Council to bring the matter forward in Parliament in the next Session, and to endeavour to obtain leave to bring in a special bill for the quieting of all Estates, as well for the time past, as to enable the Colony for going on in the same method for the future."

This might have served the purpose of the colony; but on reflection, it was deemed no safer to apply to Parliament for a quieting bill, than to the king for a modification of the charter.

Besides, July 22, Belcher wrote to the Governor that "considering the length of time an application to Parliament would require, as well as the great trouble and charge, it made us very uneasy and desirous (if practicable) to get some relief from the King in Council," notwithstanding the advice of their counsel to the contrary. They therefore waited upon Lord Chancellor King, who after considering the whole case, "kindly told us that our application must be to Parliament, as the safest and most indisputable method to establish the peace and quiet of your people." And so the matter was hung up until the next winter. In the mean time King George II. was about going to Hanover, and members of both houses to the country for diversion.

When Governor Talcott had fully considered the proposed application to Parliament, he wrote to Belcher and Dummer, November 3, 1729, setting forth at great length the reasons for and against application to Parliament as they were laid before the Council at Hartford; and they were of so serious character that the reader feels no surprise that the Governor adds, as his final paragraph, that "if these lines should get into the hands of our enemies, they may possibly be improved to our disadvantage"; and he requests, therefore, that they be kept secret and, without copies being taken, returned by the next good opportunity.

The Governor's fears were very rational: among others,

that an application to the Legislature would "naturally lead the Parliament to inquire whether this government have not accustomed themselves to take the same liberty of making other Laws contrary to the Laws of England, as they themselves are now sensible they have done in this case: on which inquiry it may be feared whether our Ecclesiastical Laws, our establishing a Collegiate School [Yale College], and some of our Civil Laws will not be vacated, as contrary to the Laws of England; and further, whether the Parliament will not on this inquiry fall into an opinion that our Charter has not made us a Government or Province but only a Corporation, and can therefore by the charter make only by-laws."

The Governor's fears anticipated what was very nearly the opinion of Parliament in 1775!

But the complications of Connecticut affairs were not the only source of danger; for at the same time the General Court of Massachusetts was angering the king by doggedly persisting in their long-continued disobedience of his instructions to grant a fixed salary to their governors; and Governor Talcott saw an added danger to Connecticut in "the ill-resented non-compliance of our neighboring province, the Massachusetts, with the King's instructions ordered by way of *threatening into the Parliament*; with which people they know ours are so allied in all their intercourse that their case will bode an ill aspect on ours." And he adds that "the Court and Parliament bear frowning countenances upon the Plantations" on account of the disobedience of the General Court of Massachusetts.

The agents were at loss how to proceed, and shifted their ground as exigencies seemed to demand. February 10, 1730, Belcher wrote Governor Talcott acknowledging the receipt of his reasons for and against an appeal to Parliament, and informed him that upon the advice of counsel, and after the most mature deliberation, the agents had determined to carry the business into Parliament, and accordingly had signed a petition to the king for leave to bring in a bill.¹

¹ This proceeding throws light upon what had come to be the actual relation of Parliament to the Crown colonies. In theory they were still the king's colonies, and he alone could legislate for them; and such remained the theory when the fact was quite otherwise. Nevertheless, in deference to the king's rights, every parliamentary bill in derogation of them was preceded by a petition for leave, as will be more fully explained in the course of this note.

The history of the constitutional relations of the colonies to the king and to

This petition "To the King's most Excell^t Majesty" for leave to bring in a bill recited the facts of the Winthrop-

the Parliament, in their progress to independence of both, is worthy of more attention than it has received, so far as I have noticed; and no less interesting is the connection of this history, as a fact, if not as a cause, with that change in the British Constitution which, beginning with the Revolution of 1688, has substantially transferred the prerogatives of the Crown to the Parliament.

Some facts bearing on the first point found in the Talcott Papers led me to look elsewhere for similar facts, as well as to some reflection on the second point; but my examination has not been exhaustive, nor is my conclusion final. My present purpose will be answered if I succeed in calling attention to what, at least, is an interesting subject for investigation.

It is historical that the colonies, in their disputes about their boundaries or conflicting grants within their own limits, based their respective claims on grants from the king, as paramount lord and rightful owner of the fee of lands discovered under the English flag, and submitted these disputes to his decision; yet in these, as well as in all other matters, when their exigencies required, they sought the intervention of Parliament against the king, as during the Civil Wars; and when they deemed it safe, they practically denied the authority of both. It was so from the beginning; and this history forms part of the history of the American Revolution.

It is also clear that while Parliament recognized the king's property in colonial lands, and his prerogative jurisdiction over their inhabitants, nevertheless, even before the Revolution of 1688, that body began to invade the king's prerogatives, and finally, though remaining formally intact, transferred them to itself.

Both peoples, — the English in England and their descendants in the colonies, — in accordance with their original instincts, have always been moving toward popular rights, but with a difference in their methods. With the colonists every act, every procedure, and all governmental forms (so far as original with them), conformed to and expressed the substantial facts on which they purported to rest. But with the British people, on the other hand, substance changes, but forms endure. The government is essentially popular, but in theory and in form, the sovereign is the substantive head of all its branches. The Ship of State makes her voyage with the old sea-chart conspicuously displayed in the cabin; but the sailing orders are on the binnacle.

This fact receives exemplification in connection with the Talcott Papers.

The Navigation Acts, though affecting colonial interests, grew out of an imperial policy rather than a colonial policy; and therefore their enactment by Parliament may not be regarded as in derogation of the king's prerogative in respect to the colonial government. But the British statutes are full of acts regulating colonial domestic trade, manufactures, finance, and internal government, — prerogative matters. The claim of parliamentary authority over such affairs is shown in the instance to be found in the text; and others are given by Hutchinson. In 1728, when the Massachusetts House of Representatives refused, as its predecessors had done from the time of Governor Dudley, to obey the king's instructions to grant Governor Burnett a fixed and permanent salary, the Committee in the king's Council advised "the interposition of the British legislature, wherein, in our humble opinion, no time should be lost" (*Hist. of Mass.*, vol. ii. p. 356 n.). And again, in 1730, it was declared that "his majesty will find himself under a necessity of laying the undutiful behavior of the province before the legislature of Great Britain, not only in this single instance, but in many others of the same nature and tendency" (*Ibid.* p. 372). But these, and

Lechmere case, the hardship which its decision brought upon the people of Connecticut, and the necessity for relief, concluding with the following prayer:—

“Your petitioners humbly pray, that you would be pleased to give leave that a Bill may be brought into this present Parliament of Great Britain to confirm to the Inhabitants of the said Colony the Estates they now hold and are in possession of under the said distribution of Intestates real Estates, and to quiet them therein, and to enable them to divide the lands of Intestates in the same manner for the future, with a saving clause as to the said John Winthrop, the Colony no way desiring to have the determination made by your Majesty in his case

similar declarations in respect to colonial invasions of the king's prerogatives, were mere threats which soon lost their force; for the opposition, merely as such, frequently stood by the colonies, and in the doubtful state of the Constitution at that time the ministry were unwilling to submit the king's colonial prerogatives to the control of Parliament. But in the legislation which did pass, by what device was the theory of the Constitution maintained? On this last point I can throw some light.

When either House of Parliament deemed parliamentary intervention in domestic colonial affairs essential to the interests of the colony or those of the empire, it was inaugurated by a humble petition to *his Majesty for leave to bring in a Bill* to that end. But had the king refused to permit any such infringement of his prerogatives? No ministry would have dared such advice to the king, or having dared, would have long held its place; and so the king held his prerogative, and Parliament his power.

It was in this way that Parliament gained jurisdiction of internal colonial affairs, though Franklin and the other patriotic leaders, and some in the British Parliament, always denied its constitutional validity. But finally the pretence of the king's leave was laid aside, and the parliamentary authority over the colonies was acknowledged by the king himself, even George III.; for in 1774 he sent a message to the House “that they will not only enable His Majesty effectually to take such measures as may be most likely to put a stop to present disorders, but will also take into their most serious consideration what further and permanent provisions may be necessary to be established for the better securing the execution of the Laws, and just dependence of the colonies upon the Crown and Parliament of Great Britain” (House Journal, vol. xxxiv. p. 54).

Of the influence of the colonies on British constitutional changes I must speak more briefly. It has been often said that the rapid progress of liberal principles, both in England and in France, after the close of the Revolutionary War, was due largely to that event. However that may have been, it is more to my purpose to learn their influence at a much earlier period,—say from the Restoration of Charles II. in 1660. Direct influence doubtless was small. The colonies were remote, little known, and of little interest either to the British people or to the British Government.

But it is to be remembered that during the period of which I am speaking the greater number of questions concerning commerce, colonial manufactures, war, and diplomacy in respect to which the interests of the Crown and of the British people might conflict, and therefore draw the prerogative into question, were colonial questions. Colonial influence was small; but colonial affairs were an important factor in British constitutional progress.

varied, in regard the particular circumstances of his case differ from most others in the Colony, and that your Majesty would cause such your Leave and Permission to be signified to the Hono'ble House of Commons in such manner as to your Majesty shall seem proper."

It was considered by the king in Council, and, April 10, 1730, referred to the Lords of the Committee for hearing Appeals, Complaints, etc., from the Plantations, to consider and report thereon; and by this committee, on the 15th, sent to the Commissioners for Trade and Plantations.

There the matter rested, under the charge of solicitor John Sharp, until April 23, 1730, when Belcher, who had been appointed governor of Massachusetts and New Hampshire, resigned his agency, and left its business with Francis Wilks, a most faithful and competent man.

In the mean time affairs in Connecticut were in a bad way, and rapidly growing worse. July 1, 1730, Governor Talcott wrote to Jeremy Dummer: —

"Though some hundreds of persons in this Colony have died intestate just before and since the Royall Decree of his Majesty in Council came to us, declaring our law void, we have been so observant to his Majesty's Order that not an Estate so fallen, as I know of, hath been settled by us, but all lie still, though to the grievance of many orphans and fatherless children, who must wait on his Majesty's Royall Pleasure."

How the interests of the Connecticut people fared before the Board of Trade may be learned from a letter of Francis Wilks to Governor Talcott, February 13, 1731. It appears that he, Dummer, and Winthrop had been ordered to attend their Lordships, and on coming in, "Dummer very handsomely set forth how just and necessary it was that what has been acted in the Colony upon the Law for the Division of Intestate Estates for many years should be confirmed." This, Winthrop opposed. "He also affirm'd that the People of that Colony groan'd under the Burthen of Impositions impos'd on them under a notion of Charter Priviledges, and was there to be a Poll taken throughout the Province a great Majority wou'd be for giving up the Charter," etc.

From what Dummer learned of the report on the subject made by the Board of Trade and Plantations to the king in Council, he understood that it was favorable to the confirmation of estates as divided under the act declared null and void.

But he added — what the Governor must have read with dismay: "I am inform'd in the same Report they take notice and give it as their opinion, that the footing of the Colony is upon at present, under their present Charter, is no ways consistent with the Constitution or Interests of Great Britain, and therefore recommended it that the Legislature of this Kingdom shou'd grant a New Charter, better calculated for the Government of your own Body and more consistent with the Honour and Interests of Great Britain. Upon this footing and in this light I apprehend the Affair will be brought into Parliament." Under these circumstances Wilks might well hesitate, as he did, and wait for particular instructions before bringing the matter into Parliament.

If Wilks correctly reported the recommendation of the Board, as it appears later that he did, it marks a changing constitutional policy in the direction of parliamentary supremacy over the colonies which finally led to the severance of the empire.¹

When the General Assembly convened after Governor Talcott had received the report of the Board of Trade, he laid it and Winthrop's hostile memorial before that body, and, June 29, 1731, wrote to Wilks giving his opinion about "Mr. Winthrop," and, among other things, said as follows:

"I am therefore desir'd by our Assembly to let you know that, altho', as their Lordships say, the annulling the act for dividing the lands of intestates must and will be attended with great confusion amongst our people, yet if we cannot have relief in that grievance without foregoing our present Charter, &c., we are not willing for the sake of the former to submit to the latter, nor to hazard the Charter by bringing it into Parliament on such a footing, and our Assembly are well satisfied with your prudent conduct in not proceeding without our further instructions in so hazardous a case."

And there the matter remained unsettled for nearly two years, when Wilks replied, April 14, 1733, "that there is very little hopes of procuring one without agreeing to the other; for which reason I have judged it most proper to let the Colony Petition rest."

Nearly a year later Wilks wrote to the Governor: "I was

¹ If the significance of the Winthrop-Lechmere case and the proceedings which grew out of it have been duly recognized in any history of the period, I have failed to notice it.

present one day in the House of Lords, when it was mentioned in a speech that the Constitution of some of our Plantations was inconsistent with the Interests of England, and ought to be new Model'd; but whether anything of that nature be designed I know not"; and again, May 4, 1734, he wrote of resolutions of the House of Lords, one of which was aimed at Connecticut, and all of them expressing opinions and making recommendations quite hostile to the long-established rights and usages of the colonies, and which excited considerable alarm in Connecticut.

In the mean time another case — that of *Phillips vs. Savage* — had been carried by appeal from the Superior Court of Massachusetts to the king in Council. This case, essentially the same as that of *Winthrop vs. Lechmere*, was decided differently, — sustaining the Massachusetts law, although, like that of Connecticut, contrary to the English law. Encouraged by this result, the Connecticut law was again brought before the king in Council, by a private suit, and was sustained by a decree rendered July 18, 1745. Thus, after nearly twenty years of unsettled property rights and peril to their Charter, the ancient law was restored to the people of Connecticut, and their Charter remained unaltered; but after such experience and enforced consideration of their relations to the Crown and to Parliament, they were quite different from what they had been, and more fully prepared for that efficient questioning of the constitutional relations of the colonies to the mother country which opened the Revolution on the passage of the Boston Port Bill, and the modification of the Charter of Massachusetts by Act of Parliament.

Although I have given much space to the case of *Winthrop vs. Lechmere*, I have not exhausted its interesting details, nor brought forward all the questions of constitutional law which it presents. The volume contains other matters of similar import, such, for example, as the right of adjacent colonies to settle boundary disputes without the intervention of the Crown, Navigation Laws and Acts of Trade, the importation of Negroes, the Sugar Act, and matters Ecclesiastical, in respect to all which the relations of the colony to the home government were brought sharply into view, forming causes of irritation and matters of education for the final attitude of Connecticut in 1775. A similar state of things doubtless had existed in

other colonies, producing like results. Indeed, nothing is becoming more clear in the light of authentic history disclosed by similar publications, than that the American Revolution was no sudden outbreak of discontent, but rather the culmination of causes coeval with the colonial state, which acquired new vigor with the restoration of the Stuarts, and operated intermittently to the end.

On this point perhaps the evidence from the Talcott Papers is cumulative rather than new, though from the method of its presentation more striking than in any other form in which it has come to my notice.

There is another matter in respect to which our generally accepted history seemingly must be modified. It is this: that the causes of discontent, irritation, and ultimate revolution had their origin in the arbitrary disposition of successive British monarchs, ministries, and parliaments, who in their anger conceived measures hostile to the colonies and persisted in them with wilful blindness; or, if prompted by any other motive than despotic malignity, they were the suggestions of British placemen in the American service, of whom Edward Randolph was a type.

But the facts disclosed by authentic documents do not warrant this view. Dudley at an early day, and Hutchinson sixty years later, were regarded as specially disloyal to their native colony; and though, as I think, some injustice has been done to the former, and grievous wrong to the latter, it is historical that the Navigation Acts of Charles II., oppressive to the colonists, and fatal to their prosperity had they been effectively executed, were the suggestion of Sir George Downing, a graduate of Harvard College; that the Sugar Act of 1733, causing great hardship, and evaded only at the cost of widespread demoralization from the smuggling it occasioned, became a law on the petition and ceaseless activity of John Yeamans, a Boston merchant and large landed proprietor; and that the ecclesiastical turmoil in which the northern colonies were involved for sixty years, did not grow out of the desire of the Bishop of London to impose an episcopate on them, but of the efforts of native churchmen who desired the protection and countenance of the hierarchy. To these facts must now be added another printed for the first time, so far as I am aware, in the Talcott Papers: that one who bore a name then, as

now and ever, honored in New England, not content with having gained his cause, sought to overthrow the Connecticut Charter obtained by his grandfather, and incited the Board of Trade to adopt, or recommend to the government, a system of measures in no essential respects different from those which brought on the revolt of the colonies.

Mr. R. C. WINTHROP, JR., said : —

I wish to communicate two unpublished letters which indirectly relate to the manner in which the Society became possessed of the most important of its early colonial manuscripts. The first of them was written in 1769 to my great-grandfather by Gov. Jonathan Trumbull, who was desirous to effect an examination, for historical purposes, of the Winthrop papers then preserved in New London.

John Still Winthrop, Esq., New London.

LEBANON, 29th Nov: 1769.

SIR, — I am appointed with Col^o Wyllys to look up such papers as are of consequence to the Colony, not in the possession of the Secretary, — among others, the Deed from Lord Say & Seal, Lord Brook &c, of the Earl Warwick's Rights, sold by Col^o Fenwick to this Colony, whereof they were to make the Conveyances, — & also the antient Transactions relative to the Colony of Rhode Island, & such other papers as might be obtained, & needfull to be preserved.

It hath been observed to me that 'tis likely many papers of consequence relative to the Colony are left by the late Hon^{ble} our first Gov^t Winthrop, your great-grandfather, & now in your possession, — possibly the Deed first mentioned & the Transactions with Rhode Island. These are to ask the favour of you to examine after them & other curious papers that may concern the Colony & its history, & communicate to me what may be found. I have wrote to Cap^t Jeremiah Miller & desired him to wait on you to promote this request. I am with great truth & regard, Sir,

Your most Obedient & very Humble Servant,

JONth TRUMBULL.

In compliance with this request a partial examination of the papers was made, Trumbull being allowed to retain some of them for the Connecticut Archives, and to borrow others upon the understanding that they should be eventually returned. John Still Winthrop, to whom the original applica-

tion was addressed, died in 1776, aged fifty-seven; but the same permission was renewed by his eldest son, John Winthrop, who was graduated at Harvard in 1770, and died unmarried ten years later. The ownership of the collection then passed to his next brother, Francis Bayard Winthrop, who resided chiefly in New York, and, after Trumbull's death in 1785, appears to have taken no steps for the recovery of the borrowed manuscripts, but ultimately acquiesced in their being included in the gift to this Society by Trumbull's sons, in 1794, of the bulk of their father's papers. My grandfather, Thomas Lindall Winthrop, was then residing in Boston, but did not become one of our members until 1800, not long after which he discovered that two precious manuscript volumes of Winthrop's Journal, known to have been borrowed by Trumbull, had unaccountably disappeared. Investigation developed that they had been loaned by the Trumbull family to our founder, Dr. Belknap, from whose heirs they were recovered by my grandfather and presented to this Society by his brother Francis, their legal owner. Many of these facts are described in a paper read to us by my father in June, 1872;¹ but at the time he wrote it he had not seen the letter which I have just communicated, nor was he aware of the existence of the following one from John Porter, then Comptroller of Public Accounts in Connecticut, and previously Secretary to Governor Trumbull during the Revolutionary period, whose testimony on the subject is authoritative and circumstantial. Had it come to light earlier, it would undoubtedly have been quoted by Mr. Savage in the preface to his edition of Winthrop's Journal, as well as by Mr. Charles Deane in the introduction to his volume of selections from the Trumbull papers;² and it is therefore desirable to have it in print for reference.

Mr Francis Bayard Winthrop, New York.

HARTFORD, July 8th 1803.

SIR, — Your letter of the 13th of June was received yesterday. Being addressed to me at Lebanon, it was taken from the post office there by a person in that place who bears the same name with me, and by him opened; but perceiving the mistake he returned the letter to the post office and caused it to be conveyed to me here. It is about 14 years since I removed from Lebanon & have ever since resided in this town.

¹ Proceedings, vol. xii. pp. 233-236.

² 5 Mass. Hist. Coll., vol. ix.

With respect to the manuscript Journals of your venerable ancestor, they were borrowed from your brother by the late Gov^t Trumbull about the commencement of the American Revolution. During my residence with Gov^t Trumbull I transcribed two of the volumes entitled the History of New England. There were three volumes of these manuscripts by him borrowed,—the third contained miscellaneous writings, penned in a very neat and elegant hand. Soon after Gov^t Trumbull's decease, and while I lived in Lebanon, I borrowed the historical manuscripts & transcribed them a second time, and then returned them to his Executor, M^r David Trumbull. The present Gov^t Trumbull, I remember, remarked at that time that these manuscripts ought to be returned to the Winthrop family. I supposed it had been done until, some time since, I was informed to the contrary. I apprehend, Sir, that they were taken from Lebanon by the late D^r Belknap, who was there several years ago and, on solicitation, was permitted by Gov^t Trumbull's Executor to take away such of the public papers as he might find useful for his purpose. Doubtless, in the examination, he met with these manuscripts and failed not to take them. Subsequent to this there was a similar application from the Massachusetts Historical Society, and the residue of Gov^t Trumbull's public papers were delivered over to them. These Winthrop manuscripts being lent in the first instance may be remanded back wherever found.

I will write to the present Gov^t Trumbull on the subject, and if I learn from him anything materially different, or more particular than what I have stated, will give you further advice.

I am, with respect, Sir,

Your very Obedient Servant,

JOHN PORTER.

Although Jonathan Trumbull has ever been held in just veneration as one of the glories of our Revolutionary period and, to use the words of Washington, "the first of patriots," yet there has been occasionally exhibited in his native Connecticut a disposition to complain that he filed with his personal and private papers a number of official documents and many manuscripts collected by him in the exercise of his functions as record-commissioner, without leaving any lists by which these different classes of material could be identified. So pronounced did this feeling become that, in 1845, the Governor of that State, acting under instructions from its General Assembly, made a friendly application to us for a considerable part of our Trumbull papers, on the ground that they really belonged to the Connecticut Archives. To this request this

Society respectfully declined to accede, after listening to a report on the subject from a Committee consisting of James Savage, Josiah Quincy, and Isaac P. Davis, who pointed out the absence of any evidence of ownership beyond the admitted facts that the papers in question were in Trumbull's house in Lebanon at the time of his death, that they continued in the undisputed possession of his family for nine years afterward, and were freely given away by his heirs in 1794. Nearly half a century has passed away since this claim was presented, and it is not at all likely that it will be renewed; but if a similar representation should ever again be made, the evidence I now furnish establishes that the most valuable of the Colonial manuscripts in Trumbull's possession at the time of his death belonged neither to himself nor to the State of Connecticut, but to a private family who had loaned them to him for historical purposes and who subsequently approved their transfer to this Society.

I will add a few words on another subject. Our sister Society in Connecticut is not so well provided with publishing-funds as we could wish, and its members sometimes seek the aid of the local press in making public the results of their investigations. A newspaper article soon becomes practically buried unless an allusion to it can be found in some work of reference; and it is in order to effect such a reference in the next index to our own Proceedings that I wish briefly to allude to the antiquarian interest attaching to an article in the "Hartford Courant" of the 4th ult., upon the grave of Thomas Hooker, by our Corresponding Member, Mr. Hoadly, Vice-President of the Connecticut Historical Society. The original headstone placed over Hooker's remains after his death at Hartford, in 1647, seems to have disappeared in the remote past, though his grave continued to be identified by popular tradition, and early in the present century it was felt to be imperative that so eminent a man should not be any longer left without some sort of local commemoration. It was decided to use for the purpose some carved stones, without any inscription or any apparent means of identification, which from time immemorial had been lying very near the spot, and which, on being put together, formed one of those Colonial monuments technically known as "tables," consisting of two large stone slabs, the upper one supported by carved legs or pillars, several examples of which

may be seen in the graveyard beneath our windows. By a chain of documentary evidence which I will not quote at length, Mr. Hoadly establishes the strongest probability, short of absolute certainty, that the monument thus inscribed to Hooker in 1818 was originally ordered to commemorate Elizabeth Reade, second wife of Gov. John Winthrop, Jr., who died at Hartford in November, 1672, and whose name is additionally familiar to historians from her having been the step-daughter of Hugh Peter and the cherished friend of Roger Williams. It is shown that she and Hooker were buried near each other, and that, as early as the spring of 1683, her son Fitz-John Winthrop was in correspondence with John Allyn of Hartford about an inscription for her grave-stone. Why this was not then attended to does not appear; but it is further shown that, a number of years afterward, her younger son, Wait Winthrop, was also in correspondence about a suitable inscription for his mother's monument, the architectural character of which is clearly indicated in a letter from the stone-cutter. By a curious fatality both brothers died leaving the task unfinished; and as the lady's surviving relatives resided at a distance, the matter gradually passed into oblivion. The facts ingeniously disinterred by Mr. Hoadly are rather of local antiquarian than of historical interest; but I think it appropriate that there should be a reference to them in our Proceedings, because much of the documentary evidence upon which they rest is contained in two volumes of our Collections, edited in recent years by Mr. Smith and myself, in which this Hooker monument would certainly have been alluded to if he or I had been at all aware of the associations connected with it.¹

Dr. SAMUEL A. GREEN called the attention of the members to the original portrait of Dr. Increase Mather, — which had been brought down from the picture-gallery, — as well as to some early engravings taken from the painting, and made the following remarks: —

At the last meeting of the Society an old miniature of Dr. Increase Mather, painted in oil, was presented to the Cabinet

¹ See the "Hartford Courant" of Feb. 4, 1893; 6 Mass. Hist. Coll. vol. iii. pp. 471, 472; *Ibid.*, vol. v. p. 321; see also several letters from James and William Stancliffe, stone-masons, among the unpublished Winthrop papers.

by one of his descendants, Mrs. Elizabeth Anna (Byles) Ellis, of Burlington, New Jersey. The portrait is oval in shape, about four inches by five in size, and is enclosed in a leaden frame. It represents only his bust, and while not a work of high art, undoubtedly dates back to the period of Dr. Mather's lifetime. The painting is on paper, and was evidently copied from an engraving of him, either by White or Sturt, which is found in several of his books. The two engravings made by these artists are so much alike that it is difficult now to say which served as the model, but probably it was Sturt's. The dimensions of the head and shoulders in the miniature correspond closely in all respects, even in many minute details, with those in the engraved portraits, with this exception that everything is reversed. Apparently the artist placed the engraving against a pane of window-glass, and then drew the outlines of his picture from the back of the likeness, and afterward filled in the details.

These early prints of Dr. Mather have been the subject of so much confusion and of such inaccurate statement in various works that I am led to describe them in detail. Fortunately the painting which is the original source of both these engravings, has been for nearly a century in the possession of the Historical Society, where it was given formally at the quarterly meeting held on January 30, 1798, by Mrs. Hannah (Mather) Crocker. It is a portrait of three quarters length and life-size, about three feet and five inches by four feet and two inches in dimensions, and near the lower left-hand corner bears the name of the artist "Joh vander Sprjtt" with the date 1688. He is represented seated at a table with two large volumes open before him, evidently theological works; and on the edge of a book-shelf above are these words "Ætatis suæ. 49 1688." which furnish a double confirmation of the time when the portrait was painted.

Mrs. Crocker was the youngest child of the Reverend Dr. Samuel Mather, of Boston, and great-granddaughter of the subject of the portrait. She married Joseph Crocker, of Boston, a graduate of Harvard College in the Class of 1774, who died on November 13, 1797; and the picture came here very soon afterward. Her family had been considerably interested in the objects of the Society, as her brother-in-law Allen Crocker had previously given at various times both to the

Library and Cabinet, and the executors of her father's estate had also presented valuable books from the Mather collection, which are still in our possession.

By a coincidence, at the same meeting of the Society another portrait of Dr. Mather, a small mezzotint, was given by John Dugan. It is glued on wood, and enclosed in an old-fashioned frame, which is undoubtedly contemporaneous with the engraving. On the back of the little picture is pasted a paper with this inscription: "Presented to the Historical Society by John Dugan 1797," though the gift was not formally announced to the members until January 30, 1798. Under the portrait is the following legend:—

Vera

CRESCENTII MATHERI

Effigies

Anno Domini 1683 *Ætatis* 44

T. Johnson Fecit

The artist was probably Thomas Johnston, who died in Boston, on May 8, 1767, aged 59 years, and lies buried in the King's Chapel Burying-ground. Presumably the mezzotint was made from an original picture painted in 1683, when Mather was 44 years old, and the line "Anno Domini 1683 *Ætatis* 44" was copied from the canvas by the engraver; but all this, however, is mere conjecture. Johnston was an artist of respectability, and had practised as an heraldic painter. "The Boston Evening-Post," May 11, 1767, has the following notice of his death:—

"Last Friday Morning died here Mr. *Thomas Johnston*, Japanner, Painter and Engraver, after a short illness, having been seized with an Apoplectic Fit a few Days before."

Curiously enough, after the lapse of years in the records of the Society, these two pictures of Dr. Increase Mather, like the babies in "Pinafore," got badly mixed up. In the List of Portraits belonging to the Cabinet, as printed near the end of a volume of Collections (Third Series, VII.), which was published in the year 1838, the portrait of Dr. Mather is described as "a very old painting" (page 290), and given by Mr. John Dugan. The little mezzotint was entirely overlooked by the compiler of the list, and was not even mentioned in his cata-

logue; and since that time the oil portrait has been duly accredited, both in print and manuscript, to Mr. Dugan.

Dr. Mather's portrait was painted in 1688, during his visit to England, where, as an agent of the Massachusetts Colony, he had gone in the spring of that year. The artist was John vander Spriett, a Dutch mezzotint engraver of little note, who had studied under Verkolie at Amsterdam, where he had painted a few portraits. He afterward went to London, and died there about the year 1700. Presumably Dr. Mather, on his return home in the spring of 1692, brought back to Boston this painting of himself. Inasmuch as his eldest child, Dr. Cotton Mather, inherited the larger part of his estate, it is very likely that the picture passed into that son's possession, and thence into the hands of his grandson Samuel.

Within a few months after Dr. Mather's portrait was painted in London, it was engraved by Robert White, an English artist of some note (born 1645, died 1704), who had made many other likenesses of distinguished persons. It is a small copperplate engraving, about six inches by four in size, representing the bust in an oval frame, and the whole resting on a pedestal, and bears the legend "Crescentius Matherus. | *Ætatis Suæ* 49. 1688." In the two lower corners, below the pedestal, are the following words, in small script: "Vander-spirit pinxit. R. White Sculp. Londini." It is of excellent workmanship, the hatching is soft and delicate, and the handling of the hair graceful. While the engraver has taken some liberties in his production and has slightly changed the pose of the figure, it is evident that he followed this identical portrait. The plate has been used for impressions to be framed as well as to be inserted in Mather's works.

Nearly two years after Mather's death, the same engraving by White was used again, though with a change in the legend, so that it reads "Crescentius Matherus. | S. T. P. Obiit Aug. 23. 1723 *Ætatis Suæ* 85," but with the names of the same artists in the two lower corners beneath the pedestal. The print appears as a frontispiece to a small volume entitled "Memoirs of the Life of the Reverend Increase Mather, D.D. Who died August 23, 1723. With a Preface by the Reverend Edmund Calamy, D.D. London: Printed for John Clark and Richard Hett at the Bible and Crown in the Poultry, near Cheapside, MDCCXXV." Presumably the publishers owned

or controlled the plate, and had the necessary change made in the second line of the legend to suit the emergency. It will be noticed that the age is given incorrectly.

Another engraving of the Mather portrait was made by John Sturt, an English engraver (born 1658, died 1730), who had been one of Robert White's pupils. This plate was cut originally only one year after White's, and the resemblance between the two prints is so close that it requires a careful scrutiny to distinguish them. There is a slight difference in size between the buttons of each coat, and this forms the principal variation. The likenesses and the details of the two engravings are so similar that I am inclined to think that Sturt's engraving was made from White's, and not directly from the portrait, as White's was. The workmanship of Sturt's is not quite as good, particularly the cross-hatching, and the figure seems a little stiffer. The legend in his print reads as follows: "Crescentius Matherus | *Ætatis Suæ* 50. 1689." The copies of this impression commonly seen are so cut down to fit the volumes in which they are found, that the engraver's name is gone. I have seen the print both in Mather's "Angelographia" (Boston, 1696), and in his "Discourse proving that the Christian Religion is the only True Religion:" etc. (Boston, 1702), — the one a small octavo volume, and the other a small duodecimo.

The legend of the next issue is as follows: "Crescentius Matherus. | *Ætatis Suæ* 80. 1719," — and in the lower right-hand corner, under the pedestal, is the name of the engraver "I. Sturt Sculp:" With the exception of the age and the date in the second line of the legend, the print is exactly like the first issue, though it is easy still to make out faint traces of the old figures indicating these facts. This engraving is found in Mather's "Sermons wherein those Eight Characters of the Blessed commonly called the Beatitudes, are Opened & Applied in Fifteen Discourses" (Boston, 1718); and though there is a discrepancy between the dates, copies of the book may have been bound up with the plate at a period subsequent to its publication.

The legend of the third issue reads thus: "Crescentius Matherus. | *Ætatis Suæ* 85. 1724." — with the name of the artist in the lower right-hand corner, "I. Sturt Sculp:" Again, with the exception of the age and the date in the

legend, the engraving is precisely the same as the other two, and traces of the earlier figures are still also visible. This plate is found in Dr. Cotton Mather's "Memoirs of Remarkables in the Life and the Death" of his father, a book which from the first word on the titlepage is generally called "Parentator" (Boston, 1724). There is a singular mistake in the legend, which gives Dr. Mather's age as 85 years in 1724, whereas he died on August 23, 1723, aged 84 years; but this blunder was made by the artist in England. Perhaps the second issue of the engraving was dated a year in advance, which would explain why an impression of 1719 was inserted in a book published in 1718, as mentioned on the previous page.

A singular fact connected with these two engravings by White and Sturt is that, while they both were made originally during the middle life of Dr. Mather, they were struck off at different intervals through a period of many years, with a change in his age, as given under the engraving to correspond with the date, so that the likeness at fifty appears exactly as it did more than thirty years later, when he was past eighty.

Nearly two years ago, at the meeting held on May 14, 1891, our associate Mr. Whitmore showed a copy of "The Blessed Hope, and the Glorious Appearing of the Great GOD our Saviour, Jesus Christ. Opened & Applied, in Several Sermons" (Boston, 1701), which contained a rare engraving of Dr. Mather, the author. In the Boston Public Library are two copies of "Ichabod. or, A Discourse showing what Cause there is to Fear that the Glory of the Lord, is departing from New-England" (Boston, 1702), — one of them being in the Prince Collection, and the other in the general library, — and each containing the same print, but in a different stage of development. The engraver evidently followed either the White or the Sturt print, and made a rude and rough fac-simile, which is a little smaller than the original engraving. On the pedestal is the name of "Increase. Mather"; and underneath on the lowest part are these words: "Tho: Emmes. sculp: ||||| Sold by Nicolas Boone. 1701." This has no engraved background, and the head is shrouded in white; but the other is cross-hatched, showing a later stage of the engraving, and is dated 1702. The work was evidently done here, and by an engraver who is not now known. Mr. Whitmore's impression

is dated 1701, and is the finished engraving, showing that the plate received its final touches during that year.

According to Savage's Genealogical Dictionary, the name of Emmes is a variation of Eames; and perhaps the artist was Thomas, eldest child of Thomas and Mary (Paddleford) Eames, of Cambridge, who was baptized on July 12, 1663.

Another engraved likeness from the portrait appears in the second volume of "The New England Historical & Genealogical Register" for January, 1848, where it faces page 9. It was made near that time by Oliver Pelton, probably from Sturt's engraving.

The Society's painting of Dr. Mather was also engraved in the year 1851 by Wagstaff (Charles E.) and Andrews (Joseph), of Boston; and the engraving is given as a frontispiece to "A History of the Second Church, or Old North, in Boston" (1852), by our late associate, the Reverend Dr. Chandler Robbins. In the lower left-hand corner appear these words: "Vanveek Pinx^t 1680," which inscription is an error both as to the artist as well as the date. The print gives a little more of the painting than either White's or Sturt's, though not the whole of it, and represents Mather's left forefinger pointing at something which does not appear in the engraving, but which in the picture is an open book.

I have seen an engraving of Dr. Mather, made probably near the beginning of the present century, where he is represented in a gown and bands, and with a wig, and has a somewhat fuller face than in the Society's portrait. It was "from an original Painting in the Possession of M^r Townsend, Holborn," though I can learn nothing in regard to either the picture or the engraving. The print belongs to Mr. Sumner Hollingsworth of this city, who has a large and interesting collection of early Boston imprints and other rare books, and I am indebted to his courtesy for the use of it.

Nathaniel Mather, under date of March 2, 1680-1, writes from Dublin to his younger brother Increase: —

"I have received sundry from you; with severall books and your picture by M^r David Hart, and one by M^r Eales: For all which I thank you." (Collections, Fourth Series, VIII. 28.)

The meaning of this extract, undoubtedly, is that Nathaniel had received from his brother several books and his picture

brought by Mr. Hart, as well as a book brought by Mr. Eales. The picture here alluded to was probably an engraving, which rather implies a portrait painted before this period. The statement in the letter is Dr. Appleton's authority for saying that a picture of Increase Mather was made in Boston previous to this time. (Proceedings, X. 47.)

Akin to this subject it may be proper to refer to an old engraving, which has belonged to the Cabinet of the Society for many years. It is of the rudest sort, showing a half-length portrait, which bears the legend "Mr. Richard Mather," who was the father of Increase. It was given on January 27, 1807, by Arthur Maynard Walter, a descendant of the early Puritan minister. The print is about five inches by six in size, not including the name underneath, and represents Mather holding a pair of very small eyeglasses in his right hand, and an open book in his left. It is engraved on wood, but not boxwood, apparently on the flat side of a board, as the longitudinal grain of the wood can be detected in the engraving. The block was in two pieces; and the head and shoulders constituting the upper block, being too narrow for the lower part, did not fit together by nearly a quarter of an inch. Perhaps the lower block, or the body of the engraving, had previously been used to represent the body of some one else. A similar engraving is in the possession of the American Antiquarian Society at Worcester.

I have long had a notion that this cut was the work of John Foster, the pioneer printer of Boston, who was born and brought up in Mr. Mather's parish at Dorchester. He was a graduate of Harvard College in the Class of 1667, and, about the time of Mather's death, which occurred on April 22, 1669, he was teaching school in his native town. In the Proceedings (Second Series, IV. 199-206) for November, 1888, I have given certain reasons for supposing that he was the earliest engraver of New England.

Candor compels me, however, to add that there is a watermark in the paper of this print, which is identical with that found in a pamphlet entitled "A Conference of his Excellency Jonathan Belcher, Esq.," printed in the year 1732; and nearly the same as that seen in the issue of "The Boston Weekly News-Letter," June 24, 1731, and also in that of

"The New-England Weekly Journal," January 10, 1732, as well as in a few other subsequent numbers of both these newspapers. A similar water-mark is found in several manuscript letter-books, once belonging to Governor Belcher, and containing copies of his correspondence, but now in the possession of this Society. The letters begin on September 3, 1731, and run on with some breaks for a dozen years. The books were given to the Library by Dr. Belknap more than a century ago.

Edward L. Pierce, LL.D., of Milton, was elected a Resident Member.

Rev. Edward G. Porter, Mr. John C. Ropes, and Rev. Octavius B. Frothingham were appointed a committee to nominate officers to be balloted for at the annual meeting; Hon. Roger Wolcott and Mr. Hamilton A. Hill, a committee to examine the treasurer's accounts; and Rev. Dr. Samuel E. Herrick, Mr. George S. Merriam, and Hon. Henry S. Nourse, a committee to examine the Library and Cabinet.

Mr. Horace E. Scudder communicated the memoir of Henry W. Longfellow, which he had been appointed to write for the Proceedings. Remarks were also made during the meeting by Mr. Charles F. Adams, Dr. William Everett, Prof. James B. Thayer, Mr. Charles C. Smith, and other members.

A new serial of the Proceedings, containing the communications made at the December, January, and February meetings, was ready for distribution at this meeting.

MEMOIR
OF
HENRY WADSWORTH LONGFELLOW, LL.D.¹

BY HORACE E. SCUDDER.

HENRY WADSWORTH LONGFELLOW, whose descent is traced from William Longfellow of Byfield, Massachusetts, an English immigrant of the third quarter of the seventeenth century, was the son of Stephen and Zilpha (Wadsworth) Longfellow. He was born in a house still standing at the corner of Fore and Hancock streets, Portland, Maine, February 27, 1807. He was trained for college at the Portland Academy, and in 1821 entered Bowdoin College (founded but twenty years before), was graduated in 1825, and immediately received an invitation to teach the modern languages in his Alma Mater, with a leave of absence for travel and study in Europe.

He sailed for France in May, 1826, where he spent the rest of that year. Early in 1827 he went to Spain for eight months. A year followed in Italy; and after six months in Germany, he returned to America in the summer of 1829. In September of that year he entered upon his duties at Brunswick as Professor of Modern Languages. In September, 1831, he was married to Mary Storer Potter, second daughter of Judge Barrett Potter of Portland. His study and his writing during his residence at Brunswick made him at last feel restricted in opportunity; and he was casting about for some more congenial position, when he received, in December, 1834, an invitation to succeed Mr. George Ticknor as Smith Professor of

¹ In 1886 the writer of this memoir edited the Riverside edition of Longfellow's complete writings. In doing this he furnished the edition with somewhat full introductions and notes; and as these contained the results of his study of the poet's life and works, he has not hesitated to use them freely in the preparation of this memoir.





Modern Languages in Harvard University, and at once accepted the offer with enthusiasm.

The invitation gave an intimation that he might if he chose spend a year or eighteen months in Europe for the purpose of perfecting himself in German ; and in April, 1835, he made a second journey of study and observation. He spent the remainder of the year in England, the Scandinavian countries, and Holland, where he was detained by the illness of his wife, who died at the end of November in Rotterdam. Thence he passed to Germany, where he wintered in Heidelberg, occupying himself closely in study. Near the end of June he went to the Tyrol, spent the summer in Switzerland, and by slow stages made his way to Havre, whence he sailed for home in October, 1836.

In December of this year he established himself in Cambridge, and took up his college duties. In the summer of 1837 he found quarters in the historic house which had been Washington's headquarters during the siege of Boston, where he had for a while as co-tenant Dr. Joseph Worcester, the lexicographer. The house at the time was owned and occupied by Mrs. Andrew Craigie, widow of a commissary officer in the American army, who bore the distinguished title Apothecary-general. Here Mr. Longfellow lived during the remainder of his life, except that he had also for many years a summer cottage at Nahant. In 1843 he became owner of the estate through the gift of Mr. Nathan Appleton of Boston, whose daughter Frances Elizabeth he married July 13 of that year.

Mr. Longfellow held his professorship in Harvard University from 1836 to 1854, when he resigned the position. Once only, in 1842, did he take a long vacation of six months, which he spent mainly at Marienberg on the Rhine, for the sake of its waters. In July, 1861, he met with a terrible loss in the distressing death, by fire, of his wife. He led after this a somewhat secluded life ; but in May, 1868, he went to Europe for a fourth time, with members of his family, and remained abroad, receiving academic honors and everywhere accorded such distinction as his great fame won him and his sensitive nature would permit him to receive. He returned to his home in September, 1869, and died March 24, 1882, leaving two sons and three daughters.

Besides the degree of Doctor of Laws conferred on him by his

Alma Mater, Bowdoin College, Mr. Longfellow received the same decoration from Harvard University and from Cambridge, England, the degree of Doctor of Civil Law from the University of Oxford, and was member, among other societies, of the Royal Spanish Academy. He was elected a member of the Massachusetts Historical Society in 1857.

In such brief terms may be recorded the external incidents of the life of a man whose name is probably more widely known both in America and in Europe than that of any other American man of letters. The more important and distinguishing record of his life lies in a statement respecting his literary career, and especially the succession of his poetical writings, for his services to his countrymen were only incidentally through his academic avocation; his real vocation was that of a poet, and in that word must be included very distinctly the notion of an interpreter.

Setting aside the boyish verses on the "Battle of Lovell's Pond" with their faint echo of Moore, the first disclosure of poetic gift was in the period when he was closing his college course and immediately after, in the winter which intervened between his appointment at Bowdoin and his first European visit. About twenty-five poems were published in various journals at this time; and seven of them the poet included under the heading "Earlier Poems" in his first collection of original verse, "Voices of the Night," a dozen years later. In this group of early poems there are a few touches which indicate the spark of poetic fire; but for the most part they are derivative, imitative, and merely exercises upon a slender poetic reed. Their chief value is in showing how the author's mind, before he travelled or partook freely of the larger literature, turned instinctively to subjects and to modes of treatment which permitted the artistic use of the reflected forms of nature and human life; he was seeking for color and richness and decorative grace rather than penetrating to the elemental significance.

During this brief period of poetic activity, Mr. Longfellow wrote and printed probably as much prose which has not been preserved. In truth, he was seeking expression through literary form, and was conscious rather of the literary spirit than of a controlling poetic power. It was during his last year in college that he wrote to his father:—

"I most eagerly aspire after future eminence in literature ; my whole soul burns ardently for it, and every earthly thought centres in it. There may be something visionary in this, but I flatter myself that I have prudence enough to keep my enthusiasm from defeating its own object by too great haste. Surely there never was a better opportunity offered for exertion of literary talent in our own country than is now offered. To be sure, most of our literary men thus far have not been profoundly so, until they have studied and entered the practice of theology, law, or medicine. I do believe that we ought to pay more attention to the opinion of philosophers, that 'nothing but nature can qualify a man for knowledge.' Whether Nature has given me any capacity for knowledge or not, she has, at any rate, given me a very strong predilection for literary pursuits ; and I am almost confident in believing that if I can rise in the world, it must be by the exercise of my talent in the wide field of literature. With such a belief I must say that I am unwilling to engage in the study of the law. . . . Let me reside one year at Cambridge ; let me study *belles-lettres*, and after that time it will not require a spirit of prophecy to predict with some degree of certainty what kind of a figure I could make in the literary world."

In this interesting letter there is the note of a young man pleading with his father, and using the argument which he thinks may prevail ; but there is, more distinct than any assumed bravado, an eagerness to try the calling which answers most completely the demands of his nature. Through all the vicissitudes of his professional life, he seems never to have missed the road which his intellectual and emotional endowment pointed out. His life-long friend Mr. George Washington Greene, in the moving dedication to the poet prefixed to his "The Life of Nathanael Greene," recalls a day spent by the two young men in Naples in 1828, when, under the splendor of an Italian sunset, and with the beautiful bay of Naples spread out before them, they reflected on the pageant of history, and then turned their thoughts in upon themselves and their own purposes in life.

"We talked and mused by turns," says Greene, "till the twilight deepened and the stars came forth to mingle their mysterious influences with the overmastering magic of the scene. It was then that you unfolded to me your plans of life, and showed me from what 'deep cisterns' you had already learned to draw. From that day the office of literature took a new place in my thoughts. I felt its forming power as I had never felt it before, and began to look with a calm

resignation upon its trials, and with true appreciation upon its rewards."

There is no corresponding record by the poet himself to which we can turn for the expansion of these words; but there are hints in his letters as well as suggestions from his studies at this time which make it pretty certain that the entrance he then found into the literatures of Southern Europe through the medium of a quick acquaintance with the several languages, was the disclosure to him of the interpreting power of literature; and it is interesting to note that one of the indications at this time of his own adventures in literature pointed to the use of the native, familiar material of New England life. In the midst of his enthusiastic absorption of foreign art, literature, and life, he wrote to Carey & Lea, the Philadelphia publishers, proposing a series of sketches and tales of New England life. He was qualifying himself for the post of an instructor in modern languages; but neither in his purpose then nor in his pursuit of this calling afterward at Brunswick and Cambridge could he be regarded as taking an academic attitude. He taught by methods which were designed to initiate the student as early as possible into an apprehension of the interesting revelation of life which literature held; and his choice of forms of literature for translation into the English tongue led him straight to those poems which embodied human experience in its most sympathetic guise.

There was a period of a little more than ten years from the time when Mr. Longfellow returned from Europe which was marked by literary production and the work of a teacher, blended and interchanged, but expressive of a single controlling passion. Just before his return after a three years' absence, he wrote to his father: "My poetic career is finished. Since I left America I have hardly put two lines together." Both his note-book and his letters show that his mind was occupied mainly with plans for work in prose. In fact, the new world opened to him by his introduction to historic and contemporaneous romantic literature pressed for expression. There was an outlet through teaching, and there was an outlet through writing; and in his eagerness to give form to the impressions crowding upon him, he used his profession for the opportunities it gave him, and wrote lectures and articles for periodicals in which he sought to classify and arrange the wealth which

his study and sojourn in foreign lands had heaped before him. Yet the artistic impulse native to his genius impelled him to use his material in more artistic form. Shortly after his return to America he began the publication in Buckingham's "The New England Magazine" of a series entitled "The School-master," in which a slight framework of fictitious assumption of personality is employed in which to set pictures of foreign life. The series continued for eighteen months, and then was recast and enlarged to be published in book form in 1833, under the title of "Outre-Mer: a Pilgrimage beyond the Sea." It was in effect the harvest of his first years of travel. In 1839 appeared "Hyperion," which followed upon his second residence abroad, and in its form and treatment was more distinctly a work of constructive art. The material which he had amassed was now more completely mastered, and in the freedom of his mastery he employed it for an ulterior artistic purpose, interfusing a lyrical and romantic strain of human sentiment. The book marks the close of what may be regarded as the poet's period of training for his distinct vocation.

Yet during this entire period he had not failed to exercise himself in poetic form as well as in the poetical treatment of the prose form. His function as an interpreter of foreign literature both as teacher and writer drew him into metrical versions of the poems which formed for him so essential a part of that literature. His first book, indeed, aside from school-manuals, was his translation of *Coplas de Manrique*; and his two prose volumes were lighted by lyrics in which his own poetic genius was a transparent medium for the beauty of the originals. As his first great discovery of himself was in the loss of himself in large study and observation, so his appropriation of European literary art was the occasion for a fineness of literary expression quite beyond his earlier independent poetic trials. These translations have a quality which make them distinctively his, while still faithful rescripts of the originals.

The period of this special form of production extended beyond the decade of which we have been writing, and culminated with the publication of "The Poets and Poetry of Europe" in 1843, an anthology which contained a number of his own translations. From 1830 until 1843 he wrote more than sixty such poems, and in this last year made his first

experiments in the translation of Dante. But the most prolific years were precisely those from 1829 to 1839, when he was most busily engaged in assimilating and ordering all that material for art which had been put into his possession by his acquaintance with foreign literature and life.

It was when he had discharged his obligation to this inheritance by the publication of "Hyperion" that he began almost simultaneously his long and noble career as a poet, singing in his own voice the songs which were the overflow of his native genius enriched and expanded by the years of study and experiment. In the flush of his intellectual manhood, established in what promised to be a permanent position in Harvard College, and with his days of wandering over, he turned again to poetry. He was still a student, but the urgency of the student-mood was passed; the riches of human thought had become in a measure his possession; his personal experience had been enlarged and deepened; he no longer saw principally the outside of the world; youth with its surrender to the moment had gone, and manhood with its hours of reflection had come. So we may interpret the poet's mood as it discloses itself in the verses which introduce his first volume of original poetry.

The conclusion of one period of his intellectual growth, as instanced in the writing of "Hyperion," melts into the beginning of a new period, which is indicated by the several Psalms, so called by himself, written and published at the end of 1838 and during 1839. In the latter year Mr. Longfellow gathered these recent poems with those belonging to earlier stages into a volume to which he gave the title "Voices of the Night." It comprised three groups of poems, — those recently written and published in the "Knickerbocker Magazine"; a selection from his poems published in periodicals during and immediately after his college days; and translations, together with a Prelude and an Envoi. The publication seems to have been a sudden thought coming to him in the exhilaration of his busy life. He writes in his diary, under date of September 11, 1839: "I have taken to the Greek poets again, and mean to devote one hour every morning to them. Began to-day with Anacreon. What exquisite language! Why did I ever forget my Greek?" and the next day he notes: "I mean to publish a volume of poems under the title of 'Voices of the Night.' As old Michael Drayton says, —

' I will ; yea, and I may !
Who shall oppose my way ?
For what is he alone
That of himself can say
He 's heire of Helicon ? ' "

It was perhaps at the suggestion of his renewed interest in Greek that he gave the title he did to the volume, with a motto from Euripides, the lines in a chorus in "Orestes" beginning *πτόνια πτόνια νύξ*.

The success of the volume was marked ; and the tone in which the author speaks of it in his diary and letters, as well as the joyousness which pervades his life at this period, indicates how sincere was this new birth of song, and what promise it gave of endurance. Nevertheless he was not so conscious of his destiny that he could not outline, a few days later, a plan of literary work which embraced a history of English poetry, a novel, a series of sketches, and only one poem, which may have been a paraphrase of Scandinavian verse. This efflorescence of intellectual life was, however, only a sign of his activity. It serves to show how natural and progressive was his growth : he had not broken with his past, but he did not distinctly see how almost entirely his literary productiveness was thereafter to be confined to verse. For it is to be noted that after the publication of "Voices of the Night" the succession of volumes of poetry was broken only by "Kavanagh," and the collection of his scattered papers under the title of "Drift Wood." "Kavanagh," published in 1849, at the close of another decade, appears to have been the final form taken by his art of various fancies which had been floating in his mind since the period of his first beginnings in literature. It laid their ghost, we may think ; and after that the man of letters ceased to be, and the poet was firmly sealed.

The years immediately following the publication of "Voices of the Night" may be regarded as those of the greatest spontaneity in Mr. Longfellow's poetic work. The title of the next volume of verse, "Ballads and other Poems," hints at the direction his mind was taking. "I have broken ground in a new field," he writes to Mr. Greene, January 2, 1840, "namely, ballads ; beginning with the 'Wreck of the Schooner Hesperus,' on the reef of Norman's Woe, in the great storm of a fortnight ago. I shall send it to some newspaper. I think I shall write

more. The *national ballad* is a virgin soil here in New England; and there are great materials. Besides, I have a great notion of working upon the *people's* feelings. I am going to have it printed on a sheet with a coarse picture on it. I desire a new sensation and a new set of critics. Nat. Hawthorne is tickled with the idea. Felton laughs and says, 'I would n't.' The familiar story of his invention of "Excelsior" is most suggestive of the poetic glow which his mind now experienced. "The Spanish Student" was another experiment in literary art struck out of his enthusiasm for Spanish literature, in which his work as a teacher had been engaging him. The volume of "Poems on Slavery" was the contribution which his patriotism under stress of indignation made to the rising tide of antislavery sentiment; but though he never lessened in his strong hostility to slavery, he kept his expression for letters and conversation and public acts; in his art he was commanded by less polemic influences.

The first publication of "The Spanish Student" was in 1842, during the author's absence in Europe. The "Poems on Slavery" were written on the return voyage. Mr. Longfellow was now thirty-five years old; and as he turned back after his six months' vacation and faced homeward, he wrote the autobiographical sonnet, published after his death, entitled "Mezzo Cammin." In this he declares:—

"Half of my life is gone, and I have let
The years slip from me and have not fulfilled
The aspiration of my youth, to build
Some tower of song with lofty parapet.
Not indolence, nor pleasure, not the fret
Of restless passions that would not be stilled,
But sorrow, and a care that almost killed,
Kept me from what I may accomplish yet."

With the familiarity which Mr. Longfellow now had with great art and the consciousness he possessed of his own poetic power, he could scarcely have been content with brief swallow-flights of song. Conceptions of great works often lie unwrought for many years in the mind of the poet; and Mr. Longfellow's habit of jotting down impulses and momentary resolutions in his note-book lets us partly into the secret of the *magnum opus* which dominated his life. The possibly vague aspiration of his youth "to build some tower of song with lofty parapet"

clearly took somewhat positive shape at this time. There is an entry in his journal, under date of November 8, 1841, which indicates how intensely and how comprehensively the conception of "Christus" possessed him at the outset:—

"This evening it has come into my mind to undertake a long and elaborate poem by the holy name of Christ; the theme of which would be the various aspects of Christendom in the Apostolic, Middle, and Modern Ages."

The summer following this decision was that which he spent at Marienberg, and coincidently with the writing of the sonnet "Mezzo Cammin" was the memorandum in his notebook:—

"Christus, a dramatic poem, in three parts.

Part First. The time of Christ. (Hope.)

Part Second. The Middle Ages. (Faith.)

Part Third. The Present. (Charity.)"

"The words in parenthesis," his biographer remarks, "are in pencil, and apparently added afterwards."

It was not till 1873 that the work as it now stands was published; and during those thirty-two years, which represent almost the whole of Mr. Longfellow's productive period, the subject of the trilogy seems never to have been long absent from his mind. The theme in its majesty was a flame by night and a pillar of cloud by day, which led his mind in all its onward movement; and he esteemed the work which he had undertaken as the really great work of his life. His religious nature was profoundly moved by it, and the degree of doubt which attended every step of his progress marked the height of the endeavor which he put forth. There was nothing violent or eccentric in this sudden resolution. The entry in his journal, his biographer states, is the only one for that year; but his correspondence and the dates of his poems indicate clearly enough that the course of his mental and spiritual life was flowing in a direction which made this resolve a most rational and at the same time inspiring expression of his personality. He had been singing those psalms of life, triumphant, sympathetic, aspiring, which showed how strong a hold the ethical principle had of him; he had been steeping his soul in Dante; he had been moved by the tender ecclesiasticism of "The Children of the Lord's Supper," and in

recording a passage in the life of Christ had fancied himself a monk of the Middle Ages; while the whole tenor of his life and thought had shown how strong a personal apprehension he had of the divine in humanity.

It was nine years from this resolution before he attacked the work in earnest, beginning then, as is well known, with the second part, and publishing it independently and without explanation of his full design, as "The Golden Legend"; but it is fair to suppose that the scheme itself in its entirety was one of those spiritual cinctures which bind the days of man, each to each. It is not at all improbable also that the exactions of his professional occupation had something to do with breaking the continuity of his poetical labor, and making him shrink from a task which called for great absorption of power. Certain it is that when in the winter of 1845-46 he was engaged upon his most sustained flight of verse up to this time, the poem of "Evangeline," his diary bears witness to the impatience of the distractions of his daily life incident to his position, which constantly withheld him from a task which gave him the greatest delight.

The three poems—"Evangeline," "The Song of Hiawatha," and "The Courtship of Miles Standish"—have superficially a more distinct place as expression of the larger sweep of Mr. Longfellow's poetical genius, but they bear no such relation to his more intimate life as the "Christus." They serve well to emphasize that ardent interest in American themes which was early illustrated by his eagerness to write of New England life, when he was in the flush of his enthusiasm for the art which Europe opened to his view. They illustrate also his technical skill and his instinctive sense of fitness of form. Regarding his period of poetical production as not far from sixty years, these three poems occupy, roughly speaking, the midway decade, and they are in the minds of most the central pieces about which the poet's shorter poems are grouped. Yet these shorter poems which have become most securely imbedded in the memories and affections of readers, these songs which he breathed into the air and found again in the heart of a friend, were freely sent forth with no long intervals up to the very end of his life. Perhaps the longest interval was during that withdrawal which followed the tragedy of his domestic life.

When he began to lift his head after the calamity which befell him in the death of his wife, "he felt the need," says his biographer, "of some continuous and tranquil occupation for his thoughts; and after some months he summoned the resolution to take up again the task of translating Dante." This was no new study with him; in one phase or another it had been a familiar pursuit since he made his first adventure in European literature, and his first collection of poems, "Voices of the Night," contained examples of translation from Dante; but now he pushed the work through to completion, and in the final publication in three volumes left on record a notable expression of an important phase of his intellectual endowment. As translation was one of the earliest signs of his appropriation of the art disclosed to him in foreign literature, after he had completed the tale of his greater works he resumed with distinct pleasure this form of communion with other poets. Indeed, throughout his life he recognized the gracious part which this exercise of translation played in the intellectual life. He found in such work a gentle stimulus to his poetic faculties, and resorted to it when wishing to quicken his spirit. "I agree with you entirely," he writes to Freiligrath, November 24, 1843, "in what you say about translations. It is like running a ploughshare through the soil of one's mind; a thousand germs of thought start up (excuse this agricultural figure), which otherwise might have lain and rotted in the ground. Still, it sometimes seems to me like an excuse for being lazy, — like leaning on another man's shoulder."

It is when one enlarges the conception of the word "translation" that one perceives how well it expresses a pervasive element of Mr. Longfellow's art. He was a consummate translator because the vision and faculty divine which he possessed was directed toward the reflection of the facts of nature and society rather than toward the facts themselves. He was like one who sees a landscape in a Claude Lorraine glass; by some subtle power of the mirror everything has been composed for him. Thus, when he came to use the rich material of history, of poetry, and of other arts, he saw these in forms already existing; and his art was not so much a reconstruction out of crude material as a representation, a rearrangement in his own exquisite language of what he found

and admired. He was first of all a composer, and he saw his subjects in their relations rather than in their essence. To tell over again old tales, to reproduce in forms of delicate fitness the scenes and narratives which others had invented, — this was his delight; for in doing this he was conscious of his power, and he worked with ease.

"The Divine Tragedy" was finished in 1870. It marks a characteristic of the poet that he must have always by him some comprehensive task; and on the day when he finished "Judas Maccabeus," which was in a sense an offshoot of "The Divine Tragedy," he recorded in his diary: "A new subject comes into my mind." This was, no doubt, the subject of "Michael Angelo." Two months later he wrote: "February 26, 1872. I have more definitely conceived the idea of a dramatic poem on Michael Angelo, which has been vaguely hovering in my thoughts for some time. Can I accomplish it?" In May he finished his first draft, but the poem never was completed. The author kept it by him, occasionally touching it, writing new scenes, rejecting portions, and seemingly reluctant to have it leave his desk. He wrote upon the first page, "A Fragment"; and a fragment it remains, even though it has the smoothness and apparent roundness of a finished work. It is possible, also, that in calling it a fragment Mr. Longfellow had in mind the fact that the time of the poem embraced but a small fraction of the artist's life; and this consideration may have led him to throw aside the concluding scene of Michael Angelo's death-bed as indicating too positive and final a close. It is certain that there is but slight attempt at the development of a drama, with its crises and denouement; the form adopted was that of a dramatic poem which permitted expansion and contraction within the natural limits of three major parts, and depended for its value in construction upon the skilful selection of scenes, chronological in their sequence, and yet indicative of the relations subsisting between the principal characters introduced.

There is an interest, however, attaching to this work which grows out of its place in Mr. Longfellow's history. It was found in his desk and published after his death, ten years from the time when it was first composed, and bearing the marks of his occasional revision. When Michael Angelo

holds discourse from the vantage-ground of age with the volatile Benvenuto Cellini, his counsel to the younger man is mingled with pathetic reflections upon his own relation to art. He cannot leave Rome for Florence; he is under the spell which affects one like malaria, —

“Malaria of the mind
Out of this tomb of the majestic Past;
The fever to accomplish some great work
That will not let us sleep. I must go on
Until I die.”

So he speaks; and to Benvenuto's reminder of the memories which cluster about the pleasant city upon the Arno, he replies, musing: —

“Pleasantly
Come back to me the days when, as a youth,
I walked with Ghirlandajo in the gardens
Of Medici, and saw the antique statues,
The forms august of gods and godlike men,
And the great world of art revealed itself
To my young eyes. Then all that man hath done
Seemed possible to me. Alas! how little
Of all I dreamed of has my hand achieved!”

The caution against mistaking a poet's dramatic assumption for his own character and expression is of less force when applied to one in whom the dramatic power was but slightly developed; and the whole poem of “Michael Angelo,” taken in connection with the time and circumstances of its composition, may fairly be regarded as in some respects Longfellow's *apologia*. Michael Angelo rehearsing his art is dramatically conceived, and there is no lapse into the poet's own speech; for all that, and because of that, the reader is always aware of the presence of Longfellow, wise, calm, reflective, musing over the large thoughts of life and art. “I want it,” the poet says in his diary, “for a long and delightful occupation”; and he treated himself to the luxury of keeping the work by him, brooding over it, shaping it anew, adding, changing, discarding.

“Quickened are they that touch the Prophet's bones,” he says in his Dedication; and it may easily be believed that with no great scheme of verse haunting him, with no sense of incompleted plans, he would linger in the twilight of his poetic life

over the strong figure of the artist thus called up before him, and be kindled with a new poetic glow as he contemplated the great artist. For Michael Angelo in the poem is the virile character of the robust Italian seen in a softened, mellow light. We are not probably far astray when we say that Longfellow, in building this poem and reflecting upon its theme during the last ten years of his life, was more distinctly declaring his artistic creed than in any other of his works, and that the discussions which take place in the poem, more especially Michael Angelo's utterances on plastic or graphic art, had a peculiar interest for him as bearing upon analogous doctrines of the art of poetry.

The great sculptor is made to speak in his old age of —

“The fever to accomplish some great work
That will not let us sleep.”

If there was any such fever in Mr. Longfellow's case, — and possibly the writing of “Michael Angelo” is an evidence, — there certainly was from the beginning of his career a most healthy and normal activity of life, which stirred him to the achievement of great works in distinction from the familiar, frequent exercise of the poetic faculty.

“We have but one life here on earth,” he writes in his diary; “we must make that beautiful. And to do this health and elasticity of mind are needful; and whatever endangers or impedes these must be avoided.” This last entry lets a little light into the poet's temperament. That calm sweetness of spirit, which is so apparent in Longfellow, was an acquisition as well as an endowment. He deliberately chose and refrained according to a law in his members, and took clear cognizance of his nature and its tendencies. In a word, he was a sane man. There was a notable sanity about all his mode of life, and his attitude towards books and Nature and men. It was the positive which attracted him, the achievement in literature, the large, seasonable gifts of the outer world, the men and women themselves who were behind the deeds and words which made them known. The books which he read, as noted in his journals, were the generous books; he wanted the best wine of thought, and he avoided criticism. He basked in sunshine; he watched the sky, and was alive to the great sights and sounds, and to all the tender

influences of the seasons. In his intercourse with men, this sanity appeared in the power which he showed of preserving his own individuality in the midst of constant pressure from all sides; he gave of himself freely to his intimate friends, but he dwelt, nevertheless, in a charmed circle, beyond the lines of which men could not penetrate. Praise did not make him arrogant or vain; criticism, though it sometimes wounded him, did not turn him from his course. It is rare that one in our time has been the centre of so much admiration, and still rarer that one has preserved in the midst of it all that integrity of nature which never abdicates.

ANNUAL MEETING, APRIL, 1893.

THE Annual Meeting was held on Thursday, the 13th instant, at twelve o'clock, M.; the President, Dr. GEORGE E. ELLIS, in the chair.

The record of the March meeting was read and approved; and the list of donors to the Library during the last month was presented.

After the reading of the records, the Librarian announced the gift to the Society of twelve volumes of autograph letters, beautifully mounted and bound, comprising many classified letters of statesmen, orators, judges, lawyers, and authors, and several parcels not yet bound. These autographs had been collected and arranged by Mr. and Mrs. Alexander C. Washburn, and are of great interest and value. They may be briefly described as follows:—

“Governors of Massachusetts.” Two volumes, one containing 105 autograph letters (1644–1884) of nearly all the Governors since the First Charter, beside 17 other papers duly signed, and 51 engravings; the other, 75 commissions and 12 miscellaneous papers, with signatures, as well as 41 engravings.

“Presidents of Harvard University.” This volume contains 44 autograph letters (1655–1878) and 26 other papers, signed, of all the Presidents excepting Leonard Hoar (1672–75); also 12 engravings.

“Presidents of the United States.” There are in this volume 55 autograph letters, including, beside others, 6 of George Washington, 3 of James Madison, and 22 of James Monroe; also 28 engravings.

“Lafayette.” One volume, containing 13 letters (1779–1833) and 4 engravings.

“John Adams and John Quincy Adams.” In this volume there are 46 autograph letters (1776–1819) of John Adams and 6 (1797–1831) of John Quincy Adams; also 5 engravings of the former and 5 of the latter.

“Correspondence, Jay, Pickering & Sullivan, Northeastern Boundary.” This volume contains 4 autograph letters of John Jay, 14 of Timothy Pickering, and 9 of James Sullivan, all signed and extending over the period 1796–98; also 6 portraits, — 4 of Jay, 1 of Pickering, and 1 of Sullivan.

"Thomas Jefferson." One volume, containing 35 autograph letters (1772-1821) and 1 other paper, duly signed, and an engraving.

"Statesmen and Orators." The papers in this volume extend through the years 1755-1879; and among these are autograph letters of George Washington, Benjamin Franklin, Samuel Adams, Alexander Hamilton, Samuel Huntington, Fisher Ames, Henry Laurens, Aaron Burr, Richard Henry Lee, Charles Carroll, John Randolph, Stephen Hopkins, John Marshall, Elbridge Gerry, Patrick Henry, Robert Morris, Caleb Strong, Samuel Dexter, Albert Gallatin, Benjamin Rush, Harrison Gray Otis, Daniel Webster, John C. Calhoun, Rufus Choate, Robert C. Winthrop, Charles Sumner, Charles Francis Adams, Abraham Lincoln, John A. Andrew, and Wendell Phillips, as well as of many other distinguished persons. Beside this collection of 107 manuscript papers there are 57 engravings.

"Judges and Eminent Lawyers." This volume contains 126 manuscript papers (1766-1880), including, beside those of other prominent men, letters of John Jay, Fisher Ames, Artemas Ward, William Heath, David Sewall, Nathan Dane, Theophilus Parsons, James Sullivan, the first President of this Society, and his brother, Gen. John Sullivan, Dudley A. Tyng, Jeremiah Mason, Joseph Story, Theron Metcalf, and Nathaniel I. Bowditch. There are also 34 engravings.

Another volume containing 70 letters (1802-86) of distinguished authors; and among them are Count Rumford, Nathaniel Bowditch, John J. Audubon, Nathaniel P. Willis, George Ticknor, Edward Everett, Joseph Story, Washington Allston, William E. Channing, William H. Prescott, Convers Francis, Theodore Parker, Edmund Quincy, George Bancroft, Edmund H. Sears, William Cullen Bryant, Frederic H. Hedge, Oliver Wendell Holmes, Henry W. Longfellow, Louis Agassiz, George S. Hillard, John G. Whittier, John Lothrop Motley, and James Russell Lowell. With these papers there are 36 engravings.

Three parcels of miscellaneous papers ready for binding, extending through the years 1649-1890. Among the 175 papers in this collection are writings of Sir Henry Vane, Samuel Danforth, John Leverett, Jonathan Belcher, Sir William Pepperrell, Thomas Pownal, Francis Bernard, Roger Sherman, Joseph Warren, James Bowdoin, and Robert Morris, as well as of other distinguished persons; also a variety of other papers. There are 21 engravings in these three parcels.

A volume of Foreign Autographs, including papers signed by Sir Henry Vane, Joseph Priestley, Sir Jeffery Amherst, and others; also a few engravings.

It was ordered that a special vote of thanks should be sent to Mr. and Mrs. Washburn for their valuable and important gift.

The Librarian also presented from Dr. Charles E. Clark the original subscription book for the erection of an equestrian statue to Col. Robert G. Shaw, who fell at Fort Wagner.

The PRESIDENT then said :—

We have for a fourth time in painful succession to open our monthly meeting with reference to the death of another of our associates. Henceforward we are to have but the cherished remembrance instead of the personal presence here of Dr. Andrew Preston Peabody, one of the most constant of us all in his attendance, and most interested in our work. We share in all the grateful and respectful tributes, not stopping short of veneration, which have recognized his personal excellences and his long and varied and devoted service in his professional career. I recall him just sixty years ago during these passing months, from whom, as then a tutor in the college, I was receiving instruction in Hebrew.

For a period of years during which he left his heart at the College to find it there again at his return, he filled the duties of a parish minister with eminent ability and fidelity. He belonged to the College, and it had claims upon him as among its most honored alumni. Reading, study, and thought, all pursued with an earnest and patient assiduity, had trained him in generous scholarship. So full and varied were his attainments that he might have served the College in many of its branches of instruction. He was chosen for a place of high responsibility, and for duties and offices that could be defined only by the dictates and guidance of his conscience.

His professorship was designated by its founder as having charge of the training of the "heart." It was for him to give the term a meaning, and to illustrate that meaning by a signal devotion of his inborn and his acquired qualities of character to establishing grateful relations of respect and strong affection between himself and successive classes of students, to be long cherished and then long traditionally remembered.

Rev. Dr. E. J. Young was appointed to write a memoir of Dr. Peabody for publication in the Proceedings of the Society.

The PRESIDENT then read a letter from the Senior Vice-President, who was prevented by illness from being present, making a further valuable gift to the Library :—

50 CHESTNUT STREET, April 11, 1893.

REV. GEORGE E. ELLIS, D.D.,

President of the Massachusetts Historical Society.

MY DEAR SIR, — I send herewith three volumes of notes on the Indians, made by me in 1845, from such books and other writings on the subject as then existed; also two portfolios on the Acadian affairs, relating especially to Charles Saint Etienne de la Tour and Charles de Menou D'Aulnay Charnisay, — also a remarkable manuscript volume, the work of Count René de Menou, the modern representative of the family of D'Aulnay Charnisay.

It is a work of great research, and is incomparably the best account extant of the career of the writer's ancestor in Acadia.

It appears to be the original manuscript of Count de Menou, who is also the author of a book called "*Preuves de l'Histoire de la Maison de Menou*," which is in our library, and which is a general account of the various branches of the Menou family, touching very briefly on the part played by Charles de Menou in Acadia.

Yours very truly,

F. PARKMAN.

Please have the beforementioned books and papers deposited with the "Parkman Papers."

Dr. SAMUEL A. GREEN read the following communication: —

It is due to the memory of our late associate the Reverend Robert C. Waterston, who died on February 21, 1893, that some reference should be made at this meeting to his generous bequests to the Society, which are to take effect on the death of his widow. The will was written entirely in his own hand, and is dated May 21, 1870, two days before he started on a trip to California over the Pacific Railroad, then a great novelty. At the May meeting of that year (*Proceedings*, XI. 309) a formal vote was passed requesting him to represent the Society on any occasion during his absence that might be agreeable to himself. It will be noted that Mr. Waterston makes a condition of the legacy of his library, that the Society shall remove to a more commodious and fireproof building, and will appropriate a part of said building for its reception; but since the date of his will the Society has erected a more commodious building, which is considered by experts to be also fireproof. Within a few days the Library has received a printed copy of that instrument, which contains,

besides other liberal items to various persons and associations, the following:—

“At her [Mrs. Waterston’s] decease (from the proceeds of the real estate, namely, the store in Milk Street, the store in Essex Street, and the house in Essex Street, one or all), I give and bequeath the sum of Ten thousand dollars to the Massachusetts Historical Society, to accompany the collection of Autograph Letters, Papers and Documents which I shall also leave to said Society, said sum to be safely invested and the income thereof to be appropriated to the printing and publishing of a complete catalogue of said Autograph papers, with proper description thereof and the printing in whole or in part of such papers as may be deemed desirable, also to arrangement for their more convenient use and safe keeping, also for the purchase from time to time of any autographic letters and papers of literary or historical interest or value. These letters and papers to be added to the above-named collection, and the whole to be known and named as the Waterston Collection, partly as a more convenient reference and to distinguish these from other important and valuable collections now in possession of said Society, or which may be added thereto.

“I also give and bequeath the additional sum of Ten thousand dollars, to be safely invested by said Society, namely: The Massachusetts Historical Society, the income thereof to be used in the printing and publishing of any important or interesting Autograph, original Manuscripts, Letters or Documents which may be in possession of said Society, the Fund to be called the ‘Waterston Fund’ No. 2, and the volumes thus printed to be designated in the volume as published by said Fund, and copies of such volumes, as far as considered desirable by the Standing Committee, to be sent to other Historical Societies or Public Libraries.

“Also the sum of Ten thousand dollars left me in trust by my father as a publishing fund, the income as by his will to be appropriated to the publication and distribution of such papers, tracts and books as are best calculated to disseminate useful information and promote spiritual culture. By said will of my father I am authorized to make such disposition of said fund as I shall think proper, ‘either by appropriating the same to public purposes or by designating into whose hands it shall go.’ I do therefore hereby give and bequeath the said sum of Ten thousand dollars to the Massachusetts Historical Society, to be by them safely invested and the income thereof to be used as a publishing fund for the publication and distribution in such manner as the Standing Committee shall deem best to Libraries or individuals of such papers and books as are best calculated to disseminate useful, Historical, Biographical or Literary information, and to be of service in any way to society and mankind, the said fund to be known and designated as the

Waterston Fund No. 3, or Waterston Publishing Fund, and the fact that any book is printed by such fund to be stated on the title page or elsewhere in each book.

"Also on condition that the said Society removes to a more commodious and fire-proof building and will appropriate any room or portion of said building for the purpose, I then give and bequeath my whole Library, with such exception as may be hereafter named and designated, to the Massachusetts Historical Society, with the additional amount of Ten thousand dollars to put such room or portion of said building in order for the commodious and safe-keeping of the books, or if such money is not so needed or is not wholly so used, the remainder shall go to add books to this collection under the direction of the Standing Committee.

"If there should be such room or portion of the building so set apart, I hereby give and bequeath such of the best engravings which I may have, with such works of art as may best tend to add interest and attraction illustrative of Biography or History, or rendering such a collection a pleasure and an advantage."

While I am on my feet, Mr. President, I will take this occasion to say that at the meeting of the Society on June 14, 1883 (Proceedings, XX. 264), Mr. Winthrop, the President, referred to a letter written to him by the United States Consul at Dresden, announcing the discovery there, in private hands, of an original portrait of Dr. Benjamin Franklin by the celebrated French artist Duplessis. The letter was accompanied by a photograph, which was shown at the time to the members. This picture is now temporarily on exhibition at the Art Museum, where I saw it a few days ago. It is apparently an excellent likeness and a fine painting, and is owned by Dr. Clifford F. Snyder, an American dentist practising his profession in Berlin. At the Museum it has been placed side by side with an original portrait of Franklin belonging to the Boston Athenæum, which has always been attributed to Greuze; and a good opportunity for a comparison of the two pictures is thus offered. It is interesting to note that the one painting is an exact copy of the other, even in its minutest details; and it is evident, too, that they both were made by the same artist,—undoubtedly Duplessis.

Col. Charles R. Codman, of Cotuit, was elected a Resident Member.

Dr. O. W. HOLMES, who appeared to be in excellent health, spoke of his pleasure at being able to be present at the meeting, and then said : —

I received not long ago the Christmas number of "Dixie," a periodical published at Atlanta, Georgia, which had an article entitled "Some Interesting Bits of Georgia History, by Miss Annie Northen." This article was illustrated by an engraving of the church at Midway, where my father, the Rev. Abiel Holmes, a former Secretary of this Society, was a settled minister for six years. There is also a view of the old burial-ground, in which are the graves of many noted public characters. Among them is the supposed resting-place of one whose name once heard is never forgotten, — Button Gwinnett, a signer of the Declaration of Independence, who fell in a duel in the year 1777.

Mr. T. W. HIGGINSON spoke in substance as follows : —

An unfortunate clashing of dates with another local society, of which I am president, is apt to interfere with my attendance on the meetings of this Association. I therefore take this favorable opportunity to submit some letters from the correspondence of my ancestor, Stephen Higginson, who was Member of Congress from Massachusetts in 1783, and is best known as the supposed author of the once celebrated "Laco" letters, directed against John Hancock. The secret of those letters was very well kept ; and when I asked the youngest and last surviving son of Stephen Higginson — the late Mr. James P. Higginson, of Boston, my uncle — whether he had any information on the subject, he told me that he could only remember that, when walking as a boy with his father, he heard the street-boys call after them, "Laco ! Laco !" This shows the local impression ; but I have never felt quite satisfied of its truth, for there is in the Laco letters a vein of bitter sarcasm not to be found in my grandfather's ordinary correspondence, which is grave and weighty. Moreover, the only stroke of wit recorded of him was used in the direction of kindness towards antagonists. The only surviving Federalist who could ever tell me anything about him was Mr. James Richardson, of Dedham, who described to me, many years ago, a discussion in a circle of that faith as to how they should

treat Democrats, especially when the latter were getting the upper hand. Most speakers still favored an unflinching severity; but my grandfather, it seems, thought otherwise, and pithily remarked, "If you have to live in the house with a cat, you must not always address her as 'Cat!' Sometimes you must call her 'Pussy!'" But it may have been, after all, the painful experience of the Laco letters which brought him to this more moderate state of mind.

He was one of many men at the North, especially among the old Salem merchants, who showed that here, as at the South, the mere discipline of public affairs taught men statesmanship, without collegiate education. His letters are not very abundant, for he imitated his political leader, George Cabot, — who was also his double first cousin, — in burning his correspondence after the Hartford Convention period. The first letter I shall read is a simple private one, which is of interest as being an illustration of the free-handed way in which the Boston merchants of that day did things, and also as an invaluable example to the parishioners of modern times. It is addressed to Mr. Higginson's young pastor, at Brookline, well known to this Society in later years as the Rev. John Pierce: —

Boston Feby 13, 1805.

D. SIR, — With concern we have heard of your illness; but with pleasure we this day learn by Mr. Heath that you are mending.

I inclose you 100 dollars in Bills, which beg you to accept, persuaded that Gentlemen in your profession are not sufficiently compensated for their labours, nor furnished by their Hearers with competent means of support, especially in cases of sickness and extra expense, I consider it a duty for me to contribute in this way.

I have only to request that you will not mention, nor feel yourself obligated by this mark of esteem and friendship — with my own and Mrs. Hs. respects for Mrs. P I remain Sir yours truly —

S: HIGGINSON.

The letter is indorsed in the clear and methodical style of Dr. Pierce "Stephen Higginson, Senior. Feb. 13, 1805. \$100."

The next letter gives a curious glimpse of the demands sometimes made on mercantile houses in those days: —

NEW YORK NOV. 4th 1787—

GENTLEMEN, — On or about the 8th of September last my Negro Wench named Beth left me and stole and carried off with her a Part

of my Property - My Neighbor Mr. Daniel Ludlow who lately returned from Boston informs Me She is now in your City and has hired herself out (with her Husband a servant of Mr. Charles McEvers) to a Person in Hanover Street, near to a Mr. Coffin Jones upon my Application to Govr. Clinton he has favoured Me with a Letter to his Excellency Govr. Hancock requesting that She may be apprehended agreeable to the Articles of Confederation and sent back that She may be made amenable to the Laws of this State for her felonious Conduct. This Letter I have taken the Liberty by the Recommendation of my Friend Mr. Ludlow to send under Cover to You, and have to request that You would be so good as to deliver it to Govr. Hancock as soon as it comes to Hand, who I make no doubt will give every Aid in his Power to apprehend her - to assist in finding the Wench it is necessary to give you the following Description - She is remarkably short about 28 Years of Age a Yellowish Complexion her Front Teeth are bad She wears her Hair turned back over a Roll and was pregnant when She left Me - her Husband who is now with her is about 25 Years old slender made about 5 feet or 6 inches high black Complexion dresses his Hair back and one or two of his Fingers of one of his Hands is maimed and in some Measure useless - As She is an artful Wench to prevent her escaping I beg when She is apprehended that She may be confined until Capt. Barnard who commands the Schooner Boston Packet and who will leave this on Wednesday is ready to sail for New York and who has promised to take Charge of her - You will be pleased to Deliver her to him just before he sails, with her Cloaths and such Things as may be found with her, and whatever Expence and Trouble may attend this Business, I will chearfully pay to your Order, and your Friendship in this will much oblige

Gentlemen Your most obt. and very humble Servt.

THO. SMITH.

Messrs. JACKSON and HIGGINSON Boston.

I should personally take an extreme interest in knowing precisely what reply was made by the house of Jackson & Higginson to this confiding request; but those who recall the opinion of John Hancock, expressed by "Laco," may well doubt whether a co-operation between them in slave-hunting would have been altogether harmonious.

The next letter, and much the longest, is from Stephen Higginson, who had declined re-election to Congress, to Arthur Lee, who was still there, in reference to the retirement of Alexander Hamilton - "the General" - from that branch of the public service. It will be remembered that one of Hamilton's favorite measures had been to obtain consent to

the grant of a five per cent impost on imports. This was defeated, largely through the opposition of Rhode Island; and Lodge, in his biography of Hamilton (p. 40), says: "Defeated at this point, Congress fell back on its old policy of recommending a grant for a term of years; and against this Hamilton and Higginson voted with the Rhode Islanders, who opposed all forms of taxation or debt-paying." It would seem from this letter, however, that Stephen Higginson was by no means an ally of Hamilton in what the latter called "continental politics":—

BOSTON, Jan'y 27, 1784.

D^r SIR, — Yours from Annapolis I rec^d! — the Account you give of the General's resignation agrees well with what the Papers relate — it was no doubt affecting to you who were present & the manner in which he did it may serve to increase his popularity, for the great mass of the People are governed wholly by appearances, but he would in my Opinion have rendered his Character much more perfect had he have given us in his Valedictory strong evidence that he still retained his republican Ideas & principles, that he yet should be anxiously careful to preserve unimpaired the Constitut. and could never be induced by foreign or domestic Influence to aid those measures that have the most remote tendency to subvert that Government which he once affected to reverse & for the support of which he has repeatedly declared he was ready to hazard his All — I confess that it is to me mysterious how a man who has any knowledge of Our national affairs & is in any degree acquainted with the Characters of those in the great Departments & of Congress, can be highly in favour of the 5 pr. ct. Impost and for increasing the Powers of Congress, & at the same time heartily attached to Our present Constitution — Can any man take a View of the Doings of Congress for the last three years & believe that an increase of their Power would conduce to the public Happiness or tend to preserve our present form of Government? Does not the present Congress in a great degree consist of the same men whose public Conduct will surely be ever memorable, does not the same Junto, the same Influence still guide the measures of Congress that laid the most important Interests, nay the very Independence, of this Country at the feet of the french ministry? & while this is the Case must not an increase of their power in the same degree increase the danger of Our being yet brought into Bondage? surely it must — Who will believe that an Impost which from its very nature will give room for ambitious & designing ministers to misapply it, nay to employ it to seduce even Congress itself or some of its members, when he knows that specific Taxes granted in such manner & under such Checks as rendered it easy to discover the least misap-

plications, when he knows that the monies collected on such Taxes have been in violation of every principle of policy & Justice by the very men now in Office applied to such purposes~ — for my own part I can not believe that those who will hazard a misappropriation when detection is highly probable if not certain will hesitate doing it when they have the means in their own hands of hiding it from the public Eye, & surely those who have the disposal of an unknown sum may be said to have such means —

But I can not suspect the Generals Love of Liberty and attachment to his Country, I rather suppose that he has had not all that information which is necessary to form a right Judgment — his situation seemed favorable for acquiring a thorough knowledge of Our political Affairs, but I believe that the Junto, who always had their setters around him, took great pains to keep him ignorant of their measures and wholly in the dark as to their Views — sensible of his Virtues they concealed from him their Intentions, lest his influence, which has always been great, should be opposed to them.

Mr. F—r may talk of resigning but depend upon it he will not do it till he apprehends danger of being displaced or is thoroughly satisfied that he can no longer govern — I wish he would resign, it will not be an easy matter for him again to assume the Reins, there is a very wide difference between retaining an Office in possession and obtaining one that is vacant — a consciousness of that difference has emboldened many of the public Servants to follow their own inclination, and to treat even Congress with Contempt — secure of a Junto in Congress they were sure of their places, and having a few venal Ones at their Command, they have bid defiance to the Body — it is high time that your Servants were annually elected, from the highest to the lowest they have become insolent, let this reformation take place & I will answer for their behaving better in future —

Why will not your state Rhode Island, Jersey & No. Carolina give their Delegates similar Instructions to Cong~ if three or four States would agree & urge a reformation in the same points they would not fail of success — Copies of Our memorial &c should be sent to those states —

What think you of the Cincinnati, what says Congress to it, how does your state relish it~ is it an Exotic and a part of the great System or not~ a serious opposition is forming to it here & such as will soon check if not destroy the influence of the Institution in this State.

Whence arises the Anxiety that gave rise to your resolution in Virg* about Trade, and produced the coalition in Phil* ~ Congress ought to forward Commissions for settling the great Commercial Arrangements in Europe — if by the unsettled state of things Our carrying Trade is in danger, which certainly is the Case, & the States shall by and by

find themselves injured, will they not have just ground to clamour against Congress — is the Complaint on this Score foreign manufacture or homespun? —

Have you any prospect of getting a substitute for your 5 pr. ct system for that certainly will fail, have you any prospect of the States giving the necessary Aids in any other way? — I fear they will not untill they shall have felt the necessity of establishing proper & sufficient Funds, & before that necessity shall clearly appear a general Confusion & perhaps Convulsions may take place — Government must have money most certainly, & public Debts, or at the least the Interest upon them must be paid, but the people at large do not see that necessity & the respective State Governments have but little energy, Taxes will therefore be paid with reluctance & slowly — you see this Indisposition to pay in a specific constitutional way by the Conduct of the States upon the late recommendations — every State almost has granted the 5 pr. ct. Imp. though with it they grant their Liberty, but no State has yet granted the collateral Funds nor will they do it — when they give an Impost they fancy they give nothing, or rather each one thinks when he votes for it that he & his Constituents will not in that way contribute, they expect by some means or other to evade it — the Impost is therefore, though it carries with it a deadly poison, readily granted by many — but when the specific Tax is asked they start at the proposition, for to this they expect all to contribute. Thus do they show that to avoid the payment of a moderate Tax they will trust both their money & their Liberties in the hands of those who they have every reason to think wish to deprive them of them — they had rather hazard a general Convulsion & perhaps Revolution than grant their monies in a constitutional & safe way — so very unwary are they & regardless of the public safety, that it is easier to deceive & cajole them out of both their Liberty & their money, than persuade them like Freemen to grant with their Eyes open a small part only of their property — I wish much to see a better disposition and the States willing to grant the necessary Funds in a safe way, but I think the danger much less from the want of them than that which will certainly attend the adoption of Imposts — the one may induce temporary & great Evils, the other will inevitably entail upon us those which are much greater & permanent.

Perhaps your new Situation may much better favor the Views of the independent Gentlemen than your former One. I cannot but hope that the Influence of the Junto in Congress will be less in future, it must be more difficult at that distance to keep their tools properly instructed, they can not repair as in Phil^a every morning to the Office for Directions — should you find less force opposed to you in Congress than heretofore, will it not be eligible to push some points We had in contemplation in order to weaken & derange their plans, & as you succeed to press

forward—but Care must be taken that by proper Arrangements every motion shall prepare the way for another, you must let the warm Ones, as Howells, aim at too much at once—you have a formidable & a subtle Junto to deal with, your plans therefore must be opened by degrees—pray how stands the French Influence now, is it upon the increase or decrease in Congress & the Southern States~ They have lately lost an able & active Agent here, one on whom they much depended—

Is there any appearance of Mr. Van Berckel's having any weight in your politics, or does he not interest himself in your Decision.

Mr. Dana will be with you soon & I hope he will have a seat on your Floor if any vacancy happens. I expect he will be appointed. I gave Mr. Gerry or Mr. Osgood an account of the manner in which he has been called home—it will show you how great has been the weight of foreign Influence, to Our disgrace it proves that the Servants of Congress have been much more under the direction of that Influence than of Congress—the Secretary in that instance dared to go in direct opposition to the Sense and intention of Congress to forward the Views of that Influence, or rather of the Junto which supports it—I hope that instance of, may I not say, Treachery, will rouse Congress to attend to the Conduct of their Servants more closely, & to impeach all those who shall dare venture to disobey their Orders or in such wise counteract their Intentions.

Our Court have granted you 3000 Acres of Land in Our eastern Country & appointed a Committee to lay it out in York Cumberland or Lincoln Counties the two first Committees that were appointed made no return & perhaps owing to the Influence you suspect of being against you, but the last Session a new Committee was appointed who will do the Business, they are good men & mean I am told to lay it out in the County of York where there is a plenty of good Land—Our Judge Sewall is Chairman of the Committee—I expect next week to see two of the Gentlemen when I shall not fail to urge them to perfect the Business & to your advantage—I should have wrote you before on this matter but I have not till within a few days been able to find the real state of it.

I am interested in a lot of Land in north Carolina, my share is 10,000 Acres, the quality of it is said to be very good & the value of it great, from two to three Dollars $\frac{1}{2}$ Acre—I have heard much of its value &c but I know nothing about it but from the Accounts of others—it is so very distant from hence that I never expect to have such knowledge of it as is necessary to make any advantage of it either in the way of sale or improvement, but you by living in the neighborhood may perhaps find your account in exchanging what may be set off to you here for it, as the same difficulty will attend your holding wild Lands here—I

would therefore propose to you an inquiry into the Value of my Lands in No. Carolina, in order that if We think it convenient We may thus exchange upon fair and equitable terms — Mr. Hawkins I suppose can give you full information about it, I could not describe it to him with precision from memory when I was in Congress, but he appeared to be well acquainted with that Country where it lays — my share is one eighth part of a Tract containing Eighty thousand Acres which is part of a Tract of Land q^t 100,000 Acres granted by the King to Governor Dobbs by eight patents of 12,500 Acres each, it is known by the name of the *great Tract* & is situated on Rocky or Johnson River & the Branches thereof in Mecklenburg County, & is said to be of excellent quality & within seven miles of the Court house.

We purchased it of Mr. Alexander Rose of So. Carolina & have from him the original Patents with his own Deeds & the intermediate Ones, so that the Title is very clear and good — Mr. Rose has declared to us that he could have had for it since or before two hard Dollars $\frac{7}{8}$ Acre, & a Gentleman who came through the Country told us he knew the Land perfectly, that it was well situated & very good, & he was very urgent with us to be admitted to a share in the purchase, promising that he would go & see it settled &c. We had made Our Company & declined — Our Company are Jona. Jackson, John Lowell, Nath Tracy, Leo. Jarvis, T: Russell, Martin Brimmer, Jn^o & Andrew Cabot and myself — I have since heard that the Land is not so good as We had heard but it was from a Person who lived in that Country and wanted to purchase — Now I wish you to satisfy yourself as to the quality & value of it, which you may easily do with this description of it taking care to distinguish between those who wish to purchase it & those from whom you can get a disinterested Account of it — Mr. Hawkins I should suppose can put you in a way to get the information wanted — as it is much out of Our reach I believe some of the others would sell on good terms — The sire of your mare from the best information I can get was a horse imported by the late Governor Wentworth of New Hampshire called the *little Driver* a very famous horse in this Country — present my respects to all Friends.

I am yours affye

[STEPHEN HIGGINSON.]

Honble ARTHUR LEE, Esqre
Member of Congress Annapolis

It is a curious fact that the signature of this letter is omitted; but it is in the handwriting of Mr. Higginson, and endorsed by Mr. Lee as having been received from him. The omission was doubtless accidental, although had it occurred later, after the Federalists had become objects of suspicion and possible indictment, a different interpretation might have been put upon it.

The gift of land by the State of Massachusetts to Arthur Lee was made, it will be remembered, in acknowledgment of his services to the colony as its agent in England in connection with Benjamin Franklin. The amount appropriated to him has been usually stated at four thousand acres, but is here fixed at three thousand. The reference to Southern lands is very interesting, as showing that the Boston merchants were already extending their interests very widely. I have been able to ascertain nothing further about "the great tract," except that our associate, Col. Henry Lee, tells me that he remembers hearing these lands mentioned in his youth; and recalls also that Jonathan Jackson, being urged to go and visit them, replied that he would do it if the other owners would send him in a coach-and-six. It is hardly worth while to follow up further any feature of that period which even Colonel Lee's memory cannot recall; but if I am the legal heir to a few hundred acres of North Carolina land "of excellent quality," I should certainly be very glad to know it. As to the close of this letter, there is something very amusing, and perhaps rather healthful and creditable, in the manner in which the writer's discourse, beginning with Alexander Hamilton and the five per cent impost, ends with horseflesh and the Little Driver.

The regular business of the Annual Meeting was then taken up; and Mr. A. LAWRENCE LOWELL read the report of the Senior Member at Large of the Council, Mr. EDWARD J. LOWELL, who is now absent in Europe.

Report of the Council.

It is the custom of this Society that the senior retiring member of the Council shall examine, in his report, some matter of general interest to the Society, rather than that he should review the proceedings of the past year. Conforming to this custom, I propose briefly to consider the general purposes for which we are united, and to emphasize one of them.

The Massachusetts Historical Society was incorporated in the year of our Lord one thousand seven hundred and ninety-four for "the collection and preservation of materials for a political and natural history of the United States." The limit

thus set has never been reached in practice. Natural history has not taken a large place in the interests of the Society. On the other hand, the discussion of historical and archæological questions, and the publication of documents (as the best form of their preservation) have become an important part of its labors.

Still the Society retains, as its principal purpose, "the collection and preservation of materials"; and that purpose it has in a great measure performed. Our library is large and valuable, containing some books not easily found elsewhere; but our principal possessions are our manuscripts. These are many and precious; and our chief ambition, as members of this Society, should be to increase their value and their numbers. This is to be done by making those that we already possess as useful as possible. The Society is not remiss in publishing its valuable papers; but there are necessarily in our custody many manuscripts which we cannot afford to publish, and which it would not be worth while to publish could we afford it. These have but a local, personal, or partial interest; very few people would wish to read them, but they might be of great use to some historical scholar. Buried among piles of dusty papers, there are probably documents in these rooms which would throw real light on important historical questions. No one can put his finger on all of them, for no one knows the directions which individual talent and research may take. The great problem before this Society is how to make these papers accessible.

Serious efforts have already been made with this object in view. A committee has been appointed to make a list or catalogue of our manuscripts, and to publish it in the Proceedings. A considerable section of those manuscripts, the Pickering papers, has been carefully indexed, under the direction of another committee; and the index thus made awaits publication. Whenever these catalogues and indexes are published, the members of the Society *and other persons* will have the best means which we have been able to devise of knowing what manuscripts we possess. Their publication, therefore, should be undertaken with all possible speed.

I say *other persons*, as well as members of the Society, for no policy could be more short-sighted than to refuse to scholars who are not members here the use of our unpublished, and for

the most part unpublishable, manuscripts. We are, in a sense, trustees for the scholars of the country. While it is our duty to see to the careful preservation of our possessions, while we must surround their use with such precautions as may insure their safety, our policy as to the manuscripts in our hands should be thoroughly generous. This only will secure the continued reception by us of valuable manuscripts. The rooms of this Society are not now the only possible place of deposit for family papers and historical material. Testators and donors can find other repositories, and will do so, if we do not let our light shine before men. Let us make this the safest, and at the same time the most useful place. Let us imitate the liberality of the men in charge of best-managed public archives of Europe; and being known to give generously, we shall receive freely. Thus shall we best collect materials, thus best preserve them. The motto over our door may remind us that it is not for ourselves, but for others, that our labors are performed.

During the past year the Society has lost some of its most honored members. Among the Resident Members there have been five deaths, as follows: —

Fitch Edward Oliver,	Dec. 8, 1892.
Phillips Brooks,	Jan. 23, 1893.
Robert Cassie Waterston,	Feb. 21, 1893.
Henry Wheatland,	Feb. 27, 1893.
Andrew Preston Peabody,	March 10, 1893.

There have also died three Corresponding Members, —

George Henry Moore,	May 5, 1892.
George William Curtis,	August 31, 1892.
Sir John Bernard Burke,	Dec. 13, 1892.

Two Resident Members have been elected: —

George Spring Merriam,	June 9, 1892.
Edward Lillie Pierce,	March 9, 1893.

During the year the Society has published: —

Collections, 6th series, Vol. V.
 Proceedings, 2d series, Vol. VII., 1891, 1892.

Also a serial number of the same volume (March to May, 1892), and two numbers of Vol. VIII., 2d series (October, 1892, to February, 1893).

The publications made by the members have been as follows:—

Three Episodes of Massachusetts History: The Settlement of Boston Bay; The Antinomian Controversy; A Study of Church and Town Government. Two volumes. Second edition. By Charles Francis Adams.

Zachary Phips. By Edwin L. Bynner.

Quarterly Journal of Economics, Vol. VI. Edited by Charles F. Dunbar.

A Greek Grammar, revised and enlarged. By William W. Goodwin.

Harvard Studies in Classical Philology. Edited by a Committee (William W. Goodwin, and others) of the Classical Instructors of Harvard University. Vol. III.

Groton Historical Series: Numbers VII. to XII. of Volume III., completing that volume. By Samuel A. Green.

A List of Micmac Names of Places, Rivers, etc., in Nova Scotia. Compiled by Elizabeth Frame. With a Prefatory Note by Samuel A. Green.

The Result of Columbus's Discovery. By Edward Everett Hale.

Subjects and Methods of Political and Economical Debates. Compiled by Albert B. Hart.

American History Leaflets: Colonial and Constitutional. Edited by Albert B. Hart and Edward Channing, Nos. 1-4.

A World outside of Science. By Thomas W. Higginson.

Proceedings of the Twenty-second Annual Meeting of the National Board of Trade, held in Washington, January, 1892. Edited by Hamilton A. Hill.

Thomas Coram in Boston and Taunton. By Hamilton A. Hill.

Historical and Political Essays. By Henry Cabot Lodge.

The Eve of the French Revolution. By Edward J. Lowell.

The Divine Comedy of Dante Alighieri, Vol. III. Translated by Charles Eliot Norton.

Preaching. By Andrew P. Peabody.

Address delivered at the Dedication of the Cambridge English High School Building, April 4, 1892. By Andrew P. Peabody.

Faith, Virtue, Knowledge: An Address delivered at the Eighty-ninth Anniversary of Bradford Academy, on Wednesday, June 8, 1892. By Andrew P. Peabody.

The Andover Band in Maine. By Edward G. Porter.

Archæological and Ethnological Papers of the Peabody Museum, Vol. I, No. 4, 1892. Edited by Frederick W. Putnam.

The Campaign of Waterloo: A Military History. By John C. Ropes.

An Atlas of the Campaign of Waterloo. Designed to accompany

the Author's "Campaign of Waterloo: A Military History." By John C. Ropes.

American Commonwealths. Edited by Horace E. Scudder. California from the Conquest in 1846 to the second Vigilance Committee in San Francisco, by Josiah Royce; Indiana, a Redemption from Slavery, by J. P. Dunn, Jr.; New York, the Planting and Growth of the Empire State, by Ellis H. Roberts, two volumes.

Hymns Original and Selected. With Responsive Services for Private and Public Use. By Robert C. Waterston.

America Prefigured: An Address at Harvard University, October 21, 1892. By Justin Winsor.

Bibliographical Contributions, Harvard University. Edited by Justin Winsor.

Harvard College: The Class of 1828, with a bibliography of the publications of its members. Edited by Justin Winsor.

Harvard University Bulletin, Nos. 50-52. Edited by Justin Winsor.

The Pageant of Saint Luson, Sault Ste. Marie, 1671: A Commencement Address at the University of Michigan, June 30, 1892. By Justin Winsor.

Fourteenth Annual Report of the Librarian of Harvard University. By Justin Winsor.

Respectfully submitted,

EDWARD J. LOWELL.

The report of the Treasurer, Mr. CHARLES C. SMITH, and the report of the Auditors, Hon. ROGER WOLCOTT and Mr. HAMILTON A. HILL, were presented in print. They are as follows:—

Report of the Treasurer

In compliance with the requirements of the By-Laws, Chapter VII., Article 1, the Treasurer respectfully submits his Annual Report, made up to March 31, 1893.

The special funds held by him are the same as they were at the date of his last Annual Report. They are eleven in number, and are as follows:—

I. THE APPLETON FUND, which was created Nov. 18, 1854, by a gift to the Society, from Nathan Appleton, William Appleton, and Nathaniel I. Bowditch, trustees under the will of the late Samuel Appleton, of stocks of the appraised value of ten thousand dollars. These stocks were subsequently sold for \$12,203, at which sum the fund now stands. The income

is applicable to "the procuring, preserving, preparation, and publication of historical papers." The cost of publishing the sixth part of the Winthrop Papers was charged to the income of this fund.

II. THE MASSACHUSETTS HISTORICAL TRUST-FUND, which now stands, with the accumulated income, at \$10,000. This fund originated in a gift of two thousand dollars from the late Hon. David Sears, presented Oct. 15, 1855, and accepted by the Society Nov. 8, 1855. On Dec. 26, 1866, it was increased by a gift of five hundred dollars from Mr. Sears, and another of the same amount from our late associate, Mr. Nathaniel Thayer. The income must be appropriated in accordance with the directions in Mr. Sears's declaration of trust in the printed Proceedings for November, 1855.

III. THE DOWSE FUND, which was given to the Society by George Livermore and Eben. Dale, executors of the will of the late Thomas Dowse, April 9, 1857, for the "safe keeping" of the Dowse Library. It amounts to \$10,000.

IV. THE PEABODY FUND, which was presented by the late George Peabody, in a letter dated Jan. 1, 1867, and now stands at \$22,123. The income is available only for the publication and illustration of the Society's Proceedings and Memoirs, and for the preservation of the Society's Historical Portraits.

V. THE SAVAGE FUND, which was a bequest from the late Hon. James Savage, received in June, 1873, and now stands on the books at the sum of \$6,000. The income is to be used for the increase of the Society's Library.

VI. THE ERASTUS B. BIGELOW FUND, which was given in February, 1881, by Mrs. Helen Bigelow Merriman, in recognition of her father's interest in the work of the Society. The original sum was one thousand dollars; but the interest up to this date having been added to the principal, it now stands at \$1,954.49. There is no restriction as to the use to be made of this fund; and it is not proposed to add the income to the principal after the amount reaches the sum of \$2,000.

VII. THE WILLIAM WINTHROP FUND, which amounts to the sum of \$3,000, and was received Oct. 13, 1882, under the will of the late William Winthrop, for many years a Corresponding Member of the Society. The income is to be applied

"to the binding for better preservation of the valuable manuscripts and books appertaining to the Society."

VIII. THE RICHARD FROTHINGHAM FUND, which represents a gift to the Society, on the 23d of March, 1883, from the widow of our late Treasurer, of a certificate of twenty shares in the Union Stock Yard and Transit Co., of Chicago, of the par value of \$100 each, and of the stereotype plates of Mr. Frothingham's "Siege of Boston," "Life of Joseph Warren," and "Rise of the Republic." The fund stands on the Treasurer's books at \$3,000, exclusive of the copyright. There are no restrictions on the uses to which the income may be applied. The cost of publishing the volume of Belcher Papers now in press will be charged to the income of this fund.

IX. THE GENERAL FUND, which now amounts to \$8,000. It represents the following gifts and payments to the Society:—

1. A gift of two thousand dollars from the residuary estate of the late MARY PRINCE TOWNSEND, by the executors of her will, William Minot and William Minot, Jr., in recognition of which, by a vote of the Society, passed June 13, 1861, the Treasurer was "directed to make and keep a special entry in his account books of this contribution as the donation of Miss Mary P. Townsend."

2. A legacy of two thousand dollars from the late HENRY HARRIS, received in July, 1867.

3. A legacy of one thousand dollars from the late GEORGE BEMIS, received in March, 1879.

4. A gift of one hundred dollars from the late RALPH WALDO EMERSON, received in April, 1881.

5. A legacy of one thousand dollars from the late WILLIAMS LATHAM, received in May, 1884.

6. A bequest of five shares in the Cincinnati Gas-Light and Coke Co. from our late Recording Secretary, GEORGE DEXTER, received in June, 1884.

7. Six commutation fees of one hundred and fifty dollars each.

The cost of publishing the seventh volume of the second series of the Proceedings was charged to the income of this fund.

X. THE ANONYMOUS FUND, which originated in a gift of

\$1,000 to the Society in April, 1887, communicated in a letter to the Treasurer printed in the Proceedings (2d series, vol. iii. pp. 277, 278). A further gift of \$250 was received from the same generous friend in April, 1888. The income up to the present time has been added to the principal. The fund now stands at \$1,691.79.

XI. THE WILLIAM AMORY FUND, which was a gift of \$3,000, under the will of our associate, the late WILLIAM AMORY, received Jan. 7, 1889. There are no restrictions on the uses to which the income may be applied. The income has been allowed to accumulate, with the view to the publication of a volume of Collections at some future period.

The Treasurer also holds a deposit book in the Five Cent Savings Bank for \$100 and interest, which is applicable to the care and preservation of the beautiful model of the Brattle Street Church, deposited with us in April, 1877.

It should not be forgotten that besides the gifts and bequests represented by these funds, which the Treasurer is required to take notice of in his Annual Report, numerous gifts have been made to the Society from time to time, and expended for the purchase of the real estate, or in promoting the objects for which the Society was organized. A detailed account of these gifts was included in the Annual Report of the Treasurer, dated March 31, 1887, printed in the Proceedings (2d series, vol. iii. pp. 291-296); and in the list of the givers there enumerated will be found the names of many honored associates, living or departed, and of other gentlemen, not members of the Society, who were interested in the promotion of historical studies. They gave liberally in the day of small things; and to them the Society is largely indebted for its present prosperity and usefulness.

Since the mortgage on the Society's building was finally extinguished in July, 1886, the Treasurer has been able to continue without interruption the reinvestment of the funds which had been temporarily invested in the building. The amount thus invested is \$4,058.95; and it is hoped this sum will be reinvested during the next financial year. The investments stand on the books at \$76,913.33, their actual cost; but when the whole sum has been reinvested, it will be the duty of whoever may then be Treasurer to charge off from time to time a sufficient sum to reduce all stocks and bonds to their

par value, with a view to the gradual increase of the income apportioned to each fund. The average interest on the cost has been for the last year a little more than five per cent.

The stocks and bonds held by the Treasurer are as follows: \$10,000 in the five per cent mortgage bonds of the Chicago and West Michigan Railroad Co.; \$5,000 in the four per cent bonds of the Rio Grande Western Railroad Co.; \$5,000 in the four per cent bonds of the Chicago, Burlington, and Quincy Railroad Co.; \$5,000 in the five per cent gold bonds of the Cincinnati, Dayton, and Ironton Railroad Co.; \$5,000 in the four per cent general mortgage bonds of the Atchison, Topeka, and Santa Fé Railroad Co., and \$3,000 in the second four per cent bonds of the same corporation, received in exchange for their income bonds for the same amount; \$1,000 in a five per cent collateral trust bond of the Chicago Junction Railways and Union Stock Yard Co.; fifty shares in the Merchants' National Bank of Boston; fifty shares in the State National Bank of Boston; fifty shares in the National Bank of Commerce of Boston; fifty shares in the National Union Bank of Boston; forty-seven shares in the Columbian National Bank of Boston; five shares in the Second National Bank of Boston; twenty-five shares in the Boston and Albany Railroad Co.; twenty-five shares in the Old Colony Railroad Co.; five shares in the Cincinnati Gas Light and Coke Co.; five shares in the Cincinnati Electric Light Co. (of a par value of \$5 each); and two shares in the Boston Real Estate Trust (of the par value of \$1,000).

The following abstracts and the trial balance show the present condition of the several accounts:—

CASH ACCOUNT.

1892.	DEBITS.	
March 31.	To balance on hand	\$625.00
1893.		
March 31.	To receipts as follows:—	
	General Account	11,175.12
	Consolidated Income	3,672.29
	Income of Richard Frothingham Fund	147.70
		<u>\$15,920.11</u>
March 31.	To balance brought down	<u>\$459.23</u>

1893.

CREDITS.

March 31. By payments as follows:—

Investments	\$8,082.12
Income of Peabody Fund	535.98
Income of Savage Fund	300.29
Income of William Winthrop Fund	158.45
Income of Appleton Fund	1,332.96
Income of Richard Frothingham Fund	500.00
Income of General Fund	1,535.08
General Account	4,716.00
By balance on hand	459.23

\$15,820.11

GENERAL ACCOUNT.

1892.

DEBITS.

March 31. To balance brought forward \$1,492.50

1893.

March 31. To sundry payments:—

Salaries of Librarian's Assistants	2,850.00
New book-cases	115.55
Printing, stationery, and postage	230.12
Fuel and light	247.03
Care of fire, etc.	301.45
Miscellaneous expenses and repairs	162.85
Editing publications of the Society	1,000.00
Consolidated Income	374.42
Building Account	5,741.28

\$12,324.20

March 31. To balance brought down \$648.33

1893.

CREDITS.

March 31. By sundry receipts:—

Rent of Building	\$9,000.00
Interest	28.18
Income of Dowse Fund	500.84
Admission Fees	75.00
Assessments	900.00
Sales of publications	1,171.94
By balance to new account	648.33

\$12,324.20*Income of Appleton Fund.*

1893.

DEBITS.

March 31. To amount paid for printing and binding \$1,310.38

" " " for heliotype 22.58

" balance carried forward 1,167.88

\$2,500.84

CREDITS.	
1892.	
March 31.	By balance brought forward \$1,889.65
1893.	
March 31.	„ proportion of consolidated income 611.19
	<u>\$2,500.84</u>
March 31.	By balance brought down \$1,107.88

Income of William Winthrop Fund.

DEBITS.	
1893.	
March 31.	To amount paid for binding \$158.45
	„ balance carried forward 75.57
	<u>\$234.02</u>

CREDITS.	
1892.	
March 31.	By balance brought forward \$83.77
1893.	
March 31.	„ proportion of consolidated income 150.25
	<u>\$234.02</u>
March 31.	By balance brought down \$75.57

Income of Massachusetts Historical Trust-Fund.

DEBITS.	
1892.	
March 31.	To balance brought down \$168.70
1893.	
March 31.	„ balance carried forward 334.14
	<u>\$500.84</u>

CREDITS.	
1893.	
March 31.	By proportion of consolidated income \$500.84
March 31.	By balance brought down \$334.14

Income of Richard Frothingham Fund.

DEBITS.	
1893.	
March 31.	To amount paid for editing Collections \$500.00
	„ balance carried forward 1,225.80
	<u>\$1,725.80</u>

CREDITS.	
1892.	
March 31.	By balance brought forward \$1,427.35
1893.	
March 31.	„ copyright received 147.70
	„ proportion of consolidated income 150.25
	<u>\$1,725.80</u>
March 31.	By amount brought down \$1,225.30

Income of Dowse Fund.

DEBITS.

1893.		
March 31.	To amount placed to credit of General Account	\$500.84

CREDITS.

1893.		
March 31.	By proportion of consolidated income	\$500.84

Income of Peabody Fund.

DEBITS.

1892.		
March 31.	To balance brought forward	\$2,328.02
1893.		
March 31.	" amount paid for printing, binding, and heliotypes . .	518.98
	" " " " repairs of paintings	17.00
		<u>\$2,864.00</u>
March 31.	To balance brought down	\$1,756.00

CREDITS.

1893.		
March 31.	By proportion of consolidated income	\$1,108.00
	" balance carried forward	1,756.00
		<u>\$2,864.00</u>

Income of General Fund.

DEBITS.

1893.		
March 31.	To amount paid for editing Proceedings	\$500.00
	" " " " printing and binding	1,005.08
	" " " " heliotyping	30.00
		<u>\$1,535.08</u>
March 31.	To balance brought down	\$441.24

CREDITS.

1892.		
March 31.	By balance brought forward	\$698.16
1893.		
March 31.	" proportion of consolidated income	400.68
	" balance carried forward	441.24
		<u>\$1,535.08</u>

Income of Savage Fund.

DEBITS.

1892.		
March 31.	To balance brought forward	\$170.10
1893.		
March 31.	" amount paid for books	300.29
		<u>\$470.39</u>
March 31.	To balance brought down	\$169.88

1893.		CREDITS.
March 31.	By proportion of consolidated income	\$300.51
	„ balance carried forward	169.88
		<u>\$470.39</u>

TRIAL BALANCE.

		DEBITS.
Cash		\$469.23
Real Estate		103,280.19
Investments		76,913.33
Income of Peabody Fund		1,756.00
Income of General Fund		441.24
Income of Savage Fund		169.88
General Account		648.33
		<u>\$183,668.20</u>

		CREDITS.
Building Account		\$99,221.24
Appleton Fund		12,203.00
Dowse Fund		10,000.00
Massachusetts Historical Trust-Fund		10,000.00
Peabody Fund		22,123.00
Savage Fund		6,000.00
Erastus B. Bigelow Fund		1,954.49
William Winthrop Fund		3,000.00
Richard Frothingham Fund		3,000.00
General Fund		8,000.00
Anonymous Fund		1,691.79
William Amory Fund		3,000.00
Income of Appleton Fund		1,167.88
Income of William Winthrop Fund		75.57
Income of Richard Frothingham Fund		1,225.30
Income of Massachusetts Historical Trust-Fund		334.14
Income of William Amory Fund		671.79
		<u>\$183,668.20</u>

During the year the Society has published one volume of Proceedings and one volume of Collections; and another volume of Proceedings is now in preparation. A volume of Collections, comprising a portion of the Correspondence of Jonathan Belcher, while Governor of Massachusetts, will be ready for delivery at an early date.

CHARLES C. SMITH, *Treasurer.*

Boston, March 31, 1893.

Report of the Auditing Committee.

The undersigned, a Committee appointed to examine the accounts of the Treasurer of the Massachusetts Historical

Society, as made up to March 31, 1893, have attended to that duty, and report that they find them correctly kept and properly vouched; that the securities held by the Treasurer for the several funds correspond with the statement in his Annual Report; that the balance of cash on hand is satisfactorily accounted for; and that the Trial Balance is accurately taken from the Ledger.

HAMILTON ANDREWS HILL, { Committee.¹

Boston, April 8, 1893.

Dr. SAMUEL A. GREEN, Librarian, submitted his report as follows:—

Report of the Librarian.

During the past year there have been added to the Library:

Books	632
Pamphlets	2,156
Unbound volumes of newspapers	12
Broadsides	28
Maps	7
Maps, portfolios of	9
Volumes of manuscripts	17
Manuscripts	35

In all 2,896

Of the books added, 534 have been given, and 98 bought. Of the pamphlets added, 2,057 have been given, 88 bought, and 11 procured by exchange.

From the income of the Savage Fund, there have been bought 98 volumes, 88 pamphlets, 2 unbound volumes of newspapers, and 4 maps; and 37 volumes have been bound at the charge of the same fund.

From the income of the William Winthrop Fund, 129 volumes have been bound, and 16 repaired.

Of the books added to the Rebellion Department, 29 have been given, and 29 bought; and of the pamphlets added, 53 have been given, and 13 bought. There are now in this collection 1,981 volumes, 4,660 pamphlets, 791 broadsides, and 105 maps.

¹ Hon. Roger Wolcott, one of the members of the Committee, was detained at home by illness, and was not able to be present at the examination of the accounts.

In the collection of manuscripts there are 758 volumes, 162 unbound volumes, 75 pamphlets with manuscript notes, and 7,148 manuscripts.

The Library contains at the present time about 36,300 volumes, including the files of bound newspapers, the bound manuscripts, and the Dowse Collection. The number of pamphlets, including duplicates, is 94,786; and the number of broadsides, including duplicates, is 3,654.

During the year there have been taken out 51 books and 4 pamphlets, and all have been returned.

Respectfully submitted,

SAMUEL A. GREEN, *Librarian*.

Boston, April 13, 1893.

Dr. GREEN then said :—

Since the death of the Cabinet-keeper on the 8th of December last, at the request of the Council, I have been discharging the duties of that officer; and I herewith submit the usual Annual Report, giving a detailed list of the accessions :—

Two engravings, John Cotton by H. Wright Smith, and William Pynchon by John A. J. Wilcox; and four photographs of the Peabody Normal College, Nashville, Tennessee. Given by Robert C. Winthrop.

A lithographic print of Samuel Buell and a half-tone portrait of T. D. Hunting. Given by Samuel A. Green.

A sheet of General Washington's private letter-paper with his name and crest in the water-mark. Given by Samuel F. McCleary.

A half-tone collection of portraits of One Hundred Massachusetts Notabilities. Given by Samuel A. Green.

A lithograph of a memorial design for a monument to Captain William Morgan, who was murdered near Fort Niagara, September 19, 1826. Given by Miss Ellen A. Stone.

Views of Dedham, second edition, August, 1892. Given by Donald Ramsay.

A heliotype in 1888 of "Charles I. demanding the five Impeached Members," from the painting by Copley in the Boston Public Library. Given by Walter Rowlands.

A heliotype of a photograph of John C. Calhoun; and two engravings by William E. Marshall, of Robert E. Lee and Wade Hampton. Given by William A. Courtenay.

Three engravings of Natt Head, Asa Fowler, and Thomas W. Knox, all of New Hampshire. Given by Samuel A. Green.

Note of the New York Water Works for 8 shillings, January 6, 1776. Given by Josiah Bradlee.

Three large framed engravings of "The Pilgrims signing the Compact on board the May Flower, Nov. 11th 1620," by Gauthier; "Washington and his Generals," by Alexander H. Ritchie; and "The Last Days of Daniel Webster at Marshfield," by C. Mottram. Given by Mrs. James Tucker.

A photograph of the Old Bradford House, Kingston, built in 1675 by Major John Bradford, grandson of Governor William Bradford. Given by Thomas B. Drew, of Plymouth.

Badge of the Massachusetts Delegation to the Dedictory Ceremonies of the World's Columbian Exposition at Jackson Park, Chicago, October, 1892. Given by the Commonwealth of Massachusetts.

A reproduction of an engraving of Ebenezer Pemberton (1672-1718) by H. Fletcher. Given by Walter K. Watkins.

A Columbian half-dollar, recently struck in commemoration of the discovery of America. Given by Frederick W. Putnam.

An engraving of Abbott Lawrence (*b.* 1792, *d.* 1855). Given by Samuel A. Green.

A photograph of the Tablet in Memorial Hall, Cambridge, erected in memory of Gen. Edward A. Wild (H. C., 1844). Given by George S. Hale.

Two bills of Rhode Island Money, representing three dollars and seven dollars, respectively. Given by Robert C. Winthrop.

Cotton Mather's watch, chain, and two seals; and a miniature painting of Increase Mather. Given by Mrs. Elizabeth Anna (Byles) Ellis, of Burlington, New Jersey.

Five etchings, of John Eliot, John Wilson, Hugh Peter, John Popham, and Pierre le Moyne d'Iberville. Given by Charles Edward Banks.

A Collection of photographs of officers who served during the War of the Rebellion. Given by Mrs. D. T. V. Huntoon.

SAMUEL A. GREEN,

Acting Cabinet-keeper.

Boston, April 3, 1893.

The report of the Committee to examine the Library and Cabinet was then read by Rev. Dr. SAMUEL E. HERRICK: —

Report of the Library Committee.

The Committee appointed to examine the Library and Cabinet have attended to that duty, and submit the following report: —

The Committee find themselves handicapped at the outset by the consideration, so often dwelt upon, of the inadequacy of the Society's funds to the proper care and development of its Library. There are but few suggestions to be made which are at all practicable until larger means shall be at our disposal. Meantime it has seemed to the Committee that there might be some modification of the lines upon which our collections are expanding, in the way of retrenchment and segregation. The Massachusetts Historical Society owes it to its own distinguished position, to the purposes for which it was created, and to its already excellent collections; to see to it that its Library is maintained and developed in what we may venture to call a spirit of historical chastity. The cells of our famous beehive should be found filled, if not with the best of honey only, at any rate with honey. Perhaps it may border perilously upon profanity to suggest that even the Dowse Collection contains matter that has no special claim to a place in a library which should be, first, midst, and last, a library for historical research. That generous and noble bequest, however, is, and must forever be, beyond the touch of criticism. But apart from those of our possessions which, by the very conditions under which we hold them, must be maintained in their integrity, it seems to your Committee that there might be some very advantageous winnowing, — or, to recur to the hint of our Society's seal, our honey would be improved by straining. The community is already furnished with libraries of general and miscellaneous character, whose conditions of use are sufficiently generous to all who wish to consult or draw from them, and whose book-housing is liberal enough to permit the indefinite aggregation of Patent Office reports, Legislative documents, Congressional records, reports of religious denominations and charitable societies, missionary and benevolent appeals, and all such miscellaneous matter. It is becoming a serious question whether, under the method of so general aggregation, the Society can ever possess a neat, attractive, and convenient arrangement of its real literary treasures. In the opinion of your Committee, our present rooms would be entirely adequate to such arrangement for a long time to come, were we to demit the functions of a general public library, and restrict ourselves severely to the preservation of truly historic matter, together with those things which have

become, or are most likely to become, literary or historic rarities. Besides the Harvard University Library, the Boston Public Library, the Athenæum and State Libraries, the learned professions already have in this city their special collections, devoted respectively to the history and current records of medicine, theology, and law. They will carry them forward without troubling us to do it in their behalf. Not that we should not have upon our shelves those books in any department of knowledge which are in the nature of historic landmarks,—the *Magnalia*, the *Spiegel van Sassen*, the *Regimen Sanitatis Salerni*, or the work of our learned medical associate and Librarian, Dr. Green, the *History of Medicine in Massachusetts*. But we should hardly be expected to carry a University library, and as little an *omnium gatherum* of statistics. Private collectors find it to their advantage to send their bushel of chaff to the auction-room, and buy with it a few grains of wheat, or even a single kernel; or failing of that, they purchase their room, their freedom, and their neatness at a not unreasonable price.

In the same general direction the Committee would suggest that it might be well, as soon as it can be conveniently done, to separate exceedingly valuable tracts, which in considerable numbers are now cheaply and ignominiously bound up in miscellany volumes, and restore them to their proper individuality and dignity as books.¹ As a hypothetical example, "*Johannes in Erema*" ought not to be additionally condemned to inhumation by being bound up with a mass of comparatively worthless material. The possibility, or even the facility, of finding "*Johannes*" ought not to depend wholly upon his name being entered in a card catalogue. He should have such a fixed place—a local habitation as well as a name—with his great patriarchal family of brothers and sisters, that a glance of the eye would detect his presence or his absence.

Your Committee would make a single suggestion also as to the preservation of books in binding. Many of our most val-

¹ It should be said, in justice to our Librarian, Dr. Samuel A. Green, that he long ago saw the necessity of such a work, and has proceeded in it to a considerable extent. But he should be enabled to complete it at once. The Committee wish it to be understood that nothing in this report is in the nature of a personal reflection.

uable books will at no distant day need to be "unclothed, and clothed upon." Heat, dust, gas, handling, and lack of use almost as much, cause even the best of leather bindings to decay and literally "return to their dust." Cloth is better than leather. Vellum, or even good parchment, is better than either, and will endure for generations. Witness the scores of books in any considerable collection from the workshops of Plantin and the Elzevirs,—as solid and usable as when just from the binder's hands. Besides, a half-vellum binding has the merits of cheapness and good looks. Of course it is understood that in the Society's present lack of funds no great change can be made at once. It must be gradual. As a book goes now and then to get a new dress, might it not be well to begin a work in this direction, which will eventually result in a rehabilitation of the Library that will stand good, at least for a couple of centuries, against everything except what old-time juries used to call "the visitation of God"?

Your Committee cannot close this brief report without reverting gratefully to the faithful and laborious services of our Librarian, Dr. Samuel A. Green, and to the courtesy and efficiency of his assistants, Mr. Julius H. Tuttle and Mr. Alfred B. Page; nor without expressing a regretful conviction that they must all feel more deeply than any others can, the conditions and limitations which have given rise to the suggestions of this report.

Concerning the Society's Cabinet, your Committee find nothing to report, and have no suggestions to make. The loss which has been sustained in the death of our late associate and Cabinet-keeper, Dr. Fitch Edward Oliver, will doubtless find its fitting expression outside of the present paper.

SAMUEL E. HERRICK.
HENRY S. NOURSE.¹

The several reports were accepted, and referred to the Committee for publishing the Proceedings.

Rev. Edward G. Porter, from the Nominating Committee, presented the following list of candidates. All of the gentlemen named were elected by unanimous votes:—

¹ In consequence of absence from the city, Mr. Merriam, the other member of the Committee, was not able to serve.

President.

GEORGE EDWARD ELLIS.

Vice-Presidents.

FRANCIS PARKMAN.

CHARLES FRANCIS ADAMS.

Recording Secretary.

EDWARD JAMES YOUNG.

Corresponding Secretary.

JUSTIN WINSOR.

Treasurer.

CHARLES CARD SMITH.

Librarian.

SAMUEL ABBOTT GREEN.

Cabinet-Keeper.

SAMUEL FOSTER McCLEARY.

Members at Large of the Council.

HENRY FITCH JENKS.

HORACE ELISHA SCUDDER.

SOLOMON LINCOLN.

ALEXANDER McKENZIE.

JOHN DAVIS WASHBURN.

Voted, That the thanks of the Society be presented to Mr. Edward J. Lowell and Rev. Edward G. Porter, retiring members of the Council, for efficient services.

After the adjournment, the members and some invited guests lunched with the President at his house in Marlborough Street.

MAY MEETING, 1893.

THE stated meeting was held on Thursday, the 11th instant, at three o'clock, P. M., the President, Dr. GEORGE E. ELLIS, in the chair.

The record of the last meeting was read and approved; and the Librarian presented his list of donors to the Library during the last month.

Rev. Dr. Edward J. Young, Rev. Dr. Alexander McKenzie, and Mr. Charles C. Smith were reappointed a Committee for publishing the Proceedings.

Mr. CHARLES C. SMITH, from the Committee on the Belcher Papers, reported that a volume, comprising Governor Belcher's correspondence from September, 1731, to January, 1734, would probably be ready for publication at the next meeting of the Society. He then gave a short account of the Belcher letter-books, and said that another volume would probably contain everything of a historical or biographical character, while Belcher was at the head of public affairs in Massachusetts, which it would be desirable for the Society to print; and on his motion it was

Voted, That the Committee be authorized to prepare for publication a volume comprising the correspondence of Governor Belcher from the date at which the forthcoming volume closes.

The Recording Secretary read a communication from the Hon. LEVERETT SALTONSTALL, who was prevented by illness from being present, relative to a photographic copy of a letter signed "Richard Saltonstall" which had attracted much notice, as according to the contemporaneous statement in Winthrop's Journal neither Sir Richard Saltonstall nor his eldest son was in New England at the date on the letter. The photograph has been recently presented to the Society by Miss A. C. Dethick, of Chesterfield, England. Mr. Saltonstall's paper is as follows:—

The question as to the identity of the writer of the letter a copy of which I read to the Society at the May meeting, 1890, is an interesting one.

The letter is signed by Richard Saltonstall, and dated February 4, 1631[-2]. It is addressed to Emmanuel Downing, and indorsed "Mr. Saltonstall's letter of the 4th of Febr. 1631. Rec^d in May 1632" [Added in another hand] "Acct. of Massachusetts Bay."

The criticism has been made that at the date of the letter (February 4, 1631-2) there was no Richard Saltonstall in this country, both Sir Richard and his son Richard having gone to England, and that neither had then returned; and that, therefore, grave doubt must arise as to the genuineness of the letter. Miss Dethick has, I understand, recently sent to the Society a photograph of the letter, showing it to be an old manuscript. She says that "it is preserved at Melbourne Hall, among the Coke MSS. which belong to Earl Cowper, K. G., to whom they came by regular descent with the Melbourne estate from Sir John Coke, Secretary of State in the time of Charles I." The signature almost exactly resembles that of Richard, son of Sir Richard Saltonstall, — as much so as the signatures of any young man resemble those of the same writer when older. How, then, is this to be explained? I think thus: The only ground for assuming that Richard Saltonstall was not in this country in February, 1631-2, is the entry in Winthrop's journal, under date November 23, 1631: "Mr Peirce went down to his ship, which lay at Nantascot. Divers went with him into England by Virginia, as Sir Richard Saltonstall his eldest son and others; and they were six weeks in going to Virginia." It has been assumed that this son was Richard. But *Richard may not have been the eldest son*; and there is strong ground for believing that Robert was the eldest. Sir Richard transacted all his affairs through Robert, who held his father's full power of attorney. Or it is quite possible that Richard was the eldest, and that it was not he, but Robert or Samuel (or even Peter, if he was son of Sir Richard), whom Winthrop thought the eldest; and that Richard went to England later. It was not till June 22, 1633, that Lucy Downing wrote to John Winthrop, Jr.:¹ "Mr. Gurdon's daughter is heer to be maryed to Sir Richard Saltingstall's sone; the youngest daughter; next spring they intend for New England."

¹ 5 Mass. Hist. Coll., vol. i. p. 8.

I understand that the indorsement of the letter seems not to correspond with the handwriting of Emmanuel Downing. It is, however, quite possible that it may have been filed and indorsed by a clerk, or one of his family; or indorsed by himself carelessly, as one to-day does the same thing in a hand that could hardly be distinguished as the writer's.

I cannot think it possible that at the date of the letter another Richard Saltonstall was in this country, though there was a Sir Richard Saltonstall, cousin of Sir Richard Saltonstall of New England, son of Sir Richard, the lord mayor (1598), who was born 1596, — probably the Richard Saltonstall mentioned by Sir Simonds d'Ewes (1618-1620) as being "my very entire friend, a fellow commoner of Jesus College",¹ and another "Richard Saltonstall, of the County of Essex, mil. f. [militis filius]" matriculated at Queen's College, Oxford, June 16, 1610, and then fifteen years of age; and again, the same "Eq. aur. fil. n. m. [Equitis aurati filius natu maximus]" admitted B. A. 11 Feb 1612-[13]."² There would surely be some record of either of the above being in this country, had he been here.

The letter must therefore, in my opinion, probably have been written by Richard, son of Sir Richard of New England; and in that case the entry in Winthrop's journal does not refer to him, but to one of his brothers.

Richard was a good scholar, and noted, when a young man, for his accomplishments and marked independence of character. He was chosen Assistant when twenty-five years of age, had the advancement of New England deeply at heart, and was always greatly respected and beloved, so that at the age of twenty-two he might well have been, and probably was, the author of the letter in question.

Mr. R. C. WINTHROP, Jr., then said:—

We all much regret the prolonged ill-health of our associate, Mr. Saltonstall, who it was hoped would have been able to state his views in person to-day. Although three years have elapsed since this matter was alluded to at a meeting of the Society, yet during the interval it has more than once engaged the attention of some few members, who

¹ Autobiography of Sir Simonds d'Ewes, vol. i. pp. 121, 189.

² From the Registers of the University of Oxford.

interested themselves in trying to solve what at one time bade fair to prove an impenetrable mystery. Those who were present in May, 1890, will remember that when Mr. Saltonstall had finished reading a copy of the letter in question, it was pointed out by the Treasurer that its supposed writer is uniformly stated to have left New England several months before the date of it, and that thereupon Mr. Saltonstall frankly admitted that he had never seen the original, that he did not then know its whereabouts, and that he had purchased the copy of a total stranger. A desultory conversation ensued, in the course of which a suspicion was expressed by some that the letter might turn out to be, in whole or in part, one of those ingenious fabrications occasionally offered for sale, while others (of whom I was one) preferred to think it a genuine document, with some unaccountable mistake in the date. All agreed that it was desirable either to substantiate the letter as an interesting contribution to early New England history, or to expose it if there was found to be reason to suppose it had been tampered with. It was left to Mr. Saltonstall, as the person immediately concerned, to take whatever steps in the matter he might see fit; but the unsatisfactory state of his health, his successive family afflictions, and some circumstances not now necessary to describe, all contributed to delay investigation. The vendor of the copy was naturally indignant at the suspicions cast upon it, but, though consenting to specify that the original was one of the Coke MSS. preserved at Melbourne Hall in Derbyshire, prohibited any application to the owner on the subject. It was ultimately intimated that if Mr. Saltonstall would agree to remit in advance a sum sufficient to cover the time, travelling expenses, and labor of a competent photographer, an application would be made to Lord Cowper for leave to photograph it. Mr. Saltonstall hesitated to make this arrangement as no precise estimate of total cost was furnished, and after still further delay a communication was received by the Council, dated February 24, 1893, in which the vendor offered to make the Society a present of a fac-simile of the original, which was stated to have been photographed at the expense of Lord Cowper. This offer was gladly accepted, and the fac-simile came to hand some weeks since. It presents every appearance of a genuine manuscript; and an effort has been made to compare it with specimens of

the handwriting of Richard Saltonstall, Jr., which are very rare, neither this Society nor any branches of the Saltonstall family (so far as I can ascertain) owning any. Judge Chamberlain possesses one, but of a much later date; while I have the five undated letters edited for us nearly thirty years ago by our late Vice-President, Mr. Deane, who pronounced that there was internal evidence to show one of them to have been written as early as 1634, another in 1636, a third in 1637, and the two remaining ones in or about 1638. They are thus all within six or seven years of the date of the Melbourne Hall letter, which, aside from a considerable resemblance of signature, appears *at first sight* to be in quite a different hand. I am disposed, however, to consider this discrepancy to be more apparent than real, and that it was perhaps the result of haste or change of pen. After consulting several persons who have had much experience in comparative chirography, I find that a majority of them are decidedly of opinion that my five letters and the Melbourne Hall letter may have been written by the same person. The question raised with regard to the indorsement is of less importance. The letter is addressed to Emmanuel Downing, who was undoubtedly then in London. The Society has published fifty-six letters of his, all of them now in my possession, and in a very different hand from this indorsement; but it is justly pointed out by Mr. Saltonstall that Downing may have dictated the latter to a clerk or to some third person.

This whole question of handwriting is entirely subordinate to that of date. All genealogical notices of the Saltonstall family, without exception, have hitherto agreed in stating that Sir Richard's eldest son was named Richard; that he was born at Woodsome in Yorkshire in 1610, was for some time a fellow-commoner of Emmanuel College, came to New England with his father in 1630, returned to the mother country in the autumn of the following year, married there in the spring of 1633, and came back to New England in 1635. An entry in Winthrop's journal circumstantially describes "Sir Richard Saltonstall his eldest son" as having sailed from Nantasket for England by way of Virginia, November 23, 1631, in the ship "Lyon," William Peirce, master, about ten weeks before the date of the Melbourne Hall letter. To explain this discrepancy our associate, Mr. Saltonstall, now supposes that

there has always been a mistake in his family tree; that genealogists have been at fault in calling Richard his father's eldest son; that it was an elder brother of his who then returned home, and that Richard remained some time longer in New England. In default of evidence to the contrary, this seems to me a tenable theory; and it may turn out that Savage and other writers too hastily assumed Richard to have been the eldest because he bore his father's name, and was apparently the only one of the brothers to receive an English university education. This Society does not occupy itself with genealogical researches, but several of its members are thoroughly versed in that science, and may, I hope, be able to throw some light upon this point. If not, I trust that some member of the Saltonstall family will be willing to go to the expense of causing searches to be made in England, in order to establish by parish registers, wills, or other evidences, the proper order of Sir Richard's children. If Richard turns out not to have been the eldest son, I apprehend that it will be universally conceded that he wrote this letter; but should it appear that he had no elder brother, we must either suppose that some other person of the same name was over here at that time, or that Winthrop was mistaken in his entry, neither of which suppositions is at all probable.

I have hoped from the first that the authenticity of this letter might be established beyond cavil, because it seems to revive a hope that some part, at least, of the missing correspondence of Emmanuel Downing, the disappearance of which has been so often a subject of regret to New England historians, may still come to light. It will be remembered that in Governor Winthrop's first letter to his wife after landing, dated July 16, 1630, he says: "The larger discourse of all things thou shalt receive from my brother Downing"; and in subsequent letters to his son he repeatedly refers to "my letters to Uncle D." There is no doubt that Winthrop wrote Downing fully and frequently about the affairs of the infant colony, but not one of these letters is known to be in existence, though no trouble and expense have been spared in the effort to trace them. The discovery of this Saltonstall manuscript would seem to indicate that Downing was in the habit of communicating letters to influential persons, and it is by no means impossible that a number of them may even-

tually come to light. It should not be forgotten that more than half a century ago our late President, Mr. Savage, found in the State Paper office in London two interesting letters about New England, dated in November and January, 1632, and addressed to Sir John Coke by Thomas Wiggin and Emmanuel Downing; and another from Wiggin to Downing, dated a few months earlier.¹

It occurs to me to add that a friend of mine not long ago ascertained by mere accident that there was found a few years since, at Crowcombe Court, the ancient seat of the Carew family, in Somersetshire, a letter from Governor Winthrop concerning New England, of about the same date as the one under discussion. The successive deaths of the late Colonel Carew and his only son caused it to be laid aside and forgotten; but since then Mrs. Carew, and her daughter, Mrs. Cranmer Trollope, the present owner of Crowcombe, have kindly consented that I shall have a certified copy of it, provided it can be identified. It seems to have been so carefully put away as to have thus far defied persistent search, but I trust it may one day find its way to our Collections.

The letter referred to by Mr. Saltonstall and Mr. Winthrop is as follows:—

[Indorsed] Mr. Saltenstall's of the 4 of Feb: 1631 Red 10 May 1632
[In another hand] Acc^t of Massachusetts Bay.

*To my very worthie freind Emanuell Downing Esq. at the Byshop's
head in Fleet street near the Conduit in London dd*

WORTHY S^r,— Since my arriual in New England I have endeoured to giue a trew & fathfull relation of such things as came within mine observation, & might answere the desires of such as expected letters from mee. That which I know will bee most gratefull to you in regard of your desire of a common good, & my debt vnto you thereby, I will breifly sett doune: The cuntrie abounds with good creatures needfull for sustentation of the life of man: & after some time of libertie from building & inclosing of grounds for y^e safetie of our cattell from the wolfe, I doubt not but wee shall rayse good profit not only by o^r fishing Trade (which is sufficiently knowne) but by Hempe, flaxe, pitch, tarr, pottashes, sope ashes, masts, pipe staues, clapboard (& Iron as wee hope) for wee find there are mineralls; but for want of skill & time cannot yet certainly satisfie either our selues or you, of what kind they are. Therefoer good S^r encourage men to come ouer for heare is land

¹ 3 Mass. Hist. Coll., vol. xlii. pp. 320-325.

& meanes of liuely hood sufficient for men that bring bodys able, & minds fitted to braue the first brunts, which the beginings of such workes necessarily put men vpon. Without hands nothing can bee don nor any thing with any great profit vntill multitudes of people make labour cheape; it is strange the meaner soart of people should bee soe backward hauing assurance that they may liue plentifully by their neighbours; & that the better soart of people should not helpe y^e poorer, with meanes to transport them, that in time might retorne their adventures with answerable advantage in any of the affoar named commodities, & diuers others not mentioned. If gentlemen of abillitie would transplant themselves, they might in time much advanc their owne estates & not only supply the want wee labour vnder, of men fitted by their estates to beare common burdens and the giufts of their minds to nurse vp this infant plantation, but allsoe might improue their tallents & times for the honor & benefit of old England, (to which wee owe the frute of our best endeouours) and their owne eternall glory, in beeing worthie instruments of propagating the gospell to these poore barbarous people, The trewest object of Christians bowell-compassions, that the world now affords. Oh that it might please God to mooue either the generall state or at least (by the fauour & encouragement of our gratiuous soueraigne) some large harted men, to contribute (if it were) but the tythe of what was bestowed upon Virginia for the educating of our poore Indeans, in the supporting of their bodilie necessities, till they might attaine such abilities whereby they might feed themselves and others, with spirituall foode.

I pray you send ouer by some of your East-Contrie merchants to gett some few mayster-workmen for the ordering of our potash work. Wee have great store of Hemp growing naturally in some pts of the Contrie, a sample whereof you may call for from this bearer. Certainly the ground would admirably well agree with it planted, that offers it vnto vs without our labours. The hast of the bearer enforceth mee to take an abrupt leaue; & with my best respects to y^e selfe & M^r Downing doe rest

Your very louing Freind

RICHARD SALTONSTALL

From the Matachusetts bay this 4th Feb. 1631.

Brief remarks with reference to the letter were also made by Hon. E. R. HOAR, Rev. Dr. EDMUND F. SLAFTER, and Mr. CLEMENT H. HILL.

Dr. SAMUEL A. GREEN then submitted the following communication:—

In the library of the Historical Society there is a copy of a book, written in Latin by Joseph Acosta, and published at

Cologne in the year 1596, which once belonged to Chief Justice Samuel Sewall, and bears his autograph signature, dated March 9, 1698-9. The volume is entitled "*De Natvra Novi Orbis*," etc., and has been in the possession of the Society for more than a century. On a fly-leaf, at the beginning of the book, is the following note in Judge Sewall's handwriting: "Nunnacôquis signifies an Indian Earthen Pot as Hañah Hahatan's Squaw tells me March, 24. 1698,"—which throws some light on the meaning of an Indian word. I mention the fact, as I am inclined to think that the term is identical with or closely allied to Nonacoicus, the Indian name of Major Simon Willard's farm at Groton. William Hahatan, Hannah's husband, belonged to the Ponkapoag tribe. His name is sometimes written Ahauton, Nahatan, and even Nahoughton.

As the spelling of all such words by the early settlers was phonetic, Nonacoicus has several different forms; and it is easy to see how the one may have been taken from the other, or from a similar form. Another variation of the word, as given in Sewall's Letter Book (I. 98), is "Nonna Coyacas"; and Noñajcoyicus, Nonecoicus, and Nonacoiacus are also found in old manuscripts.

In the original survey of the farm, returned by Thomas Noyes to the General Court at the session beginning on October 18, 1659, it is said that the land lies "at the place weh is Called by the Indians nanajcoyijcus." From this it would seem that the name was given to the neighborhood by the red men, and not by the whites. Perhaps earthen pots were made in that locality, as fragments of pottery, as well as various stone implements, were formerly found there and elsewhere throughout the township; and this fact may have given a distinctive name to the place.

Originally Nonacoicus included the district in Harvard now known as the Old Mill,—two miles away from Willard's farm,—where Jonas Prescott, of Groton, the grandfather of Colonel William Prescott, the American commander at Bunker Hill, had his grist-mill. John Prescott, of Lancaster, in his will, dated October 8, 1673, and on file in the Middlesex County Probate Office at East Cambridge, says in reference to his third son Jonas, named above, that "he hath Received a full Childs portion at nonecoicus in a Corne mill

and Lands and other goods." After the death of Major Willard, Nonacoicus farm passed into the hands of Hezekiah Usher, and the deed speaks of the place as "Nonaicoicus farme"; and in Sewall's Diary there are many allusions both to Usher and his wife. Usher's will is dated at Nonacoicus, on August 17, 1689. The judge himself was a member of the Third Church of Christ in Boston, now known as the "Old South," where he was a constant attendant on Sundays; and the minister at the time of the writing on the fly-leaf, was the Reverend Samuel Willard, a former preacher at Groton, and son of the first owner of the farm. All these circumstances, trivial in themselves, tend to show that the Indian name of the place was familiar to Sewall. The farm was situated on the banks of the Nashua River, in a neighborhood full of Indian traditions and associations. Major Willard's house was the first dwelling burned by the savages, when the town of Groton was destroyed in the spring of 1676.

My friend George J. Burns, Esq., a lawyer of Ayer, who has passed his whole life in the neighborhood of Nonacoicus, and is withal an accurate antiquary, thinks that the name was owing to the natural conformation of the land. The following letter, written by him in answer to one from me, gives a high degree of plausibility to his theory in the matter:—

AYER, MASS., May 10, 1893.

HON. SAMUEL A. GREEN,
30 Tremont St., Boston:—

MY DEAR DR. GREEN,— Upon the west side of the Nashua River, near the mouth of Nonacoicus Brook, there is a very peculiar natural formation that could not have escaped the attention of the Indians; and it was of sufficient importance, both as a landmark, and as a post of observation commanding a view up and down the intervalle, and rising above the floods that periodically inundate the surrounding lands, to have received a designation by them. While it is not alone the only "earthen pot" in this vicinity, it is just the kind of a formation to which such a name would be particularly applicable.

It consists of a promontory about 500 feet in length, varying from 300 to 500 feet in width, and protruding from the higher lands at the east in a succession of irregular ridges or small hills, which surround or enclose various hollows or basins, some of which contain water. During the last fifteen years I have often visited the place and wondered at its physical peculiarities, and I have tried to imagine what impression

it made on the natives. I consider it the most interesting and curious natural feature of the territory called "Nonacoicus," and I am strongly of the opinion that it gave rise to the Indian name of this neighborhood.

Yours truly,

GEO. J. BURNS.

At the recent sale of the last part of the Brinley library, which took place in this city on April 18-20, acting under the instructions of the Council I bought certain Sewall manuscripts, which to some degree supplement the Diary, as published by the Society. The purchase of these papers was made from the income of the Savage Fund, and the cost has been duly charged to that source. They comprise portions of his journal, which evidently had been written on blank leaves inserted in various almanacs, and afterward torn out. In most instances the entries appear to be the rough drafts of what is found in the Diary, but in others they are entirely new. Among the papers is a journal, kept by his son Samuel Sewall, Jr., during the year 1714; and copies of them all are herewith given, as follows:—

Contents.

Roxbury Lecture follows the Catechising:

Dorchester, the L. Supper.

Mr. [John] Higginson's Lecture is the day before Mr. [Thomas] Bridges:

Mr. [Nicholas] Noyes's, before Mr. Cotton Mather's.

Roxbury Lecture follows the Catechising:

Dorchester, the Lds Supr.

Both in y^e same week with our Privat Meeting.

S^t James's March 29. 1705. John D. Newcastle made Privy Seal last Monday. Of y^e Council ys day

Charles Earl of Peterborough & Monmouth & Hugh Ld Chalmondley swore of y^e Council also.

April, 29. Dr. Bull Ld Bp S^t Davids was consecrated in Lambeth Chapel

Westminster, June, 9. A Call of 15 Sergeants. Motto Queens Ring "[Moribus, Armis, Legibus]"

June, 25. Sir Charles Thorold, & Samuel Stannier Esqs chosen Sheriff's for London & Middlesex.

Whitehall June 26. Earl Sunderland appointed Envoy extraordinary, & Plenipotentiary to y^e emperour, embarked at Greenwich ys day

S^t James's June, 29. The right honb^{le} Sir Richard Cox Ld Chancellor, and y^e r^t honb^{le} Ld Cutts L^t Gen^l of Her Majs Forces made Lords Justices of Ireland during D. Ormonds Absence

Windsor, July, 9. This day Her Maj. was pleased to confer the Honor of Knighthood upon Charles Hobby of New-Engd Esqr in consideration of his faithfull Services to Her Majesty in ye Plantations.

Windsor July 14. Col. Durell Express of y^e victory July 18 N. S.

Thursday 23. Aug^t Thanksgiving Kensington July 20. 1705.

Windsor, July, 29. The Queen was pleased to confer y^e Honor of Knighthood upon Dr. Edw:Hannes first Physician to Her Majesty, as a favourable Testimony of his Services.

July 27. Upon W^m Read Esqr Her Majs Oculist — for curing many poor Seamen & Souldiers gratis

Roxbury Lecture follows the Catechising.

Dorchester the Lord's Sufer.

Mr. Higginsons Lecture is the day before Mr. Bridges

Mr. Noyes's, before mr. C. Mather's.

Customary Calculation

Shrove-Sunday is always the next immediat Sunday after the second New-Moon, which shall happen after New-Year's Day; and that day Seven-Weeks is always Easter-Day.

Review Apr. 14. 1705.

The Author of the Post-man was always the most carefull of his Style, as well as matter, of any paper now published; when he made any slip carefully corrected it, wrote most to the purpose & most worth reading —

• Review, Ap. 19, 1705.

£113-6-8. Fifteen Penny w^t makes £100. Seventeen p. w^t

£1-2-8. makes £1-0-0 Teste Thesaurario Massachusettensi. By this Rule £328-13-4. makes £290-0-0. Which is the Sum drawn by Sir James Eyton in his Bill of Exch on Andrew Belchar Esqr & became due the 12th Febr. 1705/6.

Pieces of $\frac{8}{16}$ at 7^t p ounce is 2^d upon every 20^t more than 17^d w^t Teste Elisha Hutchinsono Armigero.

Judge Sewall's sister, Mrs. Jane Gerrish, who was born in England, died at Newbury, on January 29, 1716-7, at the age of fifty-seven years; and the allusion in the following

lines is to her. "Nova villa" is the Latinized form of Newbury. See Letter Book (Collections, sixth series, II. 65, 66) for references to her death.

Anglica Jana jacet, germanis flenda duobus;
Commiscet lachrymas unicaviva soror
Jam nova villa vale; tecum pater est mihi nullus,
Nec mater, patriam qui posuere meam.

William Cooke Mariner of Boston Sayl'd from fayal for Boston last May was 3 years: never heard of. His first wife was Elisabeth Holman by whom has left a daughter Elisabeth 14 years old last January. This Wife's Father had Lands at ye Eastward.

His 2^d wife was Lydia More by whom has one Son living abt eight years old named William

1 Tis reported his wife Lydia was buried that day he Sail'd from Fial. Part of a house by ys wife, He purchasd, 2 in part & piece Land near ye Mill-pond. Left a Negro Man nam'd Jack

According to papers now on file in the Suffolk County Probate Office, administration on the estate of William Cooke, mariner, was granted to William Tyley, on May 28, 1717; and in these papers mention is made of his daughter Elizabeth Cooke, under date of May 16, 1715; his wife Lydia Cooke, July 6, 1716; and his son William Cooke, June 3, 1717.

William Ryal	} Augt 3,
John Trescott	
Samuel Maxfield	

1688.

Quære, Whether a Master can carry his Apprentice out of ye Province? In Nicol Tho. Millar £45. pd with the Aprentice, & parents to find Cloaths & Washing. No Physick provided for in y^e Indenture

Jay 4 of her Sons of Age 5 under. Will. How shall dividē?

This was Elizabeth Jay, widow of Joseph, of Hingham. The will, in which he names his widow and nine children, is on file in the Suffolk County Probate Office, where it was proved on June 4, 1716.

N. Andrew Waker went to sea near 12 m^{ons} ago, and has not been heard of. His brother Charles Waker moves for Administration Deborah Waker his sister 16 years old lives with John Bread of Lin, who moves that y^e said Deborah's share of her Brothers estate may be secured for her.

Chase has an Orphan Indian Minor of 16. years. May he be bound for longer time?

Midsummer Day, June, 24. 1717. Mr. Sewall of Brooklin and I measured the Front of Elm-pasture, and find it measures Fourteen Chains, and four links i. e. Twenty eight Rods and Twelve Feet.

S. S.

The following extract is taken from the will of William Partridge, of Medfield, which is dated August 14, 1692, and was offered for probate on October 20, 1692:—

——— Item I do will to my Son John and to my Son William the other half of my housing and Lands before mentioned to my wife; immediately after my decease to be theirs: And after my wife's decease, the other half of the said Housing and Lands, to be wholly theirs, by equal Division They paying to my daughters (that shall then be alive) or to their Heirs, either of them Ten pounds apiece, out of that estate

——— Item I do will that my Daughters shall have all the Rest of my Lands not mentioned, or the just value of them, to be equally divided: And the aforesaid Twenty pounds to be divided equally betwixt them. "[Sarah]" my beloved wife, and my Son William Executors. N. Nathaniel the Eldest Son, and Josiah the youngest Son. Four Sisters. Josiah died Single & Intestat, and his Estate was divided between the 7 Survivors.

Will was made 1692. and proved Nov^r 10. 1692. before ye hon^{ble} mr. Stoughton Isaac Addington Reg^r.

- [1714, January] 1. 3. Very fair, warm, pleasant weather
 2. 4. Very Misty, Rainy, warm.
 3. 5. Fair and moderat. Lect^r Hab. 2. 3.
 4. 6. Warm cloudy. Iter boreale Gub^r
 5. 7. Warm Southerly weather.
 6. 1. Fair moderat Weather. Hañah
 7-2. Moderat
 8. 3. New South Assembly, the First.
 9. 4. Mr. Thair Gal. 6. 9. Moderat W.
 10. 5. Warm weather, Jn^o. 3. 3. Lect^r
 11. 6. Rain last night, warm: Great Rain.
 12. 7. Fair Serene, moderat. Mrs. Mary Wheelw^t
 13. 1. Serene: New-South's first Sabth Assembly.
 14. 2. Cloudy, raw weather after Snow
 15. 3. Cloudy, Rain, Great Rain miery
 16. 4. Fair, Moderat: Ordination Dartm^h
 17. 5. Cold Serene
 18. 6. Serene, Cold

- 19. 7. Fair pleasant weather
- 20. 1. Pleasant weather after Snow.
- 22. 3. Cold & clear. Mr. Edw. Weaver buried.
- 23. 4. Cold Serene. Sarah Belcher buried.
- 24. 5. Great Storm of Snow.
- 25. 6. Serene. Mrs. Winthrop buried
- 26. 7. Snow
- 27. 1. Pleasant weather Rain
- 28. 2. Very warm. Mr. Sheriff's Feast.
- 29. 3. Jana soror moritur
- 30. 4. Storm of Snow.

[February] 1. 6. Serene, Cold, pleasant. Gub' redit

2. 7. Great Storm last night. Day Fogg

5. 3. Mr. [Ebenezer] Pemberton taken sick I visited him in his little Bed-Chamber, by the Study.

6. 4. Is remov'd into ye best Chamber His pains turn to the old Canal.

13. 4. Mr. Pemberton dies

15-6. Mr. [William] Brattle died last night at Midnight.

18-2. Mr. Pemberton buried, The snow fell very fast, but good going under foot. Mane rubuit.

19. 3. Council, but nothing done.

20. 4. Will aprov'd: Funeral.

21. 5. Great Storm of Snow

22. 6. Blustering Snowy wether

23. 7. Serene pleasant.

24. 1. Violent Storm of Snow.

25. 2. Good weather.

26. 3. Moderat, some Snow.

27. 4. Serene, warm.

[March] 1. 6. Serene & pleasant w'

3-1. Comfortable w'

4. 2. Serene, Cold

5-3. Pleasant

6. 4. Great Storm of Snow, Hail, Rain, Lightening at night.

7. 5. Good wether

8. 6. Fair pleasant wether.

9. 7. Serene & Cold.

10. 1. Comfortable weather.

14. 5. Fast Old Church

15. 6. Eclipse seen, yet not serene

16. 7. Fair pleasant weather.

17. 1. Serene pleasant w'

- 18-2. Warm weather: Wood from H. Isld
- 19. 3. Rain.
- 20-4. Good Weather
- 21. 5. Great White Frost, Fair, Warm w^t
- 22. 6. Storm of Hail, Rain
- 23. 7. Moderat weather.
- 24-1. Very Serene & pleasant weather.
- 25. 2. Moderat weather.
- 26-3. Pleasant weather.

You shall true Liege man be, and true Faith and Troth bear unto our Sovereign Lord the King his Heirs and Successours, and unto the Lord of the Province of Main his Heirs and Assigns in every respect as it becometh; so help you GOD.

40£ to a Minister at Winter-Harbour June 18. 1716. p. 124

[May] 7-3. Super^r Court Gov^r Dines.

9-5. Jeremy Phenix arraigned Court Chäber.

10-6. Tried in the Old Meetingh.

11-7. Condemned in the Court-Chamber.

12. 1. Mr. Tho. Stanton preaches S. Ch. p. m.

13. 2. To Meadford, Salem Fun^t Col. [Jno.] Hathorne.

14. 3. To Newbury, Mr. [Humphrey] Bradstreet buried

15. 4. To Hampton, Newington, Kittery.

16. 5. Mr. [John] Newmarch prayd. Bro^r [William] Moodey Dind.

17. 6. Mr. [Benjamin] Lynde goes to Newington. Court Rises.

18. 7. To Newington, Hampton, Newbury.

27. 2. Prov'd mr. [William] Burroughs will

Caleb Nichols ab^t 7 years old and Noah Nichols ab^t 5 Brothers. Sons of Joseph Nichols of Situate.

Octob^r 23. & forward, Disposal of Rings; viz.

Six Bearers	6
His Exc. the Gov ^r . [Samuel Shute] [ex-]Gov ^r	
[Joseph] Dudley	2
Bro ^r [Stephen] Sewall, [Grove] Hirst, [Samuel]	
Gerrish	3
Sister [Dorothy] Northend	1
Col. & Maj ^r Quinsey	2
Jon ^s Curwin Esqr.	1
Madam [Mary] Cutler	1
Mrs. King	1
Mrs. Lydia Kay	1
Mrs. [Mary] Deming mater	1

Cousin Ruth Hunt	1
Brother [William] Moodey	1
Col. W ^m Tayler Esqr	1
Mr. Jon ^s Sewall	1
Mr. Barthol Green	1
Mr. Bromfield	1
Mr. Joseph Sewall & wife	2
Mr. Sam ^l Banister	1
Hañah, Judith Sewall	2
Sam ^l Sewall	1
Capt. Ephraim Savage	1
Mrs. King	
[Nathaniel] Thomas, [Benjamin] Lynde, [Addington] Davenport	3
Mr. Elisha Cooke	1

[July] 14. 1. Chadder apulit.

Chadder was a sea-captain, whose ship arrived on July 14.

19. 6. Auris aperitur —

This reference is evidently to Sewall himself. In his Diary, under date of July 20, 1717, he says: "Now about I have my ear Sirring'd to great benefit. A great Pellet of Wax brought out."

21. 1. Norris apulit, Prince —

July, 26 — Great Rain

30. 3. Sam^l Pegun & Sam^l Abraham [Indians] come to me, and earnestly desire y^t John Neesnumun may be procured to help them at Natick. yy heard him last Lords-day. They had a meeting yesterday, & are sent

The following entries for a fortnight may have been a rough draft of the journal of his trip to Arrowsick, mentioned in the Diary (III. 135): —

[August] 1. 5. Set sail from the Wharf

2. 6. From Long-Island head 10. m

4. 1. Came to an Anchor in Casco-Bay, at 5. p. m.

5. 2. Took Possession of the Company's Island. p. m.

6. 3. Turnd out from Broad Sound, kept the Se all night.

7. 4. By Tacking got into Kenebeck River being first in Lodge at Mr. Watts's with Col. [Penn] Townsend.

8. 5. Cloudy Rainy wether

9. 6. Frigat comes up, goes ashoar Treaty begun. Frigat got off next Tide in ye night

- 10-7. Treaty. 11-1. ditto at 6-p. m
 12. 2. Finish. 13. 3. Set sail. 14. Got to Sea.
 15. 5. / 16. 6. Anchord without ye Light-house Turnd up wth y^e
 Tide Landed betw 2 & 3. at night. Laus Deo.
 18. 1. Went to ye Solemn Assembly
 20-3. Went to M^{rs} [Mary] Hayman's Funeral.
 23. 6. To Ch. Lect^r Rev. 14. 13. [Joseph] Stephens
 24. 7. Col. [Nathaniel] Byfield visits me.
 25. 1. Violent Storm of Rain
 29. 5. A little like to Rain
 31. 7. Gallant Serene Weather Indispos'd went not to Council.
 7: 2^d Was very sick all Monday n^t
 7: 11. Midweek; Mr. [Robert] Robinson comes to me between 3 &
 4. p. m and brings a Message by word of mouth from Col. [Nathaniel]
 Thomas & Judge [Benjamin] Lynde at Col. Pain's door at 8 mane
 Yesterday; That Judge [Nathaniel] Thomas was no way able to go to
 Springfield. No Letter.
 7: 20. Went to Charlestown Lecture
 7: 23. The Eclipse was well seen
 28. Go to Hog-Island.
 29- Mr. Francis Foxcroft preaches at y^e South. Mrs. [Anne]
 Hubbard buried.
 30. Train in y^e afternoon.
 Oct 7. George Wadsworth 18 years old last March Enquires
 whether he be obligd to live with his Mother as a Servant till he be 21
 years old, since his Father Ebenezer Wadsworth died y^e first of Augt
 1717. He died intestat.
 James Samson of Dartm^o Deliver his Indian papers to himself, or to
 his Son Henry Samson, and to no other.
 Comission to L^d Bellomont &c. to Try Pirats, dated Nov^r 23. 12th
 of K. William.
 Comission to Gov^r. Dudley &c dated Octob^r 21. 3^d of Qu. Anne
 7th day. 8: 19. My dear wife expired at a quarter past Four
 Afternoon.
 8: 21. One Ounce & Ten Grains.
 see the leaf between June & July, for the Disposal of Rings
 13 p. w^t 15 Grains 9: 5. 1717.
 [November] 15. 6. Mrs. [Hannah] Melyen buried.
 N. my 2 Firkins of Butter w^{ch} mr. Hazard has sent p Maj^r Fry
 weigh £159. paid maj^r Fry for Bortage & Cartage £0-5-0. S. S.
 Novr. 23. 1717.
 22. 6. Col. [Nicholas] Paige dyes.
 25. Sherwood's Bond to Jabez Crowell Condition is in y^e hand of

mr. W^m Clark of y^e North Sarah Crowell widow administers; mr. Jn^o Allen is one of y^e Bondsmen.

Friday, xr. 20. 1717. Will you now chuse a Pastor? 40 Yeas, 27 Nos. in Papers. Then voted for a Pastor by Papers

48 for Mr [Thomas] Prince

12 for Mr. [Samuel] Fiske.

N. Mr. Tho. Hubbard's Note for Ten pounds bears date Augt. 3. 1717. Took it up Augt. 5.

Note for £5. is dated June 6. endorsd, Paid of ys Note £3-17—

[December 22, 1717] Lightening a little before Sun-Rising. Col. Vetch's House, and Leech's Smitten.

Memorandum 8: 25. 1717.

Susan's Mother, Hañah Parkman, Joaña Gerrish now Pierce Mrs. Payson, Mrs. Lord, Mrs. Melvin, Cousin Ruth Hunt Cousin Sable, Cousin Abiel Mrs. Powning

From October

Octob^r 21. Monday, K. Queen Royal Family, attended by the whole Court, are to go in yr Coaches to the Cathedral Ch of Copenhagen.

Octob^r 25. Friday A Solemn day of Thanksgiving throughout the Dominions.

Testes sunt, quia alterius causam agunt, non sua querunt.

Aretôres. Col. 1023.

Prov. 24. 24, 25. He that saith unto the Wicked, Thou art righteous, him shall the people curse, nations shall abhor him: But to them that rebuke him shall be delight, and a good Blessing shall come upon them.

Apr. 6. 1717. L[ecture] & Ser.

As in Heaven there will be still fresh visions of Glory; So in Hell there will be still new Scenes of Misery. Samuel Tomlyns M. A. Prison of God. p. 76.

March, 31. 1718.

He will regard the Prayer of the destitute, and not despise their Prayer. Psal. 102. 17.

Apr. 22. 1718.

Thus saith the L. Cursed be man yt trusteth in man. Jer. 17. 5-8.

Heal me, O Lord, and I shall be healed: save me, & I shall be saved: for thou art my Praise. Jer. 17. v. 14.

Ezek. 10. 14. Rev. 4. 7.

1	Cherub	Lion1.
2	Man	Calf	:2.
3.	Lion	Man	:3.
4.	Eagle	Flying Eagle	:4.

Ezek. 1. 10.

1	Man.
2	Lion.
3	Ox.
4	Eagle.

Jer. Allen Esqr Treas^r 98.

Adam Winthrop esqr Impost officer 55. mr. Russell. 44.

Paul Dudley Esqr 58.

Valentine 43.

*Diary of Samuel Sewall, Jr.*Samuel Sewall jun^rHis Book Cost 4^d

of Brother [Samuel] Gerrish.

[1713, January] First of the month went to N Devotions mothers Burial about 86 years old mr Thayer going to Prayer giving her a very good Character.

Publick Fast 14thA great Thaw 14, 15, 16th

Brother [Joseph] Sewall Preachd the Lecture for Mr. [Thomas] Bridge the first Sermon that he Preached in that Meeting House. January 7th.

17th Sabbath Day in the Night a great Snow.

22th In the Night Rain Hard. Clear and warm in the Morning following.

24th Rain in the Night Cloudy and warm in the Morning following.

28th Little before Night began to Snow continu'd all Friday till Night and then cleared up Cold. A very great Snow.

Friday 29th Ephraim Bacon of Roxbury Next to Dedham was a coming to Boston with wood and milk The storm growing bad left his wood by the way. When come to Smith Woods he would have perswaded him to have gone home because the storm was so fierce. When come to Meerss he would have perswaded him proffered him money for his milk and so would have him return home when came to Boston Mr Wardwel would have took care of his Horses and Lodgd him but he said he promis'd his wife to come home, went out of Town about 7 o Clock wandred to the left hand and in the morning was found Dead by a stack bottom upon his Knees with his Hatt upon his

[February] First a Thaw and Rain a little

Second Sunshine. 3 Cloudy. * 4 Storm Snow in the Afternoon turned to Hail and then a great Rain continued almost all Night. 5th Cloudy and Misty. 6th Q Birth Day Fair. 7th Sabbath Morning Alarmd at Boston by Fire at mr Webbs the Malster Burnt up his Malt House

cloudy Sabbath Day. Night Snow and wind 8th A great Storm of Wind with little Snow Mr [Peter] Sergeant Dies monday Night 9th Fair. Night Snow a little.

10th Fair. 11th Fair. 12th Little before noon began a great Storm of Snow the wind being strong at North East. 13th Morning Fair Peter Sergeant Esqr Buried at the Burial 14th Cloudy & Fair. Mr [Ebenezer] Pemberton Preachd a Funeral Sermon for him, upon 2 Tim 4. 6. 15th Fair wind at South & warm. 16th Fair in Night Rain & Snow. 17th wind at Norwest blew up very Cold and fair. 18th Cold and fair. 19 Cold. Committe came to Brooklin, which was sent by the Genl Court upon Petition of some of the Inhabitants viz Col Townsend Capt Belchar Mr Bromfield Esqr Capt Oliver Capt Hutchinson, Col Quinsey and Mr Ward. To Order the place of the Meeting House. Sett it where Town voted it to stand.

20, 21 Fair. at Night went to old mr ferrys Funeral. 22 Fair. 23, 24th Fair. 25 26 Fair & Cold. 27th Fair. At Night Lt Tucker of Roxbury dyed suddenly in a convulsion fitt. 28th warm and fair.

[March] First Fair and warm. 2 Fair & warm. Roger Adams Dies. 3 Fair & warm Attend the Funeral of Lt Tucker Capt Bowles Company in arms which he was Lt of. 4th Fair and warm. Went to Wooburn to wait upon Govr & Lady Attended the funeral of Aunt Tyng. She Dying Last Sabbath Day in the morning. 5th Warm 6th Fair warm Spring weather. 7th Cold & part Cloudy wind at N East. at Night Mrs Lucy Dudley dies. 8th Fair and warm. 9th Fair and warm. 10 Cold & fair. went to the funeral of Couz Lucy Dudley. 11th Fair Danl Squire of Cambridge with the off wheel of his Cart Run over Capt Tom^s Son about 8 or 9 years old by the North meeting House. The jury cleared him. 12 Storm of Snow. 13 Fair. 14th Storm of Rain. 15th Fair and Spring weather. 16th Cloudy & Fair raw wind at NE. 17 18th Fair and Cool. 19, 20th Fair & warm. 21 22 Fair. 23 24 25 26 Fair and Cold 27th Rain. 28 29 30 Fair.

31 Very stormy with a great Snow for time of year. Wind att NE.

Ap 1 Stormy with Rain 2 Cloudy & Rain. 3 Cloudy cold and Rain wind Keeping at North East. 4th fair 5, 6th Fair. D^r Increase Mathers Wife [Mary] Dyes A Saturday Night. 7th Fair. 8th A

Storm of Rain wind at NE. 9th Fair windy & cold. Bury Dr I Math^r Wife. Mr Benjn Tompson dyes at Night at Roxbury 10 Fair Cold and windy. 11 Fair. 12 Cloudy 13 14th 15 Fair. 16th Rain wind at NE — 17 Fair 18, 19, 20, 21, 22, 23 24 25 Fair and cloudy. 26 27 28 29. Fair Cloudy Showery. 30 Fair.

May 1, 2, 3, 4 Fair and warm. 5 Fair Rain at Night. 6th A Warm Shower or two. 7th 8th Fair & Hott 9th 10 11 12 Fair and Cloudy. A Drout 13 Fair 14 Several Showers. 15 Two Showers. 16 Fair. 17, 18, 19 Fair wind at South. 20, 21, Fair and Hott 22 Rain wind at East 23 Ditto 24 Rain clear by Noon. 25th a great Fogg. 26th Election went to Boston Very Hott and Dusty. Heard mr Saml Danforth of Taunton Preach from. Psal 80. 14. 27th Very Hott 28th Very Hott A Little before Sunsett rain with Thunder. Rain in the Night 29 Fair & cool 30 Fair with a Thunder Shower. 31 Fair and Cool.

May 20th at the Raising of Mr Cottons Barn.

[June] F[irs]t Fair 2 Fair. mornings Cloudy. 3 Fair. At Raising of Capt Gardners Son Peters House. 4 About Noon beginn to Rain and so continued gradually till Night in the Night Rain very fast Cleard up the 5th about Noon being a very plentiful Rain. 6th Fair 7th Fair. went to Boston my Brother [Joseph] Sewall Preachd to the Artillery Company From Rev 19. 14. And the Armies which were in Heaven followed him upon white Horses, clothed in fine Linen, white and clean. 8th Fair. 9th Fair. 10th Fair with a little shower almost at Night. 11 Fair and Hott almost at Night a considerable Thunder Shower. Went to Mr Caleb Gardner junr Meeting Mr Trobridge Preaching from 1 Cor 9 the latter Clause of the 24th verse So run that ye may obtain.

12th Begin to Rain 9 in the morning and continue till Noon and Several Showers in the Afternoon. 13th something Cloudy. 14th A Shower. 15, 16, 17, 18, 19, 20. Fair and Hott. 21, 22, 23, 24. Fair Dry and Hott a Drought. 25th A Shower. 26 27 28 Fair. 29 30 Very Hott Extreem.

[July] First 2 3 Fair Extreem Hott Nig[hts] 4 Fair a Dashing Shower. 5th Fair. 6, 7, 8. Fair. 9 A Dashing Shower Not lay Dust 10 Fair. 11 Two or Three good Showers. 12th 13th 14th Fair. 15 Fair 16 A shower 17, 18. Fair. Sabbath Night Rain 19th Rain till 9 Clock. 20, 21. Fair. 22 Fair Wind at East.

Went to Boston Lecture when I come to my Fathers I was surprized to hear of the Death of the Indian Schollar Benjn Larnel who was taken the Saturday before of a violent Feavour and continued for the

most part very much out of his Head. He had been 2 years at Colledge a Student and made great proficiensy in the Liberal Arts Mr Flint being his Tutor. The President and two Fellows. with Several of the Commissioners ware at his Funeral. Gave the Paul Bearers being Students with him at Colledge White Scarves and Gloves. He Dyed about midnight and was Buried the Next Day being the 22 Instant I was at his Interrment in the New burying Place. 23 Rain so as to refresh the Earth 24, 25 Muggy Hott. 26, 27, 28. Fair & Hott continues a great Drought. 29th Fair with a few Drops of Rain the Night before. 30 Fair. At the Raising of Isaac Gardners Barn 30 foot square where his Brothr Thom^s Lived. 31 Fair wind at North East.

[August 1, 2] Two large Showers with a pritty de[al o]f Thunder attended with Hail and a c[onsi]derable Wind. The wind was so fie[rc]e at the other End of the Town as to blow down Isaac Gardners Frame of a Barn as also Thom^s Gardners Barn both Flatt to the Ground. Did some damage also to T G House. 3, 4, 5th Foggy mornings and Fair It being a great Scorching Drought The Boston Ministers turned their Lecture into a Fast. Carried on the Day viz Mr [Benjamin] Wadsworth prayed Mr [Ebenezer] Pemberton Preach^d from Jer: 5th 24th Mr [Thomas] Bridge Prayed and so concluded the forenoon exercise In the Afternoon Mr [Benjamin] Colman Prayed Dr C Mather Preachd from Hoseah 10. 12. mr Sewall Prayed Then sung Psal 65. 9 v to The End. Then Dr C Mather gave the blessing. 6th Fair Rain a Shower at Night 7th Fair A Shower at noon. 8, 9, 10, 11th Fair 12 went to Boston heard Brother Sewall Preach from Psal 4. 6. After Dinner went to mr Thom^s Gardners junr To Raising of his Barn 30 Foot Square. As they were agoing to fasten one of the Celar Beams the piece slipt out of their Hands Deacon Mayo being under it fell upon the Crown of his Head and struck him down. 13, 14, 15, 16, 17, 18, 19, 20, 21, 22, 23, 24, 25, 26, 27, 28, 29 30 31 Fair all of them. The last Day of august about 12 or 1 A Clock at Night Tuesday night Dyed Jonathan Winchester The Son of John Winchester Sen^r

[September] 1 Fair 2 Fair a Publick Fast for [rain?] it being a great Drought 3 Fair [Atten]ded the Funeral of Jonathan Win- c[hes]ter 5th Fair 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, Fair. 12 Cloudy Sister Winthrop's Daughter Elizabeth which she brought with her from New London. Died at the Govr on the Lords Day Evening being about old

Wednesday Fair came in from England and brings the following acc^t Viz That at Half an hower past Seven in the Morning Dyed our Sovereign Q Ann. Being August 1. 1714. And on that Day they

Proclaimed Prince George King of Great Britain. 16, 17, 18, 19, 20 21. 22 Proclaimed K George at Boston. Boston Regiment being up in Arms with 4 Companies of Lt Govr Taylors and Charlestown. Also abundance of Spectators. At Night Rain hard after a long Drought till 3 or 4 a Clock 23 Dr Mather p Govr & Councils Order Preach'd a funeral Sermon for the Queens Death. At Night B Weinwright Buries his Elizabeth. 24 25 26 Fair. 27 Cloudy and Rain hard in the Night. and Next Day. 29, 30 Fair.

[October 1 Gre]at Rain 2, 3, 4, 5 Fair 6, 7, [8,F]air and Cloudy. Night Rain 9th Fa[ir] 10 Towards Night a shower or 2 11th begin to rain at 9 and continues till night a Soaking Rain 12 Fair and Cold wind at N W 13, 14. Fair 15th Cloudy. 16, 17, Fair. 18 Cold for the Season 19th Fair. 20th The Revd Mr [John] Webb Ordained to the New North. 21, 22, 23, 24, 25, 26 Fair pleasant warm weather for Season. Genl Nicholson come from Annapolis with Man of War. He not hearing of the Queens Death before he came hither. 27, 28, 29th Fair Pleasant weather. 29th at Night a Pretty deal of Rain. 30 31. Fair Dayes with Cloudy Foggy mornings

[November] 1, 2, Fair Cloudy mornings [3] mr John Cotton Ordained [at] Newtown. 4, 5, 6 Fair and warm for the Time of year. 7th Cloudy. At Night Rain. 8 Morning Snow cover the ground. Melted away and blew up at N W very Cold. 9th Fair and cold 10 Cloudy. Raise Brooklin Meeting House. 11 Warm and Cloudy. 12 Little before noon Rain and then Snow in the morning over Shoes. 13 cloudy now and then Snow. At Night Snow. 14th Snow and Stormy at Night Cold. 15 Cold. 16, 17. Cold. 18 Warm and Thaw. 19 with some Rain. 20 Warm, at Night Rain & 21 Rain at Night blow up Cold Wind at N W. 22 Very Cold 23 Cold with Snow. 24th Wind at N W Cold. 25 Cold. 26 Moderate 27 Warm for the time. At Night Snow a little and then Rain all Night 28th continue to Rain and so till about 8 at Night a great deal of Rain. Clear up wind at South. 29th Fair and warm. 30 Fair & warm.

[December Fa]ir & Moderate for the Season. [] 4 Rain and then a small Snow 5, [6 F]air. 7th Snow 8th Fair

9, 10, 11, 12, 13. Fair & very Cold. 14 Fair 15th at Night Snow. 16 Fair by Noon 17, 18. more moderate. 19, 20, 21, 22 Fair. 23 Fair and warm. 24 Cloudy 25th A Considerable Thaw it being Moderate Weather. 26, 27. Fair. 28th Fair 29 A Storm of Snow Wind East 30th more Snow so that in all a deep Snow 31 Fair and Pleasant

Dr. Green said that he had received a communication from our associate, Mr. WILLIAM H. WHITMORE, who was detained

from the meeting, and added that he had found in "The Boston-Gazette, and Country Journal" of June 7, 1762, an advertisement which without doubt refers to the interesting engraving described by Mr. Whitmore: "This Day is Published (Printed on a Sheet of Demy, from a Copper-Plate,) Price Two Pistareens, A Plan of Part of Lake Champlain, and the large New Forts at Crown-Point, mounting 108 Cannon, built by General Amherst: Done from an actual Survey taken by Francis Miller. With References and Explanations of the different Plans. On the same Sheet are Perspective Views of Quebec and Montreal. Sold in Boston by John Draper at his Shop in Cornhil. Thomas Johnston, Engraver, in Brattle Square. Stephen Whiting, Print seller, near the Mill-Bridge. Daniel Jones, at the Hat & Helmit, South-End. And, by Richard Draper, in Newbury Street."

Mr. Whitmore's paper is as follows: —

I have exhibited to-day a rare engraving made by Thomas Johnston in 1759, which adds to our knowledge of the works of this early Boston artist. The advertisement in the "Boston Evening Post" of October 1, 1759, is as follows: —

"Just Published from a Copper Plate (and to be sold by Stephen Whiting, at his Shop near the Mill Bridge, Boston,) A Very neat View of the City of *Quebeck*, from the latest and most authentic French Original, done at Paris. This Prospect may be fram'd and glas'd, with Glass of 10 by 8, and may be had of said Whiting, very reasonably."

The omission of the word "Boston" from the inscription has probably prevented the identification of this engraving before.

As to Johnston I can add nothing since my previous account¹ except that he was married, 19 January, 1736-7, to Jean Hogg, and that, secondly, he was married, 6 August, 1747, to Bathsheba Thwing, at the Second Church in Boston, by Rev. Joshua Gee. The bride's family belonged to that church; but Johnston did not. I hope yet to ascertain his parentage, or the date of his settlement in Boston. He left sons, James, John, and Samuel.

A more important question in the history of art in Boston has been recently raised by an article, in the April "Atlantic Monthly," by Paul Leicester Ford, of New York. He prints a

¹ Proceedings, vol. ix. pp. 213-215.

number of letters written by Bostonians between 1770 and 1775. Several are from Henry Pelham, the half-brother of John Singleton Copley. The following letter from Pelham to Paul Revere is important, as relating to the best-known work of the latter; namely, the view of the State Street Massacre, so often reproduced. It is copied from "America and the West Indies," vol. 449, p. 6, in the Public Record Office in London, and is as follows:—

THURSDAY MORN^g, BOSTON, *March 29, 1770.*

To Mr. PAUL REVERE, Present.

SIR,— When I heard that you was cutting a plate of the late Murder, I thought it impossible as I knew you was not capable of doing it unless you copied it from mine and as I thought I had intrusted it in the hands of a person who had more regard to the dictates of Honour and Justice than to take the undue advantage you have done of the confidence and trust I reposed in you. But I find I was mistaken and after being at the great Trouble and Expence of making a design, paying for paper, printing &c., find myself in the most ungenerous Manner deprived not only of any proposed Advantage but even of the expence I have been at as truly as if you had plundered me on the highway. If you are insensible of the Dishonour you have brought on yourself by this Act, the World will not be so. However, I leave you to reflect upon and consider of one of the most dishonourable Actions you could well be guilty of.

H. PELHAM.

P. S. I send by the Bearer the prints I borrowed of you. My Mother desires you would send the hinges and part of the press that you had from her.

Another letter, dated May 1, 1770, is written by Henry Pelham to his half-brother on the paternal side, Charles Pelham, of Medford and Newton. In it he says: "Inclosed I send you two of my prints of the late Massacre."

It is to be hoped that further search will bring to light an example of Pelham's print, or prove that the dispute between him and Revere was settled by the issue of only one. Revere's plate does not say "drawn or designed" by him, but merely "engraved, Printed and Sold" by him.

A friend has a water-color copy of the Massacre picture, which is entirely the same as the Revere engraving, and yet is much superior in the details, especially in the expression on the faces. It seems that another of these water-colors was for sale a year or two since in a Boston store, and I have heard of

a third example. It seems impossible to account for these, especially as there is a story that thirty copies were so made. Revere's engraving was distributed freely, and some copies were colored at the date of their issue. But the pictures which I have cited are not colored engravings, and must have been of considerably higher cost.

There is no question that Henry Pelham was an artist, and very little question that Revere was not; but it is certainly to be hoped that an explanation will be found which will be creditable to both parties.

Mr. A. C. GOODELL, Jr., then spoke in substance as follows:—

I desire to call the attention of the Society to some documents bearing upon the history of the original water-colored charts of Boston and New York harbors recently sold with other rarities belonging to the Brinley Collection. The charts are numbered 9316 and 9317, respectively, in Libbie's sale catalogue; and the date assigned to them (1687–1688) is that conjectured by our learned associate, Dr. Winsor, in his Introduction to the second volume of the "Memorial History of Boston." I can add nothing to Dr. Winsor's very complete account of the persons whose names appear upon the Boston chart as contributing to its production, save that the Captain Eldredge who assisted in taking the soundings of the channels I think was probably Joseph Eldredge, commander of the ship "America" in Phips's unfortunate expedition against Canada, in 1690, in which undertaking the services of the most skilful navigators and experienced pilots were required.¹

The documents I refer to are Sir Edmund Andros's instructions from the Privy Council, and his report of his doings in pursuance of one of these instructions, by which he was required to cause proper surveys and maps of the territory within his jurisdiction to be prepared, and to transmit the same to the Privy Council. This report is certainly creditable to his promptness and efficiency, and I do not know that either it or the instructions have ever been printed.

Andros, it will be remembered, exercised the functions of governor consecutively under two successive commissions.

¹ See *Province Laws*, vol. vii. p. 622, note to resolve 1699–1700, chapter 25. A fac-simile of this chart is given in the *Bulletin of the Public Library of the City of Boston*, for April, 1893.

The former, bearing date June 3, 1686, constituted him "Captain Generall and Governor in Cheif in and over all that Our Territory and Dominion of New England in America commonly called and known by the name of Our Colony of the Massachusetts Bay, Our Colony of New Plymouth, and Our Provinces of New Hampshire and Main, the Narraganzet Country otherwise called the Kings Province with all the Islands Rights and Members to the said Colonies and Territorys in any wise appertaining." And the latter, confirming the appointments he had received from time to time over the colonies adjoining Massachusetts after the first commission, constituted him Captain-General and Governor-in-Chief as before, with the addition to his government of the "Colonies of Road Island and Connecticut, our Province of New York and East and West Jersey, with the territories thereunto belonging."

This latter commission was dated April 7, 1688. With each of these commissions he received a list of instructions. The second draught of instructions approved by the Privy Council April 16, 1688, and bearing that date, contained the following item, which had not been included in his first instructions, it being inserted immediately after instruction numbered thirty-six in the first list:—

"And you shall Transmitt unto us by the first Opertunity a mapp with the Exact Description of the whole country as far as any Discovery shall be made thereof and of the severall Fortifications you shall find or Erect there."

Now it appears, from the records of the Board of Trade,¹ that Andros returned his last instructions with marginal memoranda thereon of his doings pursuant thereto. Opposite the instruction I have just read he wrote as follows:—

"Little or noe Discovery of the country was made beyond the Settlements or Range of the Cattle and Trading places Till in the suimer 1687 I Employed a Surveyor to survey the Sea Coast, and upper part of the Narragansett country not before done And in the Fall Ordered the same surveyor and other fitt persons to goe up Penobscot River, and to Proceed to the Northward and Westward to discover the country & Rivers towards Canada wholly unknown but the Winter beginning

¹ In the series marked "New England, vol. v., s. c.," p. 15. The copy here followed is in vol. ii. of the Publications of The Colonial Society of Massachusetts.

sooner then expected, they could not effect it further Westward then Kenebeck River by w^{ch} they returned. And in the Spring 1688 I sent them out againe to pceed from Kenebeck River North & Westward w^{ch} they did, And Travailed soe far into the country as to head all the Rivers except Ambroskoggin upon which they went severall dayes against the streame, And were Informed by Indians that the head or source therof was neare other Rivers that Runn Northward into the Great River of Canada And crossing from Ambrossoggin Westward they came into Connecticott River And down the same about 300 miles. And in the fall I sent the sayd Surveyor by Albany to Canada. In the Spring 1689 I designed to have sent him Eastward as far as St Croix in ord^r to make a generall Map of the country as Directed, w^{ch} was not compleated at the time of the Revolucon when the sayd Surveyor was Imprisoned. Drafts and Mapps of Boston, Castle Island, the Harbour & Fortifications were made and Transmitted."

In the usual course of proceeding this return would have been made first to the Privy Council and by them referred to the Lords of Trade immediately or very soon afterward. It bears the indorsement, "Received 1 July, 1690," which may have been made by one of the clerks of the Privy Council or by the Secretary of the Board of Trade, but in either case indicating very nearly the time at which it was presented by Andros, which was about a year after his return to England.

The first of his answers reads thus: "In June 1688 I recd the Comission in this instruction menconed." As is well known, Andros was seized and imprisoned upon the uprising of the people, April 18, 1689. This would seem to narrow the limit for conjecture as to the exact date of the survey of Boston Harbor to the ten months between these dates, since the "Drafts and mapps," etc., referred to appear to have been made and transmitted under this instruction. It is probable that the chart of New York Harbor was prepared before that of Boston.

I will add that though a similar instruction was given to every governor succeeding Andros from Phips to Gage, none of them appears to have made an equally successful attempt at compliance. The number of this instruction to the later governors, respectively, is as follows: No. 14 of Phips's; 18 of Bellomont's; 31 of Dudley's; 36 of Burges's and Shute's; 61 of Burnet's; 66 of Belcher's; 57 of Shirley's; 53 of Pownall's; 42 of Bernard's; 44 of Hutchinson's, and 43 of Gage's.

While I am on my feet, I will, with your permission, add a few words concerning even so unwelcome a subject as one relating to the history of our laws and jurisprudence, with which, as my principal stock in trade, I have upon different occasions, I fear, taken up altogether more than my share of the scant time which our infrequent meetings afford. But I have been encouraged in these arid discussions by the favor which this branch of inquiry received from our first President in his dedication to this Society of his "History of Land Titles." He there intimates very plainly, that the study of all that relates to the progress of law and of the administration of justice has claims upon our consideration equal at least to those of any other object embraced in the purposes of our organization.

Among the "Pincheon Papers," in the second series of our Collections, vol. viii. pp. 241, 242, under the title of *Habeas Corpus*, are some documents printed from copies in the handwriting of Chief-Justice Samuel Sewall, in 1706, which, the compiler remarks, "will to every antiquary be highly interesting." They are copies of a warrant, signed by Secretary Addington, for the commitment without bail or mainprise, until the end of the next session of the General Court, of William Rous and others impeached by the House of Representatives for high misdemeanor in illegally trading with the French and Indian enemy; of a petition to Sewall for the release of the prisoners upon *habeas corpus*, — the assembly having been prorogued; of a deposition in support of this petition, and of a memorandum thereon of the judge's decision refusing the writ, and giving one of his reasons therefor.

The prisoners were committed by virtue of a private act of the legislature regularly passed under the Province seal to await trial before the next Assembly upon articles to be prepared in the mean time. They were subsequently tried and convicted of high misdemeanors, and judgment against each of them was passed in the nature of a bill of attainder. These acts were disallowed by the Privy Council, whereupon the prisoners were indicted at common law, and, save in one instance where a fine was imposed after conviction, the culprits escaped punishment, and their fines, amerced by the Legislature, were repaid or remitted.

It has been supposed that Sewall erred in refusing the writ

of *habeas corpus*; and his decision has been referred to as illustrating the evils that have ensued from the want of trained lawyers upon the bench.

To a mind freed of prepossessions founded upon a knowledge of the law as at present existing, without regard to the law as it was then universally understood, a profound study of the circumstances of the case, I am confident, will not only fully vindicate the justness of Sewall's decision, but will convince the investigator that this eminent judge was as keen and sagacious in his apprehension and application of legal principles as he was well informed in the latest precedents.

The act under which the prisoners were held seems to have been framed on the precedent of an act of Parliament passed in 1695 for imprisoning in the Tower of London, without bail, Sir Thomas Cooke, Sir Basil Firebrace (or Firebrass), and others, pending their examination by Parliament on the charge of using corrupt practices in procuring the passage of an act conferring a new charter on the East India Company.¹ Sir Erskine May calls this power summarily to punish criminals by statute, "the highest form of parliamentary judicature," whenever properly exercised, but remarks that, "in the best of times it should be regarded with the severest jealousy."²

Fortunately we have from the learned and cautious Sewall his own statement of the grounds upon which he refused the writ. In a letter written about three months after the hearing to Nathaniel Higginson, of London, explaining his conduct, he says: —

"I was surpris'd at the absurdness of their applying to me in that wherein I had no Jurisdiction . . . the Act for their Imprisonment being a Law of the Province, it was impossible for any Judg[e] or Court below, to goe against it. I never heard that Sir Basil Firebrass petitioned for a *habeas corpus*, when he was comitted by Act of Parliament. Neither did the Deponents lay the Act for the Commitment before me, as it behoved them to have done, in Order to my Consideration of it."³

This was sound law. More than fifty years before Chief Justice Rolle had settled the rule in England which has ever since been followed, that parliamentary commitments cannot be challenged in a court of law.⁴ Some doubt had indeed been

¹ 6 and 7 William III., chapter 19.

² Parliamentary Practice, p. 668.

³ 6 Mass. Hist. Coll., vol. i. pp. 333-336.

⁴ Streater's or "Streather's" case, 5 State Trials, 366; Style, 415.

thrown upon the subject by Siderfin's report of the later case of Sir Robert Pye.¹ But the concurrent testimony of the contemporary writers, Ludlow² and Pepys,³ leaves no reasonable doubt that Chief Justice Newdigate's decision in that case was misreported by Siderfin; and although a very recent writer of acknowledged authority has referred to Ludlow's statement as "a curious instance of the manner in which party prejudice will misrepresent a true narrative,"⁴ it would seem that our provincial lawyers, who were familiar with the current law literature of England, were not misled by the reporter.⁵

In the present instance the grounds for refusing the writ were stronger than in the case of Streater, inasmuch as the latter stood committed upon a mere order of Parliament, while Rous and his companions were imprisoned by a formal act of the legislature, which was virtually a suspension of the writ, *pro hac vice*. And though Streater's case arose before the enactment of the *habeas corpus* act of 31 Charles II., the circumstances of that and the present case were not thereby rendered essentially different, since, according to the opinion of the best lawyers, both here and in England, the act of Charles II. did not extend to the colonies *proprio vigore*; and, moreover, an act by the first legislature of the province adopting its provisions had been disallowed by the Privy Council.⁶

Chalmers has adversely criticised this opinion of the old lawyers, with more feeling than perspicuity. In the manuscript "Continuation of his Political Annals," which is preserved in our library, he writes:—

"The act for securing the liberty of the subjects was dissented to for this memorable reason; that the benefit of a writ of *habeas corpus* was a privilege which had not yet been granted to any of the plantations. It is difficult to decide whether the conduct of the assembly or the council was most faulty: the former by making an act where none was necessary, and bringing into doubt the most invaluable of all privileges. It should have reasoned, 'The people of Massachusetts are English subjects; therefore are entitled to personal freedom. When a

¹ Sid. 179.

² Memorials, p. 356. See, also, Noble's Memoirs of the Protectorate House of Cromwell, ii. 137.

³ Diary, February 9, 1659-60.

⁴ See Fos's Biographia Juridica, 1870, *sub nom.* Newdigate.

⁵ See May's Parliamentary Practice, p. 79 *et seq.*

⁶ Province Laws, 1692-3, chapter 42.

statute gave a specific remedy, the common law adopted it as part of itself and transferred it to the most distant territories of England.' How astonishing is it that some of the most renowned statesmen and lawyers and Whigs in the English annals should have supposed, what their reasonings would affirm, that an Englishman is entitled to personal liberty from the grant of the king! — never reflecting that the colonists were English, who derived their privileges from the same charter which upheld the throne on which William sat."¹

This argument would have been more convincing if it had been based upon that provision of the Province Charter which guaranteed to all subjects inhabiting the province, and to their posterity, "all liberties and immunities of free and natural subjects," to all intents, etc., as if they had been born within the realm.

After the dissolution of Parliament Streater again applied for a *habeas corpus*, which was granted; and he was thereupon discharged on the ground that the operation of parliamentary orders ceases with the existence of the body which issued them. In the decision of that case it was not necessary to consider the effect of a prorogation; and it is very evident that the rule laid down by Rolle was not intended to apply to a continuing act. So that, as there was no known law for admitting to bail, either after a prorogation or a dissolution, prisoners expressly denied that privilege by the act committing them, it was immaterial that after the commitment of Rous and his fellow prisoners, and before the application for a *habeas corpus*, the General Court had been prorogued.

In his letter, it is noticeable that the judge was not satisfied to rest upon the principal ground above stated; and the further ground that the petitioners failed to show sufficient cause by neglecting to submit either the original or an authentic copy of the act authorizing the commitment, which, being referred to and relied upon in the petition and in the mittimus, was essential to the case. In a very lawyer-like manner he forestalls the objection that there was no law of the province forbidding the alleged offence, by referring to the enacting clause of the act of Parliament, 3 and 4 Anne, chapter 14, "to prevent all traiterous correspondence with her majesty's enemies," which, though not expressly extended to the colonies, had been promulgated here by royal proclamation the previous

¹ Province Laws, vol. i. p. 106, note to the chapter last mentioned.

summer, and was substantially copied in the province act bearing the same title, passed while the proceedings against Rous and others were pending.¹ The enacting clause began, "Be it *declared* and enacted," etc., which, he plausibly asserts, "seems to be an Affirmance of the Ancient Law, and Law of New England"; and, if so, it operated to revive previous laws for the same purpose, including, possibly, the province act to prevent the supplying of his Majesty's enemies,² passed before the Treaty of Ryswick, since that treaty was practically little more than a temporary cessation of hostilities, and the act last named was to continue during the war. The act of Parliament had been published long before the commission of the alleged offences for which Rous and others were imprisoned.

Mr. Goodell also made some extemporaneous remarks on the legal effect of the vacating of the Colony Charter, and the subsequent overthrow of the British authority in Massachusetts. Mr. Goodell's remarks elicited an animated discussion, in which Hon. E. R. HOAR, Hon. GEORGE F. HOAR, Hon. MELLEN CHAMBERLAIN, and Messrs. CLEMENT H. HILL, ALBERT B. HART, and CHARLES C. SMITH took part.

Hon. GEORGE S. HALE presented a copy of the charter granted to the town of Portsmouth, England, by Edward II., in 1313, which led to some remarks by Mr. JUSTIN WINSOR.

Mr. Smith presented for Mr. WINSLOW WARREN, who was unavoidably absent, a memoir of the late Rev. Henry W. Foote for publication in the Proceedings. This memoir was originally written for the second volume of the Annals of King's Chapel, and, at the request of Rev. E. J. Young and with the approval of the Council, it is printed here, with some additions, in place of the one which would have been prepared by Mr. Young.

A new serial of the proceedings, containing the record of the March and April meetings, was on the table for distribution.

¹ Province Laws, 1706-7, chapter 8.

² *Ibid.*, 1695-6, chapter 10.

MEMOIR
OF
REV. HENRY W. FOOTE.
BY WINSLOW WARREN.

HENRY WILDER FOOTE was born at Salem, Massachusetts, June 2, 1838,—the second of six children, three of whom died in infancy. His descent, on father's and mother's side alike, was from the sturdy New England stock, which braved the dangers and hardships of our early settlement in defence of strong conviction and earnest thought; nor was it without a fair degree of culture.

Pasco Foote, his paternal ancestor, came from England to this country in 1634, and was one of the first settlers of Salem; while his maternal ancestor, William White, was one of the founders of the town of Haverhill. Henry's great-grandfather, Caleb Foote, was prize-master in a privateer in the Revolutionary War; was captured and imprisoned two years in England, and died in the West Indies, May 19, 1787. A journal kept during his service in the navy and subsequent imprisonment, was printed in 1889, and is full of interest in its quaint portraiture of a life of energetic and patriotic devotion. His son, Caleb Foote, was born July 15, 1778, and was lost at sea. The Hon. Caleb Foote, third of the name and Henry's father, was born February 28, 1803, and now survives at Salem in a vigorous and honored old age. He was early apprenticed in the printing-office of the "Salem Gazette," a paper of excellent standing in Salem, and afterward became editor and proprietor, giving to the paper great abilities and a discriminating judgment, which rendered it valuable, not only as a vehicle for the current news of the day, but for its careful selection of articles of scientific and literary importance. He also at different times served the State with credit as a member of the Governor's Council and of



Faithfully your friend

Henry W. Foote

the Legislature. October 21, 1835, he married Mary Wilder, the second child of the Hon. Daniel Appleton White and Mary [Wilder] White, of Salem. Daniel Appleton White was a man of rare literary attainments, and widely known and respected. He was born in Methuen, Massachusetts, in 1776, graduated at Harvard College in 1797, was for some years a member of Congress, afterward Judge of Probate, and in all the positions which he filled eminent for his breadth of view, his scholarship, his conspicuous ability, and for his attractive social qualities. His house was open, in the generous hospitality of the day, to a wide circle of men distinguished in political and literary quarters; and his interest in the religious questions and controversies of his time gave him an extensive acquaintance and most intimate relations with profound scholars and teachers of the Liberal faith.

With such an ancestry, combining in rare degree ardent love of liberty, unusual literary taste, high aspirations for religious truth, and quick and ready sympathies, it was not strange that at a very early age Henry manifested great decision of character, a love for books, a strong abhorrence of meanness or deceit, and a frank, open, merry nature. His manner was tender and affectionate, and his considerate thoughtfulness of others and happy disposition rendered his childhood one of great sweetness and promise. A diary of his mother yet remains, faithfully kept for many years, in which she recorded in touching phrase her pride in the boy's youthful growth, her ardent satisfaction as she watched his development, and her constant anxiety that his every instinct should be pure and truthful. It is not permissible to quote here words too sacred for the public gaze, but they present a delightful picture of that happy home life. We follow in the mother's words her prophetic hopes and fond affection; we witness the gradual unfolding of a precious life; and as we read, the thought comes to our mind how unconsciously her pen reproduced her own beautiful character in the portrayal of qualities of mind which had adorned her own rare womanhood, with something added of the sterner stuff befitting a manly life to come of active and extended influence.

As the boy matured, and habits of reading and study were slowly acquired, no pains were spared by both father and mother to guide and encourage. The home was made the centre of influence and affection: instruction was given, but nothing was

lacking of healthy childish amusement. Children's tales and histories were read together by the fireside, poetry was committed to memory and repeated, selections from religious books and the best of modern authors were studied and discussed, the boy's youthful enthusiasm and interest were stimulated and fostered, and he was led by gradual steps to the acquisition of correct taste and judgment.

At the age of eight Henry entered the Hacker Grammar School in Salem; and the result of these home influences was early shown in his uncommon powers of application, and in an ability to concentrate his thoughts unusual in one so young. After a few years at this school, he was placed in the Fiske Latin School in the same city, in which he was fitted for Harvard College under the excellent instruction of Mr. Oliver Carlton, entering the latter institution with great credit in the summer of 1854.

He was a thoughtful boy, usually quiet and somewhat retiring, sensitive by nature, and not easily excited unless upon questions of moral right and wrong; remarkably even-tempered, but of such joyous temperament that the love and confidence of his schoolmates were quickly gained. With it all was great fixity of purpose and determination; the stream flowed quietly but strongly, with few ripples upon the surface, but ever moving on with steadily increasing power.

While at school, much of his leisure time was spent in his father's printing office, poring with boyish delight over the mass of books and papers naturally accumulating in a place which was of itself a small library of current literature. He familiarized himself with setting type, with all the processes of old-fashioned printing, and to a certain degree with the names and personality of the public men of the neighborhood frequenting what was in those days a sort of literary headquarters. Doubtless by this experience his mind was broadened, and he acquired a deeper insight into human character and into the motives which influence men's actions. It is difficult now to realize the importance of the local editor of a prominent paper at that time in such a place as Salem, especially when, as in the case of Caleb Foote, he represented in a large degree the culture and social importance of the town. The printing-office was the centre of a large political and literary influence. From its presses went forth a power far beyond that exerted by the

numerous local journals of the present day; and the columns of the newspaper were the means of imparting information, of guiding conduct, and of extending knowledge. The telegram and the steam-engine had not then made the newspaper chiefly a vehicle for the news of the world, with its unhealthy sensational disclosures and trivial personalities; it was a real moulder of public opinion, and a powerful controller of public thought and taste.

At the age of twelve, for the sake of obtaining a coveted collection of coins, Henry undertook to deliver the "Gazette" upon one of the largest routes of the city; and for three years, through all seasons and all weather, he devoted the early hours of the morning, with his accustomed zeal and energy, to the laborious task. His father writes of this period: "He entered at the age of twelve upon the duties of a carrier of his father's newspapers, and continued them for three years. They occupied about two hours in the early morning, obliging him to leave the house in winter at five o'clock, in summer at four; and he never once, whatever the weather, shirked the hardships of the business, or neglected to answer on the instant the stroke of his alarm-clock. It was the verdict of all in the printing-office that the paper never had a more faithful and efficient carrier." In after life Henry was fond of dwelling upon the value of this experience, upon the habits of punctuality and method he thus acquired, the knowledge he obtained of the life of the poorer classes, and upon the depth of sympathy it aroused in his heart for struggling manhood. Things like these, trivial in themselves, often leave a lasting effect upon an impressionable and receptive nature; and we have his own testimony to his appreciation of their value.

The antislavery movement was at its height during his boyhood and later youth; and Henry, impressed by his parents' teachings, and proud of the patriotic achievements of his ancestors, entered zealously into all the discussions of the day, devoted himself with all the ardor of his nature to the defence of human rights, and became a deep student of the political and moral bearings of the great contest.

This love of country and interest in all that concerned its intellectual and moral growth increased with his years; and midst all his engrossing duties, a large part of his time was

always given to instilling patriotic duty, and to helping forward efforts to elevate and dignify the nation's life. His profession later seemed to him to forbid active participation in political life; but he was a close observer and clear thinker, and regarded American citizenship as a sacred trust. A partisan he could not be. Parties were to him but convenient instruments for conducting the affairs of the country, and the only guide to personal action was ever to secure in the highest degree the real welfare of the country by honest methods and through agents worthy of trust.

Beginning his college life in 1854, his extensive reading and classical knowledge easily gave Mr. Footé a high rank in his class. Whatever he undertook he worked out thoughtfully, with a genuine love for study. His rare mental poise and the enthusiasm of his nature made him beloved and respected by all who knew him. At this time his mother wrote of him: "Harry came home to spend Christmas. I did not know there could be such unalloyed felicity got out of life as he succeeds in getting. He looks all the time as if he had that minute heard some crowning piece of good news." This is a sunny picture of the young collegian, yet just as true in after years; for the happy, winsome manner never left him, however great the cares and anxieties of life.

His modesty and retiring disposition probably lessened in some degree the number of his intimate friends in college; but to many of his classmates he was bound by the closest ties of affection, and especially to those with whom he sympathized in love of the classics and modern literature. Few among them read more or with more discrimination, and very few possessed his retentive powers and rare conversational faculty. His memory was remarkable; and his familiarity with poetry, with Shakspeare, and with the best of classical authors ancient and modern, was illustrated by a wealth of ready quotation and by keen and clear criticism. He was a student of books and a student of men as well, an excellent judge of character, and charitable in his estimates, as was to have been expected from a nature so generous and forbearing.

The college years passed happily for him until his senior year, when a long and dangerous illness from typhoid fever interrupted his studies; and though he was able to rejoin his

class before its graduating exercises, the precarious state of his health forbade continuous application, and prevented his attaining the high rank otherwise secure to him. The loss of his mother at this time, who worn out by the cares and anxieties of his illness died from the same dread disease, added to the sadness of his last year in college. With her his relations had ever been of a peculiarly intimate and confidential nature, and her death was a surpassing grief to him. To her religious nature and teachings was largely due his own high spiritual nature; and it is more than probable that the sadness of this experience turned his thoughts more closely to the choice of his sacred profession. Apart from his college friends, at this time Mr. Foote's closest intimacy was with the valued friend of his grandfather, Judge White, — Dr. James Walker, then President of Harvard College, and a man of singular wisdom and learning. At his house he was a frequent and welcome visitor, and to no one in after years did he render a deeper feeling of gratitude. Dr. Walker's broad experience, his keen insight into human character, his unfailing kindness and sympathy were of inestimable value during the four years of Mr. Foote's college life; and he was not only encouraged and aided by friendship and generous counsel, but impressed and guided in habits of thought and style of writing by familiarity with one who was a model of the best English style, and a profound, eloquent, and philosophical preacher. Nor was this a one-sided intimacy; the lovable qualities of Henry Foote's nature, his conspicuous ability, his fondness for research, and the enthusiasm with which he devoted himself to the acquisition of varied and useful knowledge attracted Dr. Walker's attention, interested him, and created almost a fatherly relation between him and the young collegian. This feeling was strengthened after graduation, and continued a source of constant pleasure to both during Dr. Walker's life. It was a great happiness to Mr. Foote that he was able by delicate attention and frequent visits to Dr. Walker in the latter's declining days to manifest his gratitude and his appreciation of the value of this long friendship. While he was at the Divinity School the removal of Dr. A. P. Peabody to Cambridge gained for Mr. Foote another highly prized friend, at whose house and in whose company were spent many hours of pleasure and

instruction. His fondness for the classic poets and Italian literature gained him also the notice and encouragement of James Russell Lowell, then filling the professorship of Modern Languages and Belles-Lettres at Harvard College; and in company with some of his classmates, Mr. Foote read and studied with Mr. Lowell with rare delight.

Graduating from Harvard in 1858, Mr. Foote entered the Divinity School at Cambridge. He had been brought up with conservative Unitarian views, and studied to fit himself for the ministry of that faith. He remained in the school until July, 1861, so distinguishing himself by his ripe scholarship and ability that before his course was completed the attention of several vacant parishes was attracted to him; and before graduating he was invited to the Unitarian Church at Cincinnati, Ohio, to the church of the same faith in Portsmouth, New Hampshire, recently vacated by his friend Dr. A. P. Peabody, and soon after to King's Chapel in Boston. This latter church had for him great attractions: its liturgy, adapted from the Episcopal form, appealed to the conservatism of his nature, which, though broad and liberal in its doctrines, was attached to the impressive and formal ceremonials of the past; its history was rich in the traditions of the earlier days of the country; its congregation was a large and cultivated one, drawn from the most eminent social and intellectual circles of Boston; while its pulpit had been filled by such men as Dr. Freeman, Dr. Greenwood, and Dr. Ephraim Peabody, all of them of eminent character and ability and of saintly lives. But it was no light task for a man so young to follow in such footsteps; and however conscious he might be of his own mental equipment, hesitation was but natural; not until he had been warmly urged to accept by his friends Dr. Walker and Dr. Peabody, did he finally determine to assume this responsible charge. A prominent member of the church had recommended him for its selection as pastor on the Biblical ground of the "faith that was in his grandmother Lois and his mother Eunice." No advice was ever better justified; for his subsequent success, and the deep and abiding love of his people were won by the example he gave of implicit faith and conscientious endeavor, manifesting in every way his pre-eminent fitness for the pastorate of a church with which he was in fullest sympathy.

December 22, 1861, he was installed as pastor, and assumed his duties with modest firmness, trusting in God to give him power to fulfil the hopes of his people, and render blessed a ministry of absolute and pure devotion. While it is not the province of this sketch to dwell upon his connection with King's Chapel, Mr. Foote's pastorate, which continued there until his death, May 29, 1889, can hardly be better described than in his own words shortly before he parted from it forever: "I have tried to make King's Chapel stand in its place in the Kingdom of Christ and in fellowship with all Christians."

July 9, 1863, Mr. Foote married Frances A. Eliot, daughter of Samuel A. Eliot (long a member of King's Chapel), and sister of President Eliot of Harvard College. Four children were born to them: Mary, November 6, 1864; Henry Wilder and Frances Eliot, February 2, 1875; and Dorothea, November 3, 1880, of whom the last three survive.

In 1874 Mr. Foote was elected a Resident Member of the Massachusetts Historical Society; and from that time until his enforced absence by illness, he was actively interested in its proceedings, frequent in attendance at the meetings of the Society, and a contributor of many valuable papers. For some months he acted as Recording Secretary of the Society, and served with efficiency as a member of the Council. His fondness for the study of history and for antiquarian research found also abundant opportunity in his membership in the American Antiquarian Society, the New England Historic Genealogical Society, and in the Essex Institute, although the duties of the pastorate of a large church in Boston left comparatively little time for historical work, other than in connection with religious topics. In this latter field, however, Mr. Foote was a thorough student, and left a record of permanent value. His classes for religious instruction which met at his own house studied under his guidance the history of early Christianity, the Festivals and Hymns of the Early Church, Church Creeds, the Hebrew Scriptures, and Christian Art; while in occasional sermons, some of which were published, he showed deep historical investigation. The most remarkable of these were called forth by the stirring events of the Civil War, the decease of members of his congregation eminent in the war or in civil life, and by the Bi-centennial celebration of King's Chapel. The real historical work of his life in which he took the greatest pride

and pleasure was the "Annals of King's Chapel," of which the first volume was published in January, 1882, and the second left at his decease well advanced. The history of that church was so closely connected with the early religious and political struggles of the Massachusetts Province and Commonwealth that he found in its study rich material, and was able by careful research and uncommon analytical power to condense it into a book of great historical value, and at the same time interesting and attractive. He was ever an enthusiast in whatever work he engaged, — his subject became a part of himself, and largely from his own personality and the vigor of his style, dry details under his handling became of interest to his readers. Combined with this was a faculty for lucid and accurate statement and a judicial impartiality, showing that the field of history might well have claimed his services, had not more engrossing duties absorbed his time. He devoted a portion of his labors to the preparation of a Church Hymnal, leaving it at his death so nearly finished that it has since been completed and adopted for use in his church. Mr. Foote had hoped to prepare for the Historical Society a memoir of his friend and instructor, Dr. James Walker, and had gathered a great deal of material for that purpose. His intimacy with that distinguished preacher and his appreciation of his character and abilities would have given to the work immense interest; but he was compelled unwillingly to leave the task to other able hands.

The pastorate of King's Chapel was an exacting position, one requiring the exertion of vigorous powers of mind and body, and in its scope it swept in more than a devotion to this church alone; for so prominent a place made him largely the minister of a great body of those spiritually needy unconnected with the churches of the city. His broad and ready sympathies were at the service of all who sought or would accept his aid. He recognized the field of Christian endeavor beyond the limits of his immediate parish, was earnest in all good works, and gave constantly of his valuable time and counsel to deeds of charity, and to the numerous organizations in behalf of the poor and churchless of the city. As President of the Benevolent Fraternity of Churches, and as a member of the Boston Provident Association, he was most efficient and active. He was deeply interested in the Society

for the Promotion of Theological Education at Cambridge, and busy as he was with his parochial duties, he devoted himself for some years to editing the "Unitarian Review." He has been described as "a model pastor according to the highest ideal of the old fidelity in his office"; and no truer or more fitting words could be uttered of him. During his pastorate came the long struggle of the Civil War; and from his church went out the flower of its youth, urged on by his teachings and encouraged by his hearty blessing. All the impulses of his soul were absorbed in the great moral question involved in this contest. He watched the career of the young soldiers from his church with patriotic pride and sympathetic interest; he welcomed them home with heartfelt gratitude; and when some of the noblest of them fell upon the field of battle, his tender and touching words bore comfort and hope to their bereaved friends. It has been truly said of him: "He had a genius for consolation; and none knew so well as he what to say and what to leave unsaid in the memorials of the honored and lamented dead. . . . The strenuous sympathetic voice of the preacher and the far-away responses of the martial music [kept] proud holiday together." The alternating course of the struggle filled his mind with anxious thought; but he never faltered in his belief that from it all would come a freer and better nation. Victory alone was not the end he sought, unless based upon the highest grounds, and consecrated by the deepest moral purpose.

In 1867 he laid aside for a while the duties of his ministry, and accompanied his father upon a trip to Europe, enjoying with the hearty enthusiasm of his nature the varied experiences of foreign travel. An interesting account of this trip was published by his father in letters to the "Salem Gazette," vigorous in their tone, and displaying keen powers of observation and vivid descriptive faculties. He returned refreshed and strengthened, and resumed with buoyant spirit the work of his profession. At no period of his life were his powers as a preacher more marked than at this time, and his influence upon the community was greatly broadened and increased; but a recurrence of the troublesome throat affection, which never afterward wholly left him, enforced another absence, and from May to December, 1878, he travelled through Spain, Greece, Turkey, Palestine, and Egypt. The holy associations clustering round these latter countries, so closely related to his life's work

and study, were a source of continual enjoyment to him, and impressed themselves deeply upon his religious nature. Natural scenery had always been his delight, and upon this journey he revelled in its most attractive form. Nothing seemed wanting to his complete happiness but firmer health and a fuller opportunity of sharing such unalloyed pleasure with those he loved.

He rejoined his church in the early winter of 1879, rich in experience and with ardent hopes; but again his labors were for a time interrupted by illness, and he was compelled to seek health in a more southern clime. Returning to his post in the spring, for some years he continued a life of usefulness, steadily gaining in influence, and increasing his hold upon his people and the community.

The sad death of his much loved daughter Mary, in December, 1885, came to him with crushing force; but his fortitude and Christian resignation never forsook him, and without a murmur or a doubt he went in and out among his people, attending to all their needs with a cheerful spirit, chastened by grief, but resolute that no personal loss should abate his zeal or impair his usefulness and courage. It was a hard and wearing inward struggle, and it came when there was dire need of his utmost physical strength. Doubtless complete recovery was retarded by the burden he so uncomplainingly bore, and he was less able in its presence to contend with the seeds of disease already sown.

The commemoration by King's Chapel of the completion of two hundred years since its foundation was celebrated in 1886. Most elaborate preparations were made, many distinguished gentlemen took part in the proceedings, and the church was thronged. His position as pastor naturally made him a most prominent figure, and involved for him great and fatiguing labor. His discourse upon the occasion was learned, thoughtful, and eloquent, — second to none of the able addresses delivered. He entered into the spirit of the occasion with his accustomed enthusiasm, and was more than gratified with its complete success. So much interest had been awakened that he subsequently collected the proceedings, which were published in a most attractive and interesting volume.

This, perhaps, was the culmination of his life's work. The few remaining years were those of regular duties nobly per-

formed, and a continuation of the relations between him and his parish of perfect confidence and love. While far from robust, his health had not seemed seriously impaired until the fall of 1888, when he was seized with what at first appeared only a severe bronchial attack; but more threatening symptoms supervened. His heart became seriously affected; and through the long winter of 1888-89 he suffered greatly, with times of alternate hope and doubt, but with calm and happy resignation. His sick-chamber was the abode of cheerfulness and genuine faith. Friends who came to visit him with saddened hearts went from his presence comforted by the assurance that with him at least all was well.

In alluding to the loveliness of this last illness, when the Christian spirit of the man of faith rose above his painful surroundings, the Rev. George L. Chaney, one of his nearest friends, in a touching sermon at the memorial service in King's Chapel, June 9, 1889, used these words: "It seems as if he had been appointed to linger on the border line between the seen and the unseen worlds, that he might confirm our faith in heaven, even though, like enraptured Paul, he could not wholly report the unspeakable glories." This whole sermon is so full of deep feeling, and so felicitous in its illustration of the character of Mr. Foote,—especially in its happy quotation from Mr. Foote's own words, as upon his bed of sickness he contemplated the probable outcome of the disease,—that I may repeat here many of those expressions, uttered at intervals, but showing how prepared the sufferer was for the last great change, and yet how his mind dwelt upon his work in life, knowing that it was incomplete, but conscious that he had given his best endeavor:—

"I carry unfinished duties out of the world with me; it's a great cross to me."

"I have perfect faith in the divine love. We can bear all things if only the Lord will not withhold the light of his countenance."

"I have never had any dread of dying. Why should one dread going nearer to God?"

"So little way — so near."

"My mind is never vacant as I lie here. I can't talk; but I can think, and I can *trust*."

"It's the same world beyond,—the world of love and trust and Christ."

"Faith, faith, faith! I believe that what I have been taught is true. I believe that what those I have loved trusted in, they were safe in."

"The reality of the divine help,—if only I could make others feel that without dwelling on my own experience."

"How the wonderful love and kindness of friends surround me like a benediction!"

Upon his bed of pain his thoughts reverted to his beloved church, and many were the messages he sent:—

"I wish my people knew how I love them."

"Give my love to everybody at the church."

"I feel so sure that these friends who have met me in the care and love of them here will meet me in the same care and love,—perfectly sure."

"I do so long to reach out to my dear people. I have so many things of love and trust to say to them; but I have not the strength. It's been the real bond of pastor and people."

"They know without my telling them that I believe with my whole heart what I have tried to persuade them."

"Every text of joy and faith in the New Testament says what I want to say to them."

In April, the approach of the Easter Festival filled his mind with thoughts of his people; and Easter Sunday, April 21, 1889, he sent this last tender greeting:—

EASTER, April 21, 1889.

DEAR FRIENDS,—With a great desire I long to be with you in the joy and thankfulness of this happy, holy Easter time. On twenty-five Easters I have had the privilege of standing in this place; and now I rejoice to be very near in body, and present with you in spirit.

Let us share together not only the flowers and the gladness, but the deepest thoughts of this festival of the risen Christ. To it belong all the heights to which our souls can rise, where we shall be in communion with the great host of holy souls on earth and in heaven, and all the deeds of ministering love of which he was the example.

"Active in charity,
Praise him in verity!
His feast, prepare it ye!
His message, bear it ye!
His joy, declare it ye!
Then is the Master near,
Then is he here."

May the God of peace fill our thoughts with gratitude for the great gift of trust in him as our Father, and in the life eternal, which makes the seen and unseen worlds one!

A few weeks later the final summons came ; and May 29, 1889, the earthly life of this faithful minister of God was closed. To the last his thoughts were absorbed in his family, his people, and his church ; and the tender messages of hope he received all through his illness were met by the most grateful and heartfelt responses. His innumerable expressions of cheerful trust and faith during those painful weeks were repeated to sad hearts ; but they bore encouragement to all who realized what a depth of experience they illustrated, and what nobility of character they exemplified. No better or more characteristic illustration of the beauty of his utterances can be given than the following extract from a letter dictated by him when too ill to write : —

“I cannot sleep without sending you a word out of a full heart ; yet I will not speak of sympathy, but of thoughts of blessing and gratitude with which every thought of — must be filled. Let me share with you your thankfulness for her. I pray God that you may be folded about by the light and peace into which her precious soul has entered, and I know that you can wait in trust and hope.”

The man passes from among us, but the memory survives as a genuine inspiration to holy living. The life of Henry Wilder Foote was not an eventful one. It was not calculated to impress those who seek stirring action or passionate and glowing oratory. It is simply the story of a long and successful pastorate, wholly devoted to the duties of a sacred profession, and relying for its abiding influence upon its earnest faith, thorough scholarship, and a warm and sympathetic heart. His power lay in a well-rounded, unselfish character, added to great natural ability and deep spiritual insight. Had the modesty of his nature allowed more determined self-assertion, his talents would have entitled him to even greater distinction than he attained ; but he sought no other reward than that acquired by unobtrusive devotion to duty, and absolute sincerity of purpose. The measure of his influence is not that of his prominence as a preacher, nor of his success in maintaining and increasing a large congregation active in religious and elevating work, but rather in the example he gave of a consistent and laborious Christian life.

He was fortunate in the inheritance of a cheerful, sanguine spirit. He was gifted with a pure and impressive style ; he added

to an engaging manner gentle and refined tones of voice, quick and ready sympathies, a thorough intellectual training, a mature judgment, and firm and courageous devotion to the truths of his faith. He was liberal in his views, and at the same time conservative and cautious; ready to accept without fear any result of modern scientific investigation, and yet slow to reach conclusions which required an abandonment of the strong foothold of his earlier belief. He accepted nothing without profound study and reflection, and followed no guide but that of his own honest head and heart. Theological controversy was never to his taste, and in his preaching he but rarely entered upon its domains. Sensationalism and pretence he avoided in the pulpit, as he shunned any ostentation or unreality in private or public life.

Though with few superiors in the Boston pulpit in accurate and exhaustive knowledge of theological, historical, and scientific subjects, his style of preaching was simple and clear, never dogmatic, but impressive by its vigor, its convincing method, and its intense spiritual earnestness. In his judgment of his fellow-men he was candid and charitable; no hasty condemnation ever fell from his lips. He strove with all his might to render impartial justice, and however intense his hatred of the sin, never to forget that the unfortunate sinner might by kind and just treatment be led in time to a higher life.

A life like this is a permanent influence for good, reaching far beyond its short span of years, and dependent less upon ostensible outward works than upon its own simple majesty and holiness. A friend after his decease used the following words, which describe the feeling of many others who knew him: "I had great satisfaction in his friendship and in the thought that he was so near. I think I never met him without feeling better and happier." Upon the pedestal of the marble bust erected to his memory in King's Chapel is this inscription, not only showing the love of his parishioners, but with rare felicity portraying the character of the man: —

A man of thorough learning,
broad charity, and clear unswerving faith.

Gentle, pure, strong.

Wise in judgment,

Tender in sympathy,

Rich in holy thought and work.

Revering justice, he loved mercy,
And walked humbly with his God.
His ever-present sense of duty
inspired a life
Whose joy was to strengthen and cheer.
With victorious faith and abiding peace,
he lived among us
blessing and blessed.

His success was in the deep impression he made upon the hearts and consciences of those who knew or heard him, and in the inestimable value of an inspiring memory, made sacred by the evidence of high talents faithfully used, by honest and consistent purpose, and by a true and pure life wholly devoted to the spiritual and moral welfare of his fellow-men. Lives such as his are so far above the materialism of the day, so apart from all that goes to make up the whirling activities of modern society, that they are impressive, not from any unreality, but as representing something higher and holier than our common experience. They can be studied and well be imitated as divine in their nature, and as a revelation of the possibility of an approach to the highest standard of mortal endeavor.

JUNE MEETING, 1893.

THE stated meeting was held on Thursday, the 8th instant, at three o'clock, P. M.; the President, Dr. GEORGE E. ELLIS, in the chair.

After the reading of the record of the May meeting and of the list of donors to the Library during the last month, the President called attention to the new volume of Collections now ready, comprising a selection from the letters written from September, 1731, to January, 1734, by Jonathan Belcher, Governor of Massachusetts and New Hampshire, which he regarded as one of much historical and biographical interest. He also said that the Committee for publishing the third part of the Belknap Papers had printed, for insertion in that volume, a fly-leaf containing the rough draft or copy of Dr. Belknap's answer to Mr. Eliot's letter of February, 1781, printed by them.¹ Dr. Belknap's letter was not known to be in existence when the volume was published.

Mr. WILLIAM S. APPLETON said he had recently found among his family papers a manuscript copy of some verses written in 1818, on the removal of Rev. Horace Holley to the West, containing punning allusions to the ministers of Boston of that day. He did not know whether they had ever been printed, but he thought it might be well, on account of their local interest, to preserve them in the Proceedings. He also presented to the Library the copy in the writer's own hand of a letter written in May, 1820, by his father, a former member of this Society, giving a minute account of the Parodi affair.

The verses read by Mr. Appleton are as follows:—

"Hiegho! hiegho! the Holley!"
Was Willy Shakspear's cry;
Our hearts in sad response
Shall echo back the sigh.

¹ 6 Mass. Hist. Coll. vol. iv. pp. 202-208.

No more beneath its shade
 Instructed, charm'd to sit,
 Uprooted, gone, can we
 Contentedly submit?

No! *Brown May* West-ward go,
 And tell them t' is a folly
 Among their crooked sticks
 To plant our beauteous *Holley*.

"Under the *Greenwood* tree"
 Meanwhile we'll sit secure;
 For time its early blossoms
 Will ripen and mature.

On you now, trusty stewards,
 Each one of us depends
 For wholesome meat & drink,
 Air, exercise, and friends.

Whene'er we wish to ride,
 A *Palfrey* you may hire;
 And if our active limbs
 A *Walker* run require,

In fertile *Kirkland* straying
 We'll pluck the fragrant rose,
 For many a flowret there
 Beside the poppy grows.

Utensils for our table
 We wish you to prepare;
 At Cambridge may be had
 Useful the homely *Ware*.

(*Mak-Keen* our carving knife!
 We often want to use it.
 So bright its slender blade
 We hope not soon to lose it.)

For food, plain boiled and roast,
 No brimstone garnished round;
 Our glasses filled with wine,
 Our *Porter* good and sound.

No superstitious slaves
 Shall fill our minds with terror;
 A *Freeman's* steady light
 Dispels the mists of error.

We want no Charlestown pork ;
 With *Moss* their pigs they cram ;
 Nor fresh, nor salt, nor smoak'd,
 Not even a *Frothing-ham*.

Around our social fare
 No rigid *Dwights* we want,
 Nor *Sharpers* to ensnare
 [One line missing]

The mild & good tho' *Gray*
 We'll welcome with a smile,
 And if with trouble *Harass'd*,
 Sleep always free from *Guile*.

Our park so well inclosed
 No *Parkman* needs to keep it ;
 The fence is built too high
 For *Hunting-dons* to leap it.

But least you should conceit
 Old *Byles* broke out again,
 We'll our favourite toast,
 And thus conclude the strain :

May Brown and *West* continue
 Rich in grace and piety,
 And long remain the stewards
 Of Hollis Street Society.

The Hon. GEORGE S. HALE presented, in behalf of the family of the late Josiah P. Cooke, a type-written account prepared by Mr. Cooke, of the descendants of Aaron Cooke, who settled at Dorchester in 1635, and was the earliest of that name in America. Mr. Hale then read the following communication : —

What is the true name of the educational institution at Cambridge, in New England, sometimes called Harvard College, sometimes Harvard University ? It may be admitted at once that this is a purely nominal discussion, — that the College or the University would smell as sweet by any other name. But in this Society, historically, if not otherwise, we have a right to ask, like ancient Pistol, —

"Oh quality, . . . art thou a gentleman ? What is thy name ? Discuss !"

especially if we find ourselves at liberty to say, —

“Thou dost here usurp

The name thou ow'st not.”

No one can deny that a name is a mere designation, which the claimant, unless some law or right forbid, can assume or change. Mr. Smith may doubtless call himself Smythe, Kettle may rise into Kettell, Riddle into Riddell; Mr. “Bug” may win philological immortality under the nobler designation of “Norfolk Howard.” Still, in our historical trifling, it is not without its interest to inquire if this love of loftier names ever rises into the ether of universities.

The earliest trace of baptism for this infant subject of our study is the vote of the General Court of the Colony of Massachusetts Bay (October 28, O. S. 1636), by which “The Court agree to give four hundred pounds towards a School or College” (1 Qu. 586).

The next year they appointed twelve men “to take order for a College at Newtown” (now Cambridge). In March, 1638–9 (13th 1st M), it is ordered that “the College agreed upon formerly, to be built at Cambridge, shall be called Harvard College”; and in 1642 the preamble of the Act establishing the overseers of Harvard College recites that “Whereas through the good hand of God upon us there is a Colledg founded in Cambridge in the County of Middlesex called Harvard Colledg”; and throughout the Act the institution is designated as a college. The Book of the General Laws and Liberties, of 1649 (Ed. of 1660),¹ repeatedly refers to it as a “Colledg,” but further speaks (p. 139) of “rayising up Schooles of Learning and especially the Colledg,” thus designating it a “schoole,” and refers to it as a “seminary of knowledg and virtue.” But (p. 191), referring to grammar schools, it says, “the master thereof, being able to instruct youth so far as they may be fitted for the Uneversety”; while (p. 177) it exempts from keeping arms and from military exercise and service the “President, Fellows” &c. “of Harvard Colledg.” The name or title is thus at this early date clearly declared; while the general terms of “schoole” and “Uneversety” — the latter, so far as now known thus for the first time used — are em-

¹ See the Colonial Laws of Massachusetts, published by the City of Boston, 1889, p. 138.

played to represent its character as an educational institution. In 1650 the Charter of the President and Fellows of Harvard College was granted, providing that the "President and Fellows, for the time being, shall for ever hereafter, in name and fact, be one body politic and corporate in law, . . . and shall be called by the name of President and Fellows of Harvard College . . . and by that name . . . may . . . acquire . . . lands . . . sue and plead," etc; and that the said President, with any three of the Fellows, shall have power, and are hereby authorized, when they shall think fit, to make and appoint a Common Seal. The name "Harvard College" is, so far as we know, invariably used in the legislation of the Colony and Province; and this Charter with its appendix is now in force precisely as drafted. In the Charter proposed in 1692 (1 Qu. p. 596), it was provided that "The President and Fellows of the said College shall have power . . . to grant . . . degrees as in the Universities in England." In 1697 it is called an "Academy" (Acts & Resolves of the Province of Massachusetts Bay, vol. i. p. 290).

In the provincial resolve of 1707 it is designated as "That House." The next trace of the word "University" is found in the Constitution of 1780, in which Part II. chap. 5 is on "The University." Article 1 recites "the foundation of Harvard College, in which university," etc. The communication to Mr. Hollis from several worthy English pastors as to the Divinity Professorship, of August, 1721, speaks of "students upon their first coming to the University" (1 Qu. p. 536).

"House" is defined as "a college," among other things. Lyte (p. 87) says: "The early collegiate foundations . . . were sometimes described as Halls, sometimes as Houses, sometimes as Colleges." Christ Church, at Oxford, is known as the House (*ædes Christi*.) And in "Disraeli and his Day," by Sir William Fraser (p. 353), he says: "All the members of the 'House'; if you call it a College, you will be drowned in Mercury; that is Christ Church, may dine there." The title survives at Cambridge in Peterhouse.

In a memorial of the Corporation presented to the General Court in 1812, the institution is spoken of as the University. In 1762 the Overseers, in a remonstrance to Governor Bernard against the establishment of a college in Hampshire County,

declare "that there is no real difference between a College and a Collegiate School," and that our forefathers established the College with the hope that "the seminary of learning of which they then laid the foundation would at length . . . one day arrive to the dignity and extensive usefulness of a University"; and speak of "ground to hope that our College would . . . acquire all the endowments . . . of a University" (2 Qu. App. VII. 464-475).

The history by Benjamin Pierce is entitled "A History of Harvard University from its Foundation in the year 1636," and he is designated "Librarian of the University." The book is published by Brown Shattuck & Co., "Booksellers to the University," and dedicated to Paine Wingate and "the other sons of Harvard University." The preface written after his death repeats the appellation. He says (p. 3) that "in March, 1639, it was ordered that the College should be Harvard College."

"When," says Quincy, "in 1780, the framers of the Constitution of Massachusetts authorized Harvard College to assume the title of 'University,' it comprised, strictly speaking, but one school, the Academic or 'School of the Arts'" (2 Qu. 258). A proviso is annexed to this article [chap. 5, art. 3], reserving to the Legislature of the Commonwealth the power "of making such alterations in the government of the said University as shall be conducive to its advantage and the interest of the republic of letters, in as full a manner as might have been done by the Legislature of the late Province of Massachusetts Bay."

The Constitution, in the second section of the same chapter, makes it "the duty of legislatures and magistrates, in all future periods of this Commonwealth, to cherish the interests of literature and the sciences, and all seminaries of them, especially the University at Cambridge, public schools and grammar schools in the towns." "The indiscriminate use of the terms 'College' and 'University' in the Constitution of the Commonwealth was considered as sanctioning the latter designation, which has ever since been applied to this institution, except in such legal instruments as require its corporate name for their validity" (2 Qu. 176).

It is hazardous to allege a negative; but it is not known that the designation "Harvard University" has ever been used in

any legislation, or that of "University," except in the instances above stated. The present Annual Catalogue "published by the University" states that Harvard University comprehends the following departments: Harvard College, the Divinity School, the Lawrence Scientific School, the Graduate School, the Law School, etc., naming sixteen departments in all; and states that the Peabody Museum, etc., "is a constituent part of the University"; that the Treasurer has the custody of all the property of the University, while the phrase "University property" is used. It appears that the appellations "Harvard University," "Harvard College," "The University at Cambridge," respectively appear on the titlepages of the catalogues and reports of the Presidents since 1825, as follows:

Harvard College:	Harvard University:
Reports for	Reports for
1848-49 to 1891-92.	1825-26 to 1845-46.
Catalogues for	Catalogues for 1827-28 to 1845-46;
1849-50 to 1852-53.	1853-54 to 1892-93.
The University at Cambridge:	The University in Cambridge:
Reports for	Catalogues of
1846-47 and 1847-48.	1825 and 1826.
Catalogues for	
1846-47 to 1848-49.	

The President, in the reports, apparently is generally, if not always, "of the University." Kirkland and Quincy say "Harvard University," Sparks, Felton, Walker, Hill, "Harvard College," in the catalogues under their respective authority. Sparks only adheres to the term "College," and the others have "Harvard University" and "The University at or in Cambridge."

The seal of the College seems naturally connected with its name or title. The original Charter empowers the President and any three of the Fellows, "when they shall think fit, to make and appoint a Common Seal for the use of the said Corporation." This, it may be observed, is not the frequent phrase "to make, break, and alter"; but, without inquiry whether it allows variations in the Seal from time to time, we find that on the 27th "of the 10th month of 1643 it is ordered that there shall be a Colledge Seale in forme following" (1 Qu. p. 49). "Veritas" was soon exchanged for "In Christi Glo-

riam." In Increase Mather's presidency there is reason to believe that the motto now in use, "Christo et Ecclesiæ," was substituted. There is no authority for either in any existing college record, nor is it known to a certainty when either was introduced. We find a reference (1 Qu. 474) to "Mr. Newman's proposal about procuring the college arms at Bilboa," at a meeting of June 11, 1694.

The word "Academia" is apparently used to express "University" as distinct from "College," since it is substituted for "Collegium." It is perhaps presumptuous even to ask, not what authority there is for their use, but how "Academia" is made more appropriate than "Collegium" or "Universitas."¹

In 1885 (June 8) a form was adopted by the Corporation as the proper form of the College Seal, and as a substitute for the various forms of the Seal then in use, described as follows: Arms, gules; three open books, argent; edges, covers and clasps, or; on the books the letters Ve-ri-tas, sable. The Seal contains a shield with the arms placed on a circular field, or, on which are the words "Christo et Ecclesiæ," azure, and around the words "Sigillum Academiæ Harvardianæ, Nov Ang."

What, then, is a university? Once and originally it meant the whole or complete thing. Wiclif uses it in the sense of "world." Ducange defines it, "the collective inhabitants of a city or town." Skeat has "University, a school for universal knowledge." Worcester considers it to mean, in this connection, "a seminary of the highest class, where various branches of literature and science, and sometimes theology, law, and medicine, are taught, and degrees conferred." The new American Cyclopedic, after a full account of the early and foreign universities, declares "that in the United States there are, properly speaking, no universities."

"Voluntary associations," says Lyte in his "History of the University of Oxford" (p. 4), "were, before long, formed at both places [Paris and Bologna], for the purpose of securing uniformity of discipline, and defending the common interests of teachers and pupils; and associations of this kind came to be known as *studia*, and eventually as *universitates*."

"The true meaning of the term University is frequently misunderstood. According to some, a university is a place at which all the arts

¹ Newman. The Idea of a University, xiii.

and sciences are taught; according to others, it is a collection of semi-independent colleges of students. Neither of these definitions, however, will stand the test of history, for there have been great and learned universities neither professing to impart universal knowledge, nor boasting a single affiliated college. Indeed in the earliest and broadest sense of the term, a university had no necessary connection with schools or literature, being merely a community of individuals bound together by some more or less acknowledged tie. Regarded collectively in this light, the inhabitants of any particular town might be said to constitute a university, and in point of fact the Commonalty of the townsmen of Oxford was sometimes described as a university in formal documents of the Middle Ages. The term was, however, specially applied to the whole body of persons frequenting the schools of a large *studium*. Ultimately it came to be employed in a technical sense as synonymous with *studium*, to denote the institution itself. This last use of the term seems to be of English origin, for the University of Oxford is mentioned as such in writs and ordinances of the years 1238, 1240, and 1253, whereas the greater seat of learning on the banks of the Seine was, until the year 1263, styled 'the University of the Masters,' or 'the University of the Scholars,' of Paris."

We learn from the Report of the United States Commissioner for Education for 1884-85 (p. 584), that there were then over one hundred and twenty universities in the United States, not including Harvard and Yale, which there bear the modest title of Colleges. In New England there were twelve colleges, — Amherst, Boston, Bowdoin, Bates, College of the Holy Cross, Dartmouth, Harvard, Middlebury, Trinity, Tufts, Williams, and Yale; and five Universities, — Boston, Brown, Colby, University of Vermont, and Wesleyan. We must now enroll Harvard with the more dignified institutions, such as the Little Rock, the Lombard, the Lake Forrest, the Lincoln, the DePauw (late Asbury) the Butler, the Drake, the Baker, the Highland, the Lane, the Ottawa, the Central, the Leland, the Hamline, the Straight, the Rust, the Alfred, the Sedalia, the Ingham, the Biddle, the Shaw, the Baldwin, the Vanderbilt, the Allen, the Fisk, the Dennison, the Baylor, the Lawrence, the Howard, the Urbana, the Furman, the Fisk, besides any which bear the local and lofty names of States.

An English observer of American schools avers that "the conception of a university as an organization apart from a college, and entitled to apply a uniform and impartial test to

students who have been taught under different conditions, does not exist in America."¹

Paris has its university; France its college, the College of France, — "an institution" which it has been said "now occupies a unique position in the world," and "represents in the highest degree the aristocracy of learning," — the oldest college in that country, with such names as Lalande, Cuvier, Cousin, Biot, De Sacy, Lacroix, Say, Champollion, Michelet, Bartholémy, St. Hilaire, Sainte-Beuve, Renan,² — Is not the name it bears noble and lofty enough for our Alma Mater, Fair Harvard?

It is not yet seven years since, in November, 1886, James Russell Lowell told us, in his address on the two hundred and fiftieth anniversary of the foundation of Harvard College: "It has been mainly during the last twenty-five years that the College, having already the name but by no means all the resources of a university, has been trying to perform some at least of the functions which that title implies." "But," he says, "we still mainly occupy the position of a German Gymnasium."

The late Dean of the Medical School at Harvard declares:—

"It is evident, therefore, that Harvard cannot be styled a university in the sense in which the term is used in any European country. It may, of course, be maintained that we are not bound to follow other nations in our use of language, and that the American is quite as much entitled as the German or the Englishman to have his own idea of what is meant by a University. This view would be entitled to more consideration if any well-established American usage existed, or even if there were any prospect of establishing such a usage.

"It must, moreover, be admitted that, in the interest of clear thinking, it is undesirable that the same term should be used with different significations, even when those using it belong to different nations; and if it can be further shown that the changes in Harvard College which have been supposed to justify its designation as a University are chiefly changes of degree and not of kind, it will be evident that the use of the word in connection with our Alma Mater can scarcely be justified. . . . It must, therefore, be admitted that our Alma Mater has,

¹ Notes on American Schools and Training Colleges, by J. G. Fitch, M.A., LL.D., one of her Majesty's Chief Inspectors of Training Colleges, 1890, p. 112.

² Frederic Carrel, in the "Fortnightly Review."

in her recent remarkable development, really furnished no sufficient reason for styling her a University."¹

An effort has been lately made to make a congeries of separate departments by uniting Harvard College with others. Under its recent action no such institution is recognized as entitled to a separate faculty, even in the humble form of what is sometimes called the Undergraduate Department. The Catalogue of 1893 states that "Harvard University comprehends the following departments: Harvard College," etc., sixteen in all besides the Peabody Museum; but what constitutes Harvard College is not there stated, although much is said about it. The new statutes have created a new species as the result of the academic struggle, called the Faculty of Arts and Sciences. By that statute (adopted May, 1890) Harvard College has lost its independent existence. Formerly there was a Harvard College Faculty. Harvard University still comprehends Harvard College as one of its sixteen or seventeen departments, but with a Veterinary School, a Garden, and a Herbarium; while Harvard College and the Lawrence Scientific School and the Graduate School are together under the charge of a "Faculty of Arts and Sciences." Each of the other schools has its separate faculty. The college library is one of thirty libraries — *nunc majora canemus* — under the name of the University Library; and the Academic Council has grown into the University Council. "The term 'faculty,' which . . . originally signified the capacity to treat a particular subject, came to be applied technically to the subject itself or to the authorized teachers of it, viewed collectively" (Lyte, p. 7). That all the arts and sciences are taught in the College and the Scientific and Graduate Schools, can hardly be asserted.

All this involves a painful and protracted substitute for old familiar phrases. The College Faculty is merged in the Faculty of Arts and Sciences. The Alumnus of the College is the foster child of a faculty of numerous learned fosterers. The Alma Mater, around which gathered so many poetical associations, disappears like the "fair humanities of old religion, the power, the beauty, and the majesty, that had their haunts in" these classic shades. As Lowell says, "It is the College

¹ The Harvard Monthly, January, 1890.

that we love, and of which we are proud." Our sons no longer go to college, but to the Faculty of Arts and Sciences; and "Fair Harvard" wears spectacles and gray hairs. "Why," some historical student of graver matters asks, — "why all this trifling criticism? If it be a question of words and names and of your law, look ye to it: I will be no judge of such matters." It is not wholly a question of "words and names." One of the "English traits" of which, as Englishmen by race, we may be justly proud, is the faithful adherence to some name or appellation which the honorable history or usage of some great institution has dignified and distinguished. One of the weaknesses of Americans, which the members of such a society as this appreciate and would gladly see disappear, is the love and assumption of lofty titles, — our Sir Knights and Commanders, our Grands and Supreme Grands, our Past and Perpetual Masters. As Emerson says, "some of them [the English] are too old and too proud to wear titles, or, as Sheridan said of Coke, 'disdain to hide their heads in a coronet.'" "The names are excellent, an atmosphere of legendary melody spread over the land, . . . a sincerity and use in naming very striking to an American, whose country is whitewashed all over by unmeaning names. . . . But the English are those barbarians of Iamblichus who 'are stable in their manners, and firmly continue to employ the same words, which also are dear to the gods'" (vol. v. pp. 171, 172).

Why need Harvard College desire a loftier name, or claim an appellation of which it might without loss of dignity be destitute? "Affectation," says Dr. Johnson, "is to be always distinguished from hypocrisy, as being the art of counterfeiting those qualities which we might with innocence and safety be known to want."¹

Cardinal Newman, in "The Idea of a University," considers it as "a place of *teaching universal knowledge*" (p. ix). "Such universality," he says, "is considered, by writers on the subject, to be the very characteristic of a university, as contrasted with other seats of learning"; and he quotes from Mosheim, that the School of Paris "was the first to embrace all the arts and sciences, and therefore first became a university" (p. 20). But he supposes that "the *prima facie* view which the public at large would take of a univer-

¹ The Rambler, No. 20.

sity, considering it as a place of education, is nothing more or less than a place for acquiring a great deal of knowledge on a great many subjects" (p. 127).

In this latter sense the institution at Cambridge and many others which exist under that name in the United States are entitled to it; but the authorities at that place doubtless mean to claim something more. Nor would they be content to admit that while intellectual education is the function of a university, all institutions which can give intellectual education are universities. A mere examination shop for certain branches — what Disraeli called "the mechanical mediocrity of an examining board" — or a large crowd of colliding students, whatever sparks of intellectual fire may be elicited by the collision, is not Newman's university; nor does a mere collection of isolated country shops of education fulfil that great thinker's conception. They must run into and complete each other, and form a whole or system.

When the Professor at the University of Bruges proposed to discuss with any competitor "*in omni scibili et de quolibet ente,*" and fell before the inquiry of Sir Thomas More, "*Utrum averia carucæ capta in vetito namio sunt irreplegibilia*" (2. Bl. Comm. 148, note), Bruges ceased to be a university, if knowledge and instruction "*in omni scibili*" is the sole test.

Certainly an institution which declines to admit to equal privileges one half of the human race, or to allow that half to demonstrate its capacity, on equal terms and with equal opportunities, to acquire the knowledge which such an institution offers to communicate to the world, as successfully as the other half, has little right to assume a title which declares its universality, whatever justification it may have to offer for its limitations and incompleteness. The terse inscription beneath the meditative and mourning statue of a New England youth, a descendant of one of the early Presidents of the Institution endowed by John Harvard, who now turns his stony back upon the noble memorial of the sons of the College, must yield to some forlorn "*Hic jacet,*" to commemorate its extinction and the birth of a name which adds to the glory of the past, — "*Nominis umbram.*"

Mr. Hale's paper was followed by brief remarks from the PRESIDENT, Mr. JUSTIN WINSOR, Dr. SAMUEL A. GREEN,

and Mr. CHARLES C. SMITH, who all expressed doubts as to some of the points discussed by the writer. Dr. GREEN's remarks were in substance as follows : —

Very often names are a growth and not a creation, and this fact seems to fit the present case. The term University, as commonly applied to Harvard College, goes back, at least, to the time of the adoption of the State constitution. The designation is found in that instrument, and the framers then knew what the word meant. Before that period the authorities, on the Catalogues of the institution, had always used the term Harvard College, but immediately afterward they began to use Harvard University; and from that time till the present this designation has been printed on the titlepage of the Triennial or Quinquennial Catalogues. It would seem as if a title, borne by the College for more than a century, ought not to be questioned at this late day.

The present name of the Harvard Medical School is not the official designation given at the outset, but has grown up from long usage. In the early part of its history it was called the Medical Institution of Harvard College, though somewhat later it is spoken of as the Medical School of Harvard College or of Harvard University. Occasionally it is mentioned in the newspapers of the period as the Boston Medical School; and since its removal from Cambridge it is sometimes called the Massachusetts Medical College. It is only in recent times, perhaps within forty years, that the institution has been called the Harvard Medical School; and no one now questions its right to the name.

Dr. SAMUEL A. GREEN then said : —

Since our last meeting I have attended, as a delegate from this Society, the celebration of the One-hundred and Fiftieth anniversary of the founding of the American Philosophical Society in Philadelphia; and it seems proper for me to make a brief report. The exercises began on Monday evening, May 22, with a reception by the members in the Society's rooms, and with an address of welcome by the venerable president, Hon. Frederick Fraley, LL.D., and were continued through the four following days. On Tuesday President Fraley delivered an address, in which he reviewed the advance of science during

the past century and a half. In the forenoon of the other days papers were read; and in the afternoon excursions were made to various places of interest, including the Drexel Institute, Girard College, the University of Pennsylvania, and the extensive shipyards of William Cramp and Sons, on the Delaware River.

The proceedings of the whole celebration were appropriate and instructive, and marked by an entire absence of needless formality. One of the most interesting features of the occasion was the personality of the presiding officer, who is in the ninetieth year of his age. The dignity and readiness which he displayed when in the chair, were often the subject of complimentary remarks among the visiting delegates.

While in Philadelphia I visited the rooms of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania, where I received many attentions from Mr. Frederick D. Stone, the librarian. He showed me two folio volumes of broadsides, for the most part printed in Boston, and many of them of the last century, which had great interest. Among them is a Carrier's Address, dated January 1, 1796, and relating to our Society, of which a copy is given on the next page. The fourth volume of the Collections was published complete near the beginning of 1796, having been issued in quarterly parts; and the Address was undoubtedly carried round on the appearance of the last one of these parts. This broadside adds another title to the Centennial Bibliography of the Society, printed in the Proceedings (second series, VI. 203-249); and I am inclined to think that it was written by a member, perhaps James Sullivan, at that time our President.

[In the original a Spread Eagle appears here.]

The CARRIER OF THE
COLLECTIONS
OF THE
MASSACHUSETTS HISTORICAL SOCIETY,

To its LIBERAL and GENEROUS Patrons:

The various comforts of the changeful year,
In situation snug, have oft been sung;
Spring, summer, autumn, elevate and cheer,
And furnish charms to grace the poet's tongue:
But chilling *winter*, riding on the storm,
Half froze, I sing unto my trembling lyre;
With scarce enough to keep my body warm,
Or where-withal to feed the kitchen fire.
Although *December* keen, has blown his blast,
Yet *Januarius* the same trumpet blows;
He's froze the brooks, and all the riv'lets fast,
And painted blue your humble servant's nose.
Bless'd is our land, above all others bless'd!
No haughty *lord*, here tramples down the poor;
No odious rites by superstition dress'd,
Nor furious *soldier* bursts your sacred door.
The cultur'd field exuberant blessings brings;
In chains of gold, our world's by commerce bound;
The *printing-press* supplies the arts with wings,
Humanity consummates our renown.
When *Anarch's* sons, their threat'ning efforts try,
To mar the beauteous temple of the laws;
On WASHINGTON, secure, we cast an eye,
And *candour*, universal, shouts applause.
A small reward, is all I shiv'ring ask,
(I wish I'd something better still, to say,
But must resign, with grief, the pleasing task)
And your petitioner will ever pray,
That joy substantial, may your steps attend,
And calm content your happiness increase;
Your scenes of pleasure, may they know no end —
And all your paths be paths of perfect peace.

BOSTON, January 1, 1796.

Mr. HAMILTON A. HILL inquired about the significance of certain initials on one of the corner-stones of the Old South Meeting-house, in Milk Street, and spoke substantially as follows:—

Passing up or down Milk Street, one may read on the corner-stone of the Old South Meeting-house the inscription, "N. E. March 31, 1729." Dr. Wisner mentions this in his History; and he says, further, that the letters "S. S." were cut upon a stone at the northwestern corner of the meeting-house, and that the inscription "L. B, 1729," was to be seen in his day on a stone at the northeastern corner.

The letters "S. S." undoubtedly stand for "Samuel Sewall." The Judge was the oldest member and the most distinguished man in the South Church, when its first meeting-house was taken down and the new one reared. It is true that he was much opposed to the change; but he yielded gracefully, when he saw that the majority in the church was against him, and we can imagine that he would become interested in the undertaking as the work went forward. He himself tells us that his initials were cut into one of the corner-stones of the building which we know as the Old State House: "Monday May 5th [1712] I lay a stone at the South-east corner of the Town-House and had engraven on it S. S. 1712." There is every reason to think that the initials on the northwest corner of the Old South Meeting-house are his also.

Coming to the northeast corner, the letters which Dr. Wisner read as "L. B." may be "L. B." the letter "J" being turned to the right instead of, as usually, to the left; or, what is more probable, they are "I. B." with a cut or scratch in the stone to the right of the letter "I." In either case they stand for Joshua Blanchard; and they have been deciphered and identified, and the corner-stone on which they appear has been photographed, by Mr. Edward Wheelwright, a descendant of Mr. Blanchard. Joshua Blanchard was a mason, and worked upon the new building; in "His Book," now in the possession of Mr. Wheelwright, he wrote: "1729 Aprill the 1th I with other layed the foundation of the South Brick meeting house and finished the Brick work y^e 8th of October following."

Joshua Blanchard was born in 1692, and died in 1748. He was one of the assessors of Boston from 1734 until his death,

and he served on several important committees. In 1740, September 2, he presented "a plan" to the selectmen "from Peter Faneuil Esq' of a House for a market to be built on Dock Square (Agreeable to his Proposal to the Town at their Meeting on Monday the 14th of July last, and their Votes thereon) Desiring the Selectmen would lay out the Ground in order to begin the Foundation," which they accordingly did. He built several of the tombs in the Granary Burying-Ground, and one of them was assigned to him for his own use; it can be seen from Tremont Street, and bears his name.

The stone on the southwest corner of the meeting-house is really the foundation stone of the building, and the initials upon it, "N. E.," have been the occasion of much conjecture. Assuming that they stand for a name, like the others mentioned, an effort has been made to identify them with some one connected with the church or building, who for any reason was entitled to such permanent recognition; but thus far without success. I desire now to present the suggestion of my friend Mr. Wheelwright, that these letters may stand for Nathanael Emmes. The names of Nathanael and Samuel Emmes appear in an old account book of the West Church, "the church in Lynd Street"; the former charging for work done on the Rev. Mr. Hooper's "steps" in 1740, and on his "harth" in 1745, and the latter "for mending the Tung of y^e Bell" in 1739, and "for hanging the Bell" in 1741. Nathanael Emmes was a mason, and it is quite possible that he was the "other" mentioned by Joshua Blanchard as his co-worker on the walls of the new meeting-house, but there is a difficulty in supposing that he was the person to be commemorated by the letters in question. In the records of the town and of the selectmen, in which both Emmes and Blanchard are mentioned, Blanchard would seem to have been decidedly the more influential man of the two. On the 31st of October, 1715, "Mr. — Emms Stone Cutter" was required to remove forthwith and carry away the stones with which he had encumbered the highway in Cornhill. On the 29th of March, 1725, liberty was given to Nathanael Emmes to take up the pavement and dig up the ground, for the purpose of laying a drain from his cellar to the "common shore in Prince Street." There is no evidence that Emmes was a prominent man in his trade, or that he was

the principal builder of the new meeting-house; and it would seem, therefore, altogether unlikely that his initials would be graven conspicuously upon the principal corner-stone. The tradition is that the meeting-house was built by George Robert Twells or Twelves.

Another suggestion in reference to the letters "N. E.," made by one or two members of this Society, is that they stand for "Newly Erected" or "New Edifice." One objection to this explanation is that they are followed by the specific date "March 31, 1729," and it could hardly be said that the new building was erected on that day. Again, the letters on the two northern corners are known, or believed, to represent names; and the inference is a fair one that those in the inscription on the most prominent corner do the same.

At a meeting of this Society several months ago, the question was raised whether the names Emmes and Emmons, as they appear in the records of two hundred years ago, might not be the same. An examination of the baptismal records of the Third or Old South Church shows that the two names are quite distinct, although sometimes coupled with the same Christian names. I offer for publication the following extracts from the Old South register:—

1689/90	Feb. 9.	Samuel of Benj ⁿ Emons.
	Mch. 16.	Benjamin of Benj ⁿ & Mary Ems.
1691	Aug. 9.	Benjamin of Benj ⁿ & Mary Ems.
1693	June 25.	Benjamin of Benj ⁿ & Mary Ems.
	Nov. 12.	Elizabeth of Benj ⁿ Emons.
1694/5	Mch. 3.	Mary of Benj ⁿ Emons.
1696 7	Mch. 7.	Martha of Benj Emons.
1699	July 16.	Nathanael of Nath ^l Emons.
1700	June 30.	Samuel of Benj ⁿ Emons.
	Nov. 3.	Mary of Benj ⁿ Emons Jr.
1702	Apl. 5.	Hannah of Nath ^l Emons.
1703	Dec. 5.	Nathanael of Nath ^l Emons.
1705	Oct. 14.	Jacob of Nath ^l Emons.
1729	Mch. 30.	Hannah of Thomas & Hannah Emmons.

The name of Nathanael Emmes is not to be found in the Old South registers. Nathanael Emmons owned the covenant July 16, 1699, the day on which his first son, Nathanael, was baptized, and he became a member of the church in full communion in 1713. His second son, also Nathanael, became one of the early portrait-painters in Boston, and died in 1740. The name is spelled variously in the church records: Emin, Emons, Emonds, and Emmons.

Mr. ARTHUR B. ELLIS presented a photograph of the first page of the records of the First Church in Boston, containing the original church covenant, which is still in use by that church more than two hundred and sixty years after its first adoption. It bears the names of Winthrop, Dudley, and other prominent men; but all the signatures are in the handwriting of the minister, Rev. John Wilson. In answer to inquiries, Dr. SAMUEL A. GREEN said that he had in his possession the record book of the First Church in Salem; and Mr. A. C. GOODELL, Jr., said that at Plymouth the minister wrote the names appended to the church covenant, and he thought it was also done in other places.

Mr. A. C. GOODELL, Jr., made some extemporaneous remarks on the history of the law as to the censorship of the press in Massachusetts, in substance as follows:—

As is well known, in its infancy the art of printing was deemed, both on the Continent of Europe and in England, properly within the control of government, or, as Blackstone expresses it, "a matter of state, and subject to the coercion of the crown." In England, originally, this control was a function of the royal prerogative, and hence in time it came to be regulated by decrees of the Court of Star-Chamber limiting the number of printers and presses and prohibiting unlicensed publications.

During the Revolution and the Commonwealth both houses of Parliament continued this supervision and control, and passed sundry orders for suppressing "great abuses and frequent disorders" in printing and publishing. The earlier orders proving ineffectual, sundry ordinances (in 1643, 1647, 1649, and 1652) were passed, based upon the Star-Chamber decree of 1637. After the Restoration these ordinances were incorporated in the Statute of 13 and 14 Car. II., chap. 33, which, with some intermissions, remained for about thirty-two years the law of England. This Statute, which expired by its own limitation in 1679, was revived in 1685 by the Statute 1 Jac. II., chap. 17, which in turn expired in 1692; but it was continued for two years by the Statute 4 W. and M., chap. 24. After its final expiration strenuous efforts were made to revive this act, but failed; and so "the liberty of the press" in England may be said not to have become established until 1694 or

1695. This exemption from censorship, however, did not extend to the setting up of printing-presses and conducting the business of printing, which in England to this day continue subjects of legislative interference and regulation.

These acts of Parliament were evidently operative only within the realm ; for though the Statute of 13 and 14 Car. II. expressly forbade the printing of the prohibited books, etc., in any of the king's dominions, the whole tenor of the Act indicates that the sole purpose of this clause was to prevent inhabitants of the realm from carrying on abroad a business which was forbidden at home. It is a noticeable coincidence, however, that in the same year (October, 1662), the legislature of the Colony of Massachusetts Bay, where previously the press had been absolutely free from censorship, ordered that no "copie" should be printed but by the allowance first had and obtained under the hands of Capt. Daniel Gookin and Mr. Jonathan Mitchell. Although this order was repealed the next year, it was followed, in October, 1664, by another order forbidding the setting up a press in any place other than Cambridge, and reviving the censorship of the press, which for that year was entrusted to the President of Harvard College, Mr. Sherman, Mr. Jonathan Mitchell, and Mr. Thomas Shepard, or any two of them.¹

In 1672, upon the petition of John Usher, the General Court of the Colony passed an order restraining printers from imprinting on their own account a larger number of books, etc., than had been ordered by the publishers : and two years later the restriction of the use of the printing-press to the town of Cambridge being removed, Rev. Thomas Thacher and Mr.

¹ That the General Court did not wholly relinquish to its chosen censors its watchfulness to prevent the dissemination of pernicious literature, is shown by the following entry in the Colony Records :—

" 1689.

19 May

Tho. a Kempis
booke to be re-
vised, &c.

The Court being informed that there is now in the presse, reprinting, a booke, tit Imitacons of Christ, or to y^e purpose, written by Thomas a Kempis, a Popish minister, wherein is conteyned some things that are less safe to be infused among the people of this place, doe comend it to the licensers of the press, the more full revisall thereof, & that in the meane tyme there be no further progresse in that worke." — Vol. iv. part ii. p. 424.

Upon this, Hutchinson remarks: "In a constitution less popular this would have been thought too great an abridgment of the subject's liberty." — *Hist. Mass.* (1st ed.), vol. i. p. 258.

Increase Mather, of Boston, were added to the board of censors previously appointed. This, undoubtedly, was in view of the setting up of a press in Boston by the first Boston printer, John Foster. Upon the decease of Foster, in 1681, Samuel Sewall succeeded to the management of this press under authority derived immediately from the General Court, which ordered that no other person be allowed a similar privilege "without the like liberty being first granted." Sewall resigned this office in 1684, just before the government of the Colony ceased under the first charter.

Dudley, first President of the Council under the new régime of the Territory and Dominion of New England, appears not to have received any special direction concerning the licensing of printing-presses or the printing of books; but the fifty-seventh article of the first draught of instructions to the Governor, Sir Edmund Andros, who arrived a few months later, ran as follows:—

"And forasmuch as great inconvenience may arise by the liberty of printing within our said territory under your government you are to provide by all necessary orders that no person keep any printing-press for printing, nor that any book pamphlet or other matters whatsoever be printed without your especial leave and license first obtained."¹

This instruction, deriving its force from the royal prerogative² (the full operation of which in the dominions of the Crown had not been curtailed by Parliament), was renewed to the earlier governors of the Province. It constituted, substantially, the thirty-fifth article of Phips's instructions; the forty-second of Bellomont's; the sixty-eighth of Dudley's, and the seventy-third of Burges's, Shute's, and Burnet's, respectively. This last, issued in 1728, was the last direction for the exercise of this authority by any governor in Massachusetts; and therefore, from the assumption of the gubernatorial office by Belcher in 1730, must be dated the restoration of the ancient liberty of printing enjoyed by the first generation of colonists.

¹ This instruction is taken by permission of The Colonial Society of Massachusetts, from the second volume of their publications, now in press.

² "One of the first acts of power, after the change of government, was the restraint of the press. Randolph was the licenser. There was not so much room to complain of this proceeding as if the press had been at liberty before. It only changed its keeper, having been long under restraint during the former administration." — HUTCHINSON, *ut supra*, p. 355.

Remarks, incidental to the subjects under discussion, were also made during the meeting, by the Hon. GEORGE F. HOAR, the Hon. MELLEN CHAMBERLAIN, Rev. Dr. EDMUND F. SLAFTER, and Mr. ROBERT C. WINTHROP, Jr.

Mr. Barrett Wendell, Assistant Professor of English at Cambridge, was elected a Resident Member.

It was Voted, to omit the monthly meetings in July, August, and September ; the President and Secretary being authorized to call a special meeting, if desirable.

OCTOBER MEETING, 1893.

THE stated meeting was held on Thursday, the 12th instant, at three o'clock, P. M. ; the President, Dr. GEORGE E. ELLIS, in the chair.

The record of the last meeting was read and approved ; and the Librarian presented his list of donors to the Library during the summer vacation.

The PRESIDENT then said : —

During the summer suspension of our meetings death has removed from our roll two of our members, Mr. Abbott Lawrence, deceased on July 6 ; Mr. Edwin Lassetter Bynner, August 5. These two of our associates represented, respectively, the two elements of membership which during the more than a century of its existence this Society has always sought to unite here on the common basis of an earnest and intelligent interest in its objects.

Thus we have had a line of associates whose professional or business occupations have so engrossed their time and thought that they could give to us only their presence and full sympathy at our meetings, their co-operation in promoting our interests, and their active support, without contributions to our work by researches and the pen. Mr. Lawrence restored to our roll the name of his distinguished father, and took the same place among our Mæcenases. Devoted to a business life, he highly enjoyed his fellowship here, and left to us a generous bequest.

Mr. Bynner was thoroughly versed in our local history. He had caught the spirit of it, and put himself in full sympathy with the people and the times of the past, recognizing some of the charm, the picturesqueness and sweetness of human life in the stern and austere elements of our Puritanism with its softened traditions. It is true that he put largely the results of this historic lore not in the grave pages of sober narrative, of which we have already enough, but wrought in with romance and imagination. But even in

those delightful pages of his there is much more in the balance of the proportion of fact to fiction than in the marvellous creations and dreamings of Hawthorne.

A reader of Bynner's skilfully wrought romances can easily discern the tokens of a full acquaintance with, and a discerning insight into, the veritable facts of the historical times and incidents which he set forth in a fashion to win, as by guile, a class of readers who, like the lovers of aerated waters, value artificial effervescence.

Dr. SAMUEL A. GREEN announced the death of Rev. Dr. Edward D. Neill, of St. Paul, Minnesota, who was elected a Corresponding Member in March, 1872. He was a native of Philadelphia, where he was born August 9, 1823, and graduated at Amherst College, in the class of 1842. His death took place September 26, 1893.

Mr. Hamilton A. Hill was appointed to prepare the memoir of Mr. Lawrence for the Proceedings, and Mr. Barrett Wendell the memoir of Mr. Bynner.

The PRESIDENT then said:—

When, twenty-five years ago, I was preparing for the Proceedings of this Society a memoir of our then lately deceased member, Jared Sparks, I wrote: "Jared Sparks is entitled to a full biography." I might well have used larger and more emphatic terms for defining the range and compass of an extended production which would be needed to rehearse the life work of that accomplished, laborious, and eminent man, patriot, scholar, teacher, and statesman, distinguished in these as in so many other great services. He was the accomplished and exemplary pioneer in the writing of American history. He was the first to fill a professorship of that history in a college.

His name is attached as author or editor to at least three times as many volumes of history and biography as have come from any other single pen. But, more and better than all these distinctions, he stands pre-eminent above all others as an example to be followed as prompted by the highest ideal of the historical instinct, in thoroughness of research, in conscientious and scrupulous fidelity in the use of records, and as strictly and even severely impartial and judicial in comment and judgment.

A biography recognizing and illustrating all these distinguishing qualities was naturally and forcibly suggested to my mind as due to him and to the whole world of letters, by even the superficial and cursory view which alone I had been able to make of the enormous volume, variety, and supreme literary and historical value of the collection of papers he had left behind him. These papers themselves and the preservation of them, and especially the rigid, orderly arrangement of them, alike bear striking testimony to the combination of remarkable qualities and habits in the man.

The conception which I had in my mind of "a full biography" of this noble and now venerated American patriot, scholar, and historian, has been happily and completely realized in a work which I have been reading with profound satisfaction and instruction. The two volumes of the work comprise twelve hundred pages. If any one, whether a wide and comprehensive student or a cursory and miscellaneous reader, should feel a momentary arrest at the bulk of these volumes, he will soon be wholly reconciled as he peruses the pages. He will rather marvel that the mass of the literary material in the papers above referred to, the variety, wealth, and importance of the subjects to be rehearsed and commented upon by the editor and biographer, have found him able to limit and condense his work as it lies before us.

The just as well as the highest encomium upon the work of this biographer is spoken, when we say, in full sincerity, that we can conceive that he would have from Mr. Sparks himself the warmest expression of approval and gratitude, for the ability, fidelity, good taste, and wise judgment with which he has wrought his exacting labor.

That biographer and editor is one of our Corresponding Members, Prof. H. B. Adams, of the Johns Hopkins University. He is widely and highly recognized for his published fruits of learning and research on many subjects, especially those kindred to his present theme. He knows so well how to appreciate and estimate the qualities of Mr. Sparks as to follow him filially as a guide and example in the spirit and method of his work.

By the generous consent of Mrs. Sparks, given in 1885, Professor Adams was permitted to transfer the precious manuscript stores of her late husband to Baltimore, that he might in his

own home engage in his exacting and patient mastery of them. Mr. Sparks's mechanically orderly habit of disposing and arranging his papers in their variety of subject matter—journals, pecuniary accounts, letters received and copies of those sent, public and private documents in infinite detail—greatly facilitated the best use of them by the editor.

Through these he has traced a career from simple childhood to honored age, signally marked by struggle, high and pure ambition, persevering purposes, industry unflagging, and manifold acquisitions and accomplishments. Mr. Sparks began his learning by teaching. He earned not only his livelihood, but also the resources for his generous benevolence, by mind and pen. He was early in life a Christian preacher and pastor, also a controversialist, in the latter service a model for freedom from all asperity, and for the dignity, charity, and passionless tone and spirit of his writings.

He was tutor, professor, and president of the foremost college in our country. He was almost the founder of the first periodical publication of this country, worthily leading off the long succession of such works. The "North American Review" under his editorship won a wide national and foreign circulation and a high repute. Then began the long and fruitful labors for researches, collections and volumes of the first adequate exposition of our American history, led off by the names of Washington and Franklin.

The task required the most extended and minute inquiry with the sharp acumen of a discriminating mind, personal visits to every spot in our land identified with historic incidents, a keen study amid public archives in all our original States and in Europe, an inquisition for papers treasured in private hands, and personal relations and correspondence with eminent statesmen, authors, travellers, and a marvellous category of willing helpers of one who was so wise and earnest that his wish was more than a requisition.

All these were materials to gather, to use, and then to leave, in strict methodical order, by Mr. Sparks; and it is these which his biographer has digested with such fidelity and skill. It is grateful to note from the letters of rare value which Professor Adams now for the first time brings to light, from men of the highest eminence and position here and in Europe, as well as those of private friendship, the admiring and fond impression

made on them all by the character, abilities, and disposition of Mr. Sparks.

Even those among us who already cherished the loftiest estimate of Mr. Sparks will find in these volumes matter for increasing and intensifying their regard. The reflections which have been cast—not, it may be presumed, offensively, but inadvertently—upon the editorial judgment and fidelity of Mr. Sparks have given his biographer occasion and opportunity to set forth fully and cogently the severe and lofty standard of integrity in this matter which always guided the foremost and the most exemplary of America's historians.

Dr. SAMUEL A. GREEN called the attention of the Society to a manuscript map of a tract of country lying near the western border of Worcester County, which came to the Library among its very earliest accessions. He said that it was entitled "A New Plan of Several Towns in the County of Worcester," and bears date March 30, 1785. The Plan is 20 inches from top to bottom, and 28 from side to side, and represents a territory of about 18 miles by 26 in area. The lower right-hand corner is largely taken up with historical notes, which crowd out some of the places that would otherwise be named. It includes the towns of Rutland, Oakham, Hardwick, New Braintree, Brookfield (before it was cut up into smaller towns), and Western, now known as Warren, besides parts of Princeton, Hubbardston, Barre, Petersham, Greenwich, Ware, Palmer, Brimfield, Sturbridge, Charlton, Spencer, Paxton, and Holden, though some of these parts are very inconsiderable. The main thoroughfares of the region are laid down on the map, as well as the rivers, mill-sites, forges, ponds, brooks, and meadows, besides various prominent hills. The roads leading from the neighborhood to Worcester and Boston are also marked. In many instances the names of ponds, meadows, etc., are Indian; and on the southeastern borders of Quaboag Pond in Brookfield is indicated the site of an old Indian settlement.

The map was given to the Historical Society by the Reverend James Freeman, D.D., on April 9, 1791, and is now found in a folio volume entitled "Atlas Ameriquain Septentrional" (Paris, 1778), which was presented by William Tudor, Esq., at the same meeting. Probably as a safe and convenient

place for use, after its receipt by the Library, it was inserted at the end of the Atlas, where many years ago it was bound up with the volume. For a long time the map was not catalogued separately, which furnishes the reason why, until recently, it has been overlooked.

The Plan was made with great care and skill by General Rufus Putnam, a native of Worcester County, and a distinguished engineer and surveyor, whose patriotic services during the Revolution afterward gave him a high position in public affairs. In the year 1785, the date of the Plan, he was living at Rutland, and previously at New Braintree, both of which towns are represented in the drawing, and presumably with strict accuracy. Its interesting feature lies in the fact that the place where Captain Edward Hutchinson's command was ambushed by the Indians in the summer of 1675, which has long been a subject of dispute, is carefully noted.

A reproduction of the map in fac-simile, on a reduced scale, is herewith given.

Dr. GREEN reported that the American flag was hung out from the Library building on Monday, September 18, in accordance with a custom beginning in 1881. The Seventeenth of September is the anniversary of the founding of the city of Boston, — as well as the day of the adoption of the Constitution of the United States, — which this year came on Sunday. The flag was given to the Society by Mr. Winthrop twelve years ago, and was first used on October 19, 1881, the day of the Yorktown celebration, when Mr. Winthrop delivered his memorable oration. The flag was also hung out on the day of the Centennial celebration of this Society, on January 24, 1891, and has been used on one or two other occasions.

Dr. Green said that he mentioned the fact in order to have it go on record in the Proceedings.

Rev. Dr. LUCIUS R. PAIGE briefly expressed his satisfaction in the discovery of the Putnam map, inasmuch as it so fully coincided with his own opinion as to the spot where Hutchinson and Wheeler were defeated by the Indians in 1675. That opinion he publicly announced in a centennial address at Hardwick in 1838, and in the Genealogical Register, October, 1884, and still more elaborately at a meeting of the American



Miles West of Huttons

*A
New Plan
of Several Towns
In the County of Worcester
By Rufus Putnam*

PART OF GREENWICH

HARDWICK

PART OF BARRE

N-BRAINTREE

OAK

PART OF WARE

*Ware River, Quabaug River
and Swift River form a Junction
in the town of Barre after which the
River obtains the name of Chippewa;
and falls into Connecticut River
about five miles above Springfield
Mass.*

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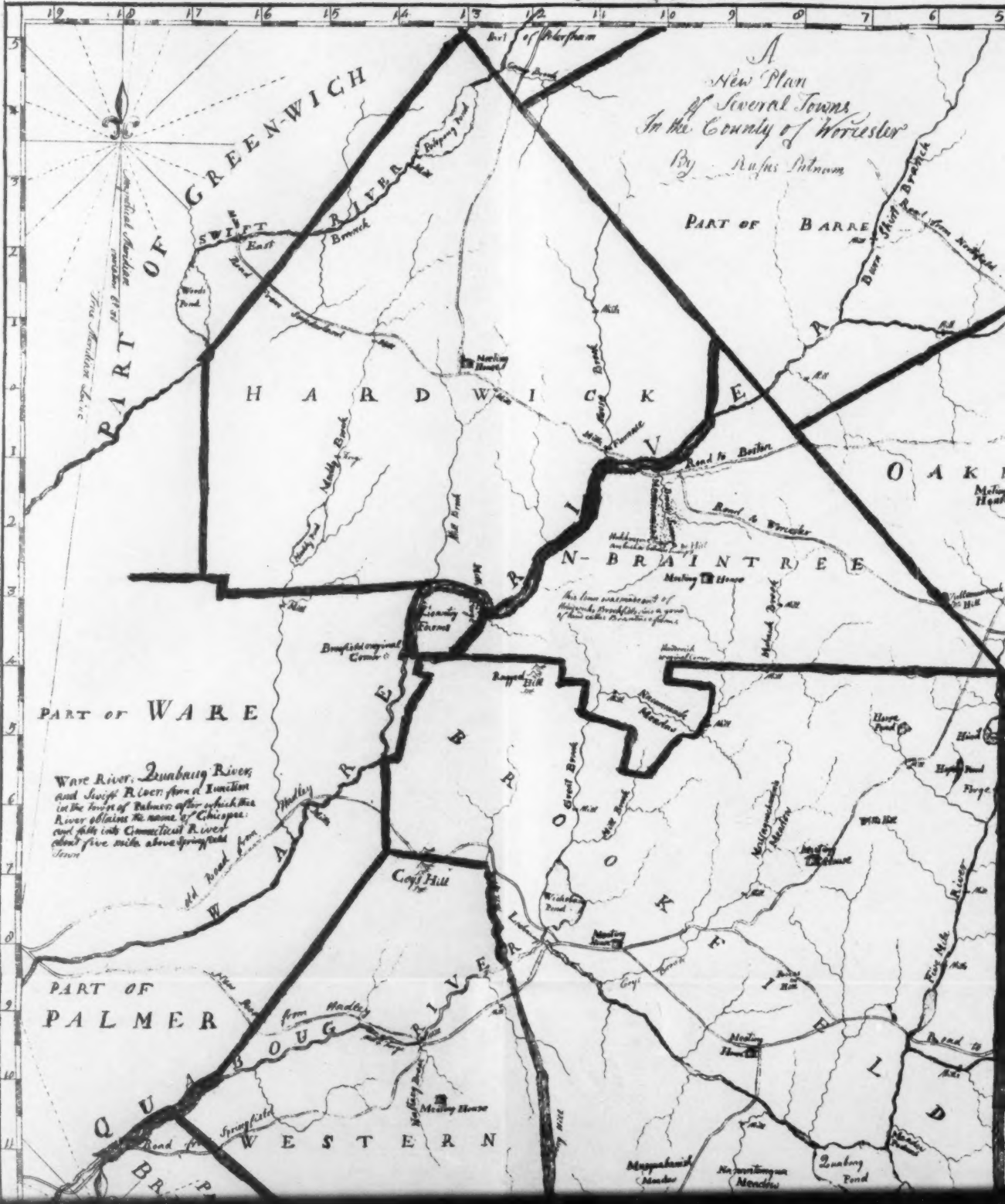
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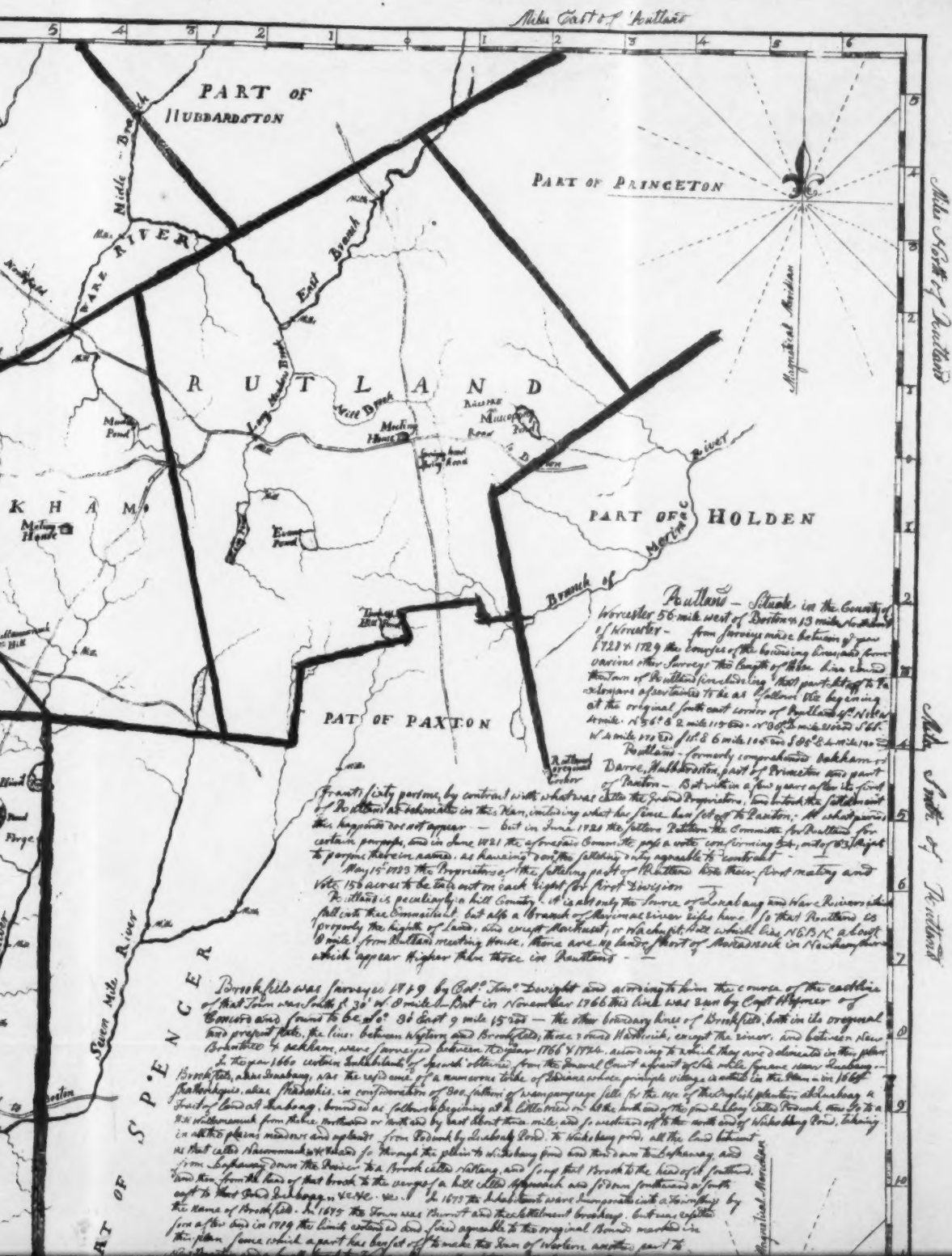
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WESTERN

Miles South of Putnam

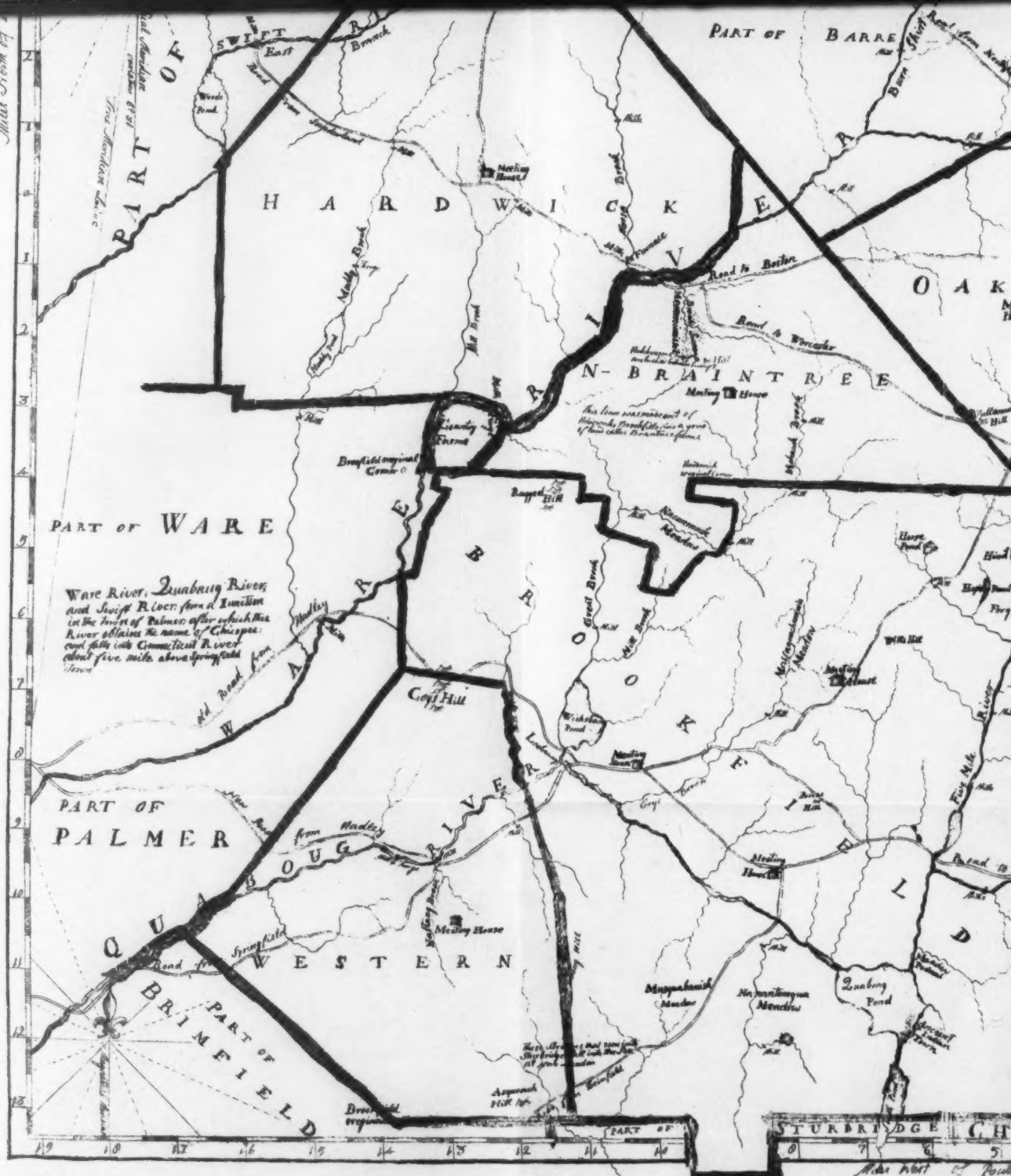
Miles South of Putnam





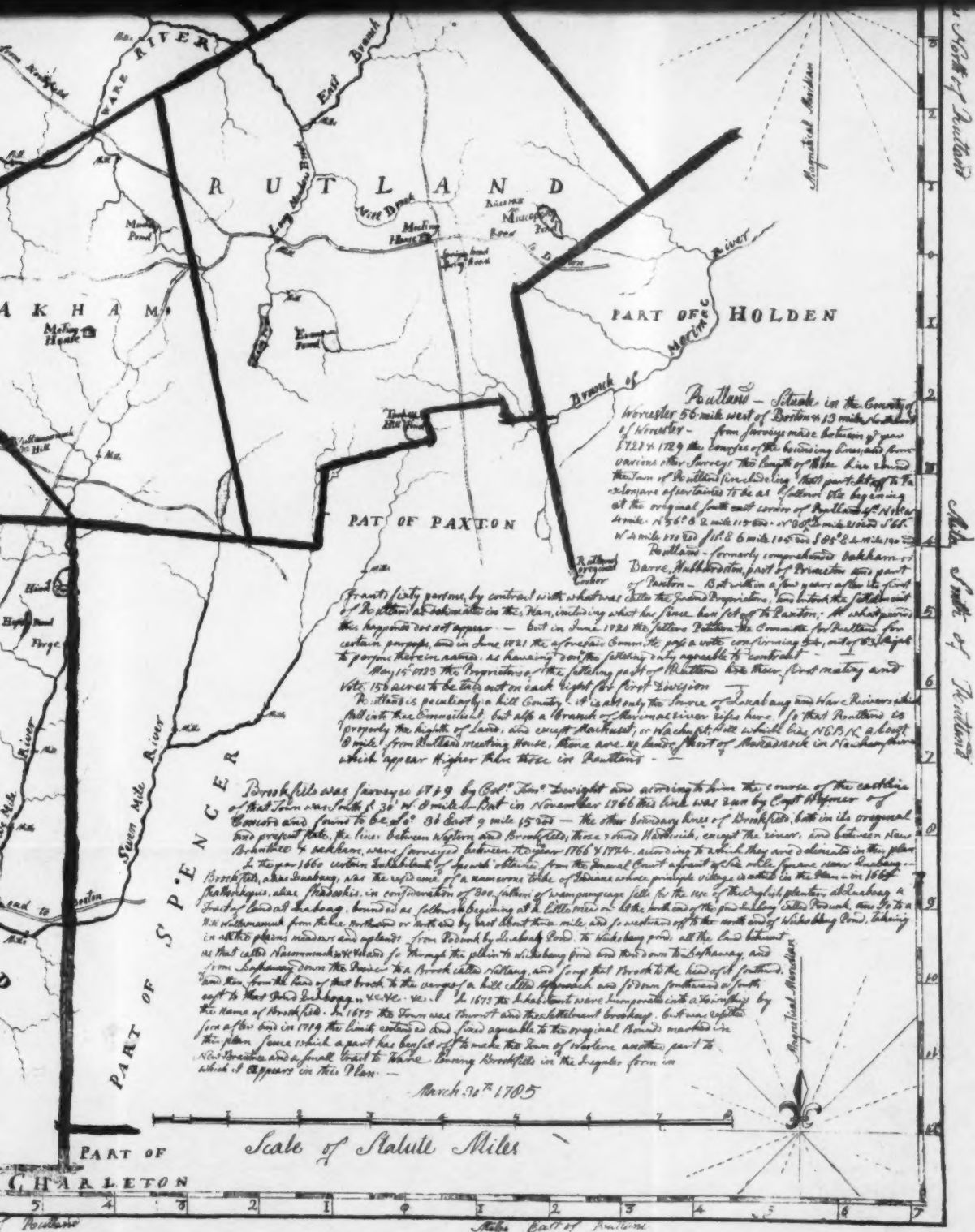
Miles South of

Miles South of



A FAC-SIMILE OF A MANUSCRIPT MAP BELONGING TO THE

Reduced to one-half of the original



TO THE MASSACHUSETTS HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

original scale, 1893.

Antiquarian Society, in October, 1887. He was very glad to find in the Putnam map, if not full proof of the correctness of his own theory, at least a very respectable precedent.

From an early period he had been conscious of a peculiar interest in the place where this desperate struggle occurred, because his grandmother in her girlhood resided on the border of the Winnimisset (or Meminimisset) Valley, within about a mile from the spot designated on the Putnam map as the battle-ground, and because he saw it so often when he was young. He was also conscious of a personal interest in the deadly struggle itself, prolonged for the period of three days. In his "History of North Brookfield," p. 55, Rev. Mr. Temple says: "It is believed that John Warner was the father of Brookfield, and probably built the first house here. His son Samuel came with him in 1665." Both the father and son were there in 1673, and the father certainly, and probably the son, were there in 1675, when the town was besieged immediately after the swamp-fight, and totally destroyed after a prolonged, sanguinary struggle of three days. This son Samuel, said Dr. Paige, was the father of my great-grandfather, who was born eleven years later. If, like others, he had been killed during this memorable siege, before my intermediate ancestor was born, very probably you would not now be listening to this narration.

Dr. Paige also presented a deed of land in Cambridge, from Joseph Cooke to John Stedman, in anticipation of the marriage of Mr. Cooke's son and Mr. Stedman's daughter, for the benefit of their posterity. The deed, dated October 29, 1665, was signed by Edward Collins and Edward Oakes, as agents of Mr. Cooke, who was then in England, and was ratified and confirmed by him, April 17, 1666. Both documents were found in a Boston junk-shop by Mr. William R. Bradford. They have some interest as a memorial of an ancient custom; but their principal value consists in the autographs.

Joseph Cooke was a friend and patron of Rev. Thomas Shepard, and came to New England in the same ship with him. He was brother of Col. George Cooke, who was a prominent man here, but returned to England and lost his life in Cromwell's army. Edward Collins was the good deacon, celebrated by Mather as the father of very famous clergymen. Edward Oakes was a useful citizen, and father of Rev. Urian

Oakes, President of Harvard College. Of the witnesses, Andrew Belcher was the grandfather of Gov. Jonathan Belcher, and his autograph is very scarce. Thomas Danforth was one of the most eminent men who ever lived in Massachusetts. In the stormy period during the reign of the second Charles and his brother James, he was the most prominent leader of the patriotic party. Although he nominally held a subordinate station, his real character is well described by Palfrey, in his "History of New England," vol. iii. p. 332:—

"While Bradstreet can scarcely be pronounced to have been equal, either in ability of mind or in force of character, to the task of steering the straining vessel of state in those stormy times, more than any other man then living in Massachusetts, Thomas Danforth was competent to the stern occasion."

The Cabinet-keeper, Mr. SAMUEL F. McCLEARY, then said:—

During the recess the Society received from Elmer E. Messenger, one of the executors of the estate of Hon. Joseph M. Wightman, who was mayor of Boston in 1861–62, a circular table made from "the hangman's branch" of the Old Elm which stood for a century on Boston Common.

Mr. Wightman died January 25, 1885; and the eighth item of his will, recorded with Suffolk Probate Records, reads as follows:—

"*Eighth.* I give and bequeath to the Massachusetts Historical Society in Boston, the table made from the wood of the hangman's branch of the Old Elm, on Boston Common, presented to me in 1861 by William F. Shaw."

This limb, which was torn from its trunk by a gale, projected in a horizontal direction about fifteen feet above the ground, and proved to be well adapted for the several executions which took place at this historic tree.

The Society has received also a plaster head of Rev. Theodore Parker, formed from the original cast taken after his death at Florence. This gift was made by Mrs. Joseph Lyman of this city, whose husband, now deceased, was a personal friend of Mr. Parker.

There has also been received a small but finely executed engraving of the Ursuline Convent and its grounds. This

historic building stood in Charlestown, on Mount Benedict, and was destroyed by a mob on the night of August 11, 1834, many of the inmates barely escaping with their lives. Good engravings of this building are very rarely found.

Mr. ARTHUR LORD exhibited a photographic reproduction of the Plymouth Patent of 1621, and said:—

In 1854 Dr. Charles Deane published in the second volume, fourth series, of the Massachusetts Historical Collections, an account of the First Plymouth Patent, which was granted June 1, 1621, by the President and Council of New England, established in Plymouth, in the county of Devon, to John Pierce and his associates. This patent is now deposited in Pilgrim Hall, at Plymouth, Mass. Dr. Deane says of it: "The instrument is engrossed upon parchment, twenty-one by twenty-four inches in size, and is signed by the Duke of Lenox, the Marquis of Hamilton, the Earl of Warwick, Lord Sheffield, and Sir Ferdinando Gorges. It has the remnant of another signature, which has nearly disappeared with the seal that was affixed to it. The seals of Hamilton and Sheffield are also wanting, while those of Lenox, Warwick, and Gorges yet remain attached to the instrument, in good preservation."

I desire to call the attention of the Society to the fact that the seal of Lord Sheffield, which Dr. Deane reports as missing, has been found and restored to the ancient parchment, as shown in the large photograph of the Patent here submitted. Dr. Deane notes the fact that the original instrument, after having been lost or mislaid for several years, was found among some papers once belonging to the late Judge Davis. The Sheffield seal, attached to a strip of parchment, was found among some papers which were in the possession of the late Francis B. Davis, grandson of Judge Davis, and was given by his widow to the Pilgrim Society. The seal was originally attached to the Patent by a narrow strip of parchment; and the small piece of parchment to which the seal was attached when found, fits exactly in the remaining piece of the strip under the signature of Lord Sheffield. The fact that both the patent and the seal were found in the possession of descendants of the late Judge Davis furnishes additional evidence of the genuineness of the seal, if any were needed.

This photograph of the charter, which is no less legible than the original, was taken at my suggestion for exhibition by the Department of Justice at the World's Fair, as it was not thought advisable by the Pilgrim Society to grant the application of that department and permit the ancient parchment to be taken from the hall.

In view of the fact that it appears in the publications of the Society that the seal of Sheffield is missing from the Patent, I thought it desirable to call the attention of the Society to the fact that the missing seal has been found and restored, in order that the record of the condition of the charter may be made as complete as possible in our Proceedings.

Mr. R. C. WINTHROP, JR., said:—

I avail myself of this opportunity to communicate a few unpublished letters. The first is dated March 10, 1657, o. s., and was written from Bermuda to John Winthrop, Jr., then Governor of Connecticut, by a Rev. Thomas Browne, who offered his services as a professor or instructor in the college which it had been for some time in contemplation to establish at New Haven. This scheme had recently received fresh encouragement by a legacy from Edward Hopkins, but it was found impossible to raise adequate funds, and Yale College, as we know, did not come into existence until nearly half a century later. All that I have thus far been able to ascertain concerning the writer is that he was appointed chaplain in the West Indies during the Protectorate and resided there a number of years. It is the only letter of his among the Winthrop Papers, and I have been interested in it for several reasons. The handwriting is unusually neat for that period, the armorial seal (so far as I can decipher it) resembles those attributed to some well-known persons of the name of Browne, — among them Sir Thomas Browne, the author, a contemporary, — while the list of the writer's attainments, as furnished by himself, is a formidable one. Few candidates for a professorship at an American university of the present day would venture to assert, as this gentleman did nearly two centuries and a half ago, that after pursuing his studies both at Oxford and Cambridge as well as on the Continent, he had not merely equipped himself in theology, law, and physic, but had become

familiar with nine languages besides his native tongue. It is not impossible that the publication of this letter in our Proceedings may lead to some further knowledge of him.

The three other letters I have to communicate are not of the Colonial but of the Revolutionary period, and have but recently come to light. The first of them was written from Boston, September 13, 1774, by Rev. Charles Chauncy to Sir John Temple, then in London, introducing Josiah Quincy, Jr., then about to sail for Europe, and desiring that he be brought into contact with Lord Chatham and other prominent persons. A somewhat similar letter from Governor Bowdoin, introducing Quincy to Dr. Franklin, and dated one week earlier, was communicated by my father to the Society more than twenty years ago.¹

The next is a letter dated December 9, 1775, from Governor Bowdoin to Thomas Cushing, who was then in attendance upon the Continental Congress in Philadelphia. When I described last winter my most unexpected discovery of a long-forgotten mass of Bowdoin and Temple papers, I communicated a few samples, one of which was a letter from Cushing to Bowdoin, introducing General Washington.² The one I have here is Bowdoin's answer to it, exhibiting the impression made upon him by Washington. I came across it only the other day, a rough draft on a scrap of paper.

The third is dated May 1, 1780, and is from Governor Bowdoin to Dr. Franklin in Paris. The correspondence hitherto printed of these two friends is chiefly on philosophical subjects; but this letter is a short, familiar one, containing some apposite reflections upon old age, and overflowing with that heartfelt gratitude to Louis XVI. of France so characteristic of statesmen of the Revolutionary period, and so apt to be belittled or ignored by Fourth-of-July orators of later generations.

Before I sit down I should like to add a few words about another matter. My classmate and friend, Professor Edward Graham Daves (known to many of us as an accomplished scholar), has, like many other elderly gentlemen, a hobby; but in his case it is a hobby of pronounced historical interest. Born and bred in North Carolina, his attachment to his native

¹ See Proceedings, vol. xiii. p. 154.

² See p. 61 of the present volume.

State has not been weakened by long residence elsewhere, and he is taking the leading part in a movement to commemorate the first footprints of the English race on this continent, at Roanoke Island in 1584, where, three years later, the first white American child was born. We hear much in these days of Columbus, but he was a Genoese adventurer in the Spanish service who probably could not speak a word of English and who certainly never set foot on the mainland of America. We now and then hear a good deal about Leif the Norseman, to whom some enthusiasts have erected a statue, but he is a quasi-mythological character, and it will never cease to be a matter of dispute whether he ever came here. The adventures of Captain John Smith in Virginia, and the landing of the Pilgrims at Plymouth, are familiar as household words, but the public at large is in danger of forgetting that there was a very much earlier English colony in America, which, though it ultimately proved a failure, is associated with the honored names of John Cabot, of Sir Walter Raleigh, and of Sir Richard Grenville. The object which Professor Daves and his friends have in view is to rescue from further decay the remains of Sir Walter Raleigh's Fort on Roanoke Island, and preserve them for all time to come. A tract of two hundred and fifty acres, including this most interesting site, is now for sale at a very moderate figure, and as the property covers valuable fishing and shooting privileges, such portions of it as are not needed may gradually be sold or rented. A company has been organized to issue two hundred shares of stock at \$25 a share. Of the \$5,000 which it is hoped thus to obtain, \$1,500 will be expended in the purchase of the land, and the remaining \$3,500 will be invested as the nucleus of a fund, the income of which will be used for necessary repairs and preservation. No liability attaches to these shares and four fifths of the money has been secured, but the remainder is imperatively needed. The project has already been brought informally to the notice of a few of our members, several of whom have taken shares, but it is desirable to secure further publicity for it. I am fully sensible that this is a bad time to raise money, and the question may be asked why it is necessary to come East for any part of it and why the State of North Carolina should not do what is needful. The answer is that North Carolina has always been a poor State, that Pro-

fessor Daves and his associates are not men of large means, and that the object is one which ought to appeal to educated Americans of English descent throughout our country. I venture to hope that some members present may see their way clear to procure a few additional subscriptions to this most deserving historical undertaking.

The following are the letters communicated by Mr. Winthrop:—

THOMAS BROWNE TO JOHN WINTHROP, JR.

For the honorable John Winthrop esquire governor of a province in New England, these.

The copie of a letter sent by the conveyance of M^r Benjamin Cotterell, at the bridge in Barbados, about 4 months since:—

HONORABLE S^r,—The name of M^r John Winthrop is in the churches of Christ as the perfume of pretious ointments spread abroad, breathing pietie, charitie, prudence and industrie. And this designe of a house of learning, or schoole of prophets, a most excellent fruit of so good a tree.

The want of fitt persons for so necessarie a worke hath moved the hart of one heere to put his shoulder to the work of the Lord, concerning whose abilities I must speake sparingly. He hath from his infancie been brought up in good learning, both in the universities of Cambridge and Oxford, and abroad; and besides his ministeriall function and his knowledge in the subservient arts, in law and physie, he is skillfull in the Hebrew, Chaldic, Syriac, Arabic, Grec, Latin, Spanish, Italian, and French tongues,—a man of private life studious, peaceable and humble, who being wearied and grieved with the distractions in his native countrie, had some thoughts to come into New England as the most religious and hopefull plantation of our nation, but being affrighted by the report of the excessive cold there, went to Barbados intending to give a beginning to some vertuous studies in that island. But the genius of that place as yet not inclining that way, and upon some inconveniences, he came hither, where for want of learned companie and employment he sees himselfe like to loose with ease what he hath gotten with much labor. The providence of God (who guides all things to his owne glorie) bringing to his knowledge this your Christian purpose, hath given him occasion to offer his poore abilities and labors to the church of Christ amongst you. If you have an opportunitie to send for him by any meanes which God shall provide the next spring, he will leave all to come to you. And you, that know the use of learning, will provide for him accordingly.

Of which not doubting, I hartily commend you, and all of your

spirit, and all your pious endeavors, to the blessing of that God who hath put these and better thoughts into your hart, and remaine ever,
Honorable S^r,

Yours in any service for Christ Jesus,

Dⁿ THOMAS BROWNE, minister.

Transcribed:

Bermuda, March 10, 1657 [1658].

Endorsed in the handwriting of John Winthrop, Jr.:

"Doctor Tho: Browne, of Barmudas."

CHARLES CHAUNCY TO JOHN TEMPLE.

To The Honorable John Temple, Esq^r, in London.

Boston, Sept: 13th 1774.

SIR, — You very much disappointed me in sending no answer to several letters I wrote you of some importance, all wth, I suppose, you received, as I took care y^t they w^d be safely delivered. Your friends here were grievously affected wth the news of your being displaced, but we all hope a better state of things will soon take place, wⁿ you may again be well provided for.

I shall write you nothing about the operation of the Boston port-bill, and the two others y^t soon followed upon it, as the bearer of this, M^r Josiah Quincy, a young gentleman you may not perhaps know, will be able to give you as full and particular an account of our affairs in consequence of them as you can desire, as also of all other facts relative to this and the other Colonies. He is a person of more yⁿ common powers, of a sprightly genius, thorow acquaintance wth the Constitution and laws of the Country, and a perfect friend to the principles of true liberty. He goes from hence to England strongly disposed to serve this and the other Colonies wⁱⁿ he may be able; and he will be the better able to do this if, by means of gentlemen of character at home, he may get opportunities of conversing wth those, either in or out of Administration, who may have it in their power to be serviceable to us. The favor I would ask of you is only this: that you would lend him your help in getting into the company of such persons as these, in particular y^t you would procure for him an opportunity and permission to see and converse wth Lord Chatham, Lord Temple, and such others as you may introduce him to of like character.

I suppose M^r Bowdoin will write you upon this same occasion and wth the same view. I will at present add no more, after due compliments to M^r Temple, than that I am

Your friend and humble servant,

CHARLES CHAUNCY.

The Hon^{ble} JOHN TEMPLE Esq^r

JAMES BOWDOIN TO THOMAS CUSHING.

*Thomas Cushing, Esq.*Dec^r 9, 1775.

S^r, — I thank you for the letter with which you hon^d me some time ago. I hope you will excuse this late notice of it, as I was ill at the time of receiving it and have been so for most part of the time since. The character you gave in it of General Washington is a very good and just one. At the last session of y^e Gen^l Court, when the Congress Com^{tee} of Conference were at Cambridge, I had frequent opportunities, at Head Quarters where y^e Conferences were held, of being in company with him; which has given me sufficient reason to think that the Congress made a wise appointment when they made him General in Chief of the Continental Forces. I take him to be a valuable character, which proportionately grows in one's esteem the more one is acquainted with him; and it is a happy circumstance that he belongs to one of the Southern Colonies, as by that means the cement between them and the Northern is likely to be the stronger.

It must give us pleasure that the American army is now so well officered, but the late addition to the officers' pay has raised a considerable uneasiness among the soldiers, many of whom on that account, as their own has not been raised also, have refused to renew their enlistment; and the Connecticut Forces, I understand, have generally determined to return home. This has occasioned our General Court to order from y^e Militia a sufficient number to replace them for a short time till that Colony can furnish their Quota. From y^e Conference above-mentioned you observe it was the opinion of that Com^{tee} that it would be best the pay of both officers & men should continue as before; but, as the Congress thought otherwise, it is a pity the alteration could not have been postponed for some time, till the new Enlistment had been completed. However, I hope no disagreeable consequences will arise.

You observe by the latest intelligences from England that there is no disposition of accommodation on y^e part of y^e Ministry upon any other terms than absolute unconditional submission. The Colonies therefore must recur to their own resources for their deliverance, under the guidance and direction of the Continental Congress, who, it is not doubted, will take the most spirited and efficacious measures for that purpose. I have the honour to be, with much esteem, D^r Sir,

Y^r most ob^t hū^{ble} Serv^t,

J. B.

JAMES BOWDOIN TO BENJAMIN FRANKLIN.

Benjamin Franklin, Esq^r, Ambassador &c, at Paris.

BOSTON, May 1, 1780.

DEAR SIR,—It gave me great pleasure to hear by y^e Marquis de la Fayette, who arrived here three days ago, that you continued to enjoy a perfect state of health. The snows of seventy winters seem to have had no other effect on y^e constitution than to whiten your locks. It is for y^e credit of Philosophy when its adepts can so well guard against the usual infirmities of age. But, what is age? If it be only decay it is not to be estimated by years, but by a man's feelings. If a man feels himself well and sprightly, or is not sensible of any decay, he is young at a hundred; and the contrary sensations will denominate him old at twenty. I wish y^e continuance of your health and that half a century hence, as well as frequently at times intermediate, we may have y^e pleasure of drinking a bottle together and toasting the health, prosperity & long life of our illustrious ally his present most christian majesty. When y^e title Most Christian was given to y^e Kings of France, it was prophetic of y^e present reign; for what can be more christian than to relieve the oppressed and support & defend y^e liberty & happiness of mankind? *Buvons, alors, buvons à la santé du roy!* Whether this be good French or not, I do not know, but y^e wish implied in it is the wish of every honest American upon the Continent.

Having so good an opportunity by M^r Guild I embrace it to enclose to you a copy of the Constitution of government lately agreed on by our State Convention to be submitted to y^e consideration of y^e People. We shall shortly know whether they will accept it or not, or what alterations are to be made in it. It is time there should be a *supersedeas* on y^e old Constitution, things being circumstanced as they are.

M^r Guild's inclinations leading him to see Holland & France, he expressed a great desire of being introduced to D^r Franklin. I beg leave to recommend him to you as a worthy sensible gentleman, who will be able to inform you of y^e present state of things here. As he has testimonials from y^e President & Fellows of Harvard College relative to his character I need not say anything further on y^e head.¹ The bad state of my eyes makes writing painful to me. You will therefore have y^e goodness to excuse this short scroll and to believe that I am, with great affection & regard, D^r Sir,

Y^r most obed^t hū^ble Serv^t,

J. B.

¹ Benjamin Guild graduated at Harvard in 1760, was for some years tutor there, and died in 1792.

Mr. WINSLOW WARREN, in presenting to the Society certain papers relating to Governor Hutchinson which had been handed to him for that purpose by Archibald M. Howe, Esq., and Edward Hutchinson Robbins Lyman, Esq., the executors of the will of the late James Murray Robbins, a distinguished citizen of Milton, and an active member of this Society, said: —

One of the papers appears to be the original draft of an address by Governor Hutchinson to the Council and House of Representatives, published in Bradford's collection of the Speeches of the Governors of Massachusetts, page 336, of date January 6, 1773. It is not in Hutchinson's handwriting, but contains various emendations evidently in his hand, which also appear in the printed speech. The first few paragraphs of the speech as printed are the same as the manuscript, but the remaining portion printed varies materially, though embodying the same ideas.

The other papers presented are printed in Teele's History of Milton, page 421 *et seq.*, and are the originals of an address to Governor Hutchinson upon his departure for Europe, with his intended reply in his own handwriting, and copies of the minutes of the Milton town meeting exacting apologies from the signers. One signature appears to have been cut from the address, — evidently that of Zedth Crehore, — whose name appears upon the copy from the minutes of the meeting. Whether he changed his mind before the address was completed for presentation does not appear; but the minutes show that neither he nor Benjamin Horton, whose signature appears upon the address, joined in the required apology.

It is not probable that the address was ever actually presented. The reply is marked "Intended reply"; and presumably the prompt action of the citizens prevented the consummation.

Mr. CHARLES C. SMITH said he had received from our associate, Mr. Josiah P. Quincy, who is now in Europe, the memoir of the late Rev. R. C. Waterston, which Mr. Quincy had been appointed to write for the Proceedings.

A new serial, containing the proceedings at the meetings in May and June, was ready for delivery at this meeting.

MEMOIR
OF
REV. R. C. WATERSTON.

BY J. P. QUINCY.

ROBERT WATERSTON, the father of the subject of this memoir, emigrated from Scotland early in the present century. Some happy wave of destiny bore him to Maine, and there provided him with a devoted and admirable wife in the person of Miss Hepsea Lord, daughter of a large ship-owner of that State. There, also, he commenced his business life, and it was in Kennebunk that his son, Robert Cassie Waterston, was born on the 20th of March, 1812. When the boy was four years old, the family removed to Boston; and here began the father's long connection with the noted commercial house of Waterston, Pray, and Company, afterward Waterston, Deane, and Company.

When very young, Robert was placed in the family of Rev. Dr. John Pierce, in order that he might attend the Brookline Academy. The town was then in the country, far removed from any objectionable influences that might pertain to city instruction; and a long and fatiguing walk to Boston every Saturday, together with the seemingly inexhaustible information of his clerical host, made deep impressions upon the boy's memory. His education was continued at the Boston High School until it was decided in the family council that the time had come when Robert must commence the business career in which he was to follow the steps of his father; and so, at the early age of fifteen years, the boy was placed in the store of Mr. Henry Rice, a well-known merchant of Boston. Here occurred an accident which had much influence in shaping his subsequent life. He fell through an open scuttle, many feet, to the floor below:

he was taken up insensible, borne home upon a shutter, confined to his bed for more than six months, and to the house for an additional period of considerable length. This long seclusion from active life turned his attention to books, and enabled him to develop a natural taste for drawing, in which, notwithstanding the want of adequate instruction, he subsequently attained great proficiency. About this time Mrs. Ruthven and her daughters, the grandmother and aunts of the young man, came to America and were provided with a home in Charlestown. This circumstance brought Robert under the influence of Dr. James Walker, who was the pastor of these relatives during many years. The family in Boston attended the Federal Street Meeting-house, then in charge of the eminent Dr. Channing. An intimate contact with these good and able clergymen convinced the young man that, for him at least, there was a call to service more important than any connected with the world's traffic. This conviction was strengthened by the influence — which, for want of a better adjective, we have come to call “magnetic” — exerted by Father Taylor in his ministry to seamen. It was proposed that a Sunday-school should be attached to the Bethel for children whose homes were in the northern part of the city. Young Mr. Waterston, who was now engaged in studies for the ministry, promptly offered his services as Superintendent, and succeeded in gathering to his assistance a remarkable body of instructors. Here began his power of fluent and intensely sympathetic speech, which won the hearts of so many of the less fortunate members of the community. The Bethel Sunday-school approached very nearly the ideal of Christian instruction divorced from sectarianism. Methodists, Episcopalians, Unitarians here forgot their differences, and joined in a hearty effort to spread the gospel of a common Master. A company of true-hearted men and women, among whom were our late associates Dr. Deane and Governor Andrew, gave their energies to the cause. Rev. John H. Heywood, a survivor of this brotherhood of Christian workers, testifies to the power of Mr. Waterston's leadership in fervent prayer as well as in discourses, simple in expression, but full of apt illustration, noble aspiration, and the loving spirit of humanity. “Prophet-poems” Mr. Heywood calls them; and those who have heard Mr. Waterston's addresses before audi-

ences which he could lift into his own spiritual atmosphere, will not find the expression more inapt than those by which in familiar talk we designate some impressive experience.

While attending the Divinity School in Cambridge, Mr. Waterston made life-long friends, — his pleasant room, filled with the books he loved so well, being an attractive place of resort for many who have since given distinguished service to the world. At this time he made the acquaintance of Miss Anna C. L. Quincy, the youngest daughter of the President of the College. This lady afterward became his wife, — their marriage taking place April 21, 1840. After completing his preliminary studies for the ministry, several pulpits were suggested as probably open to the young clergyman; but he preferred a connection with the ministry at large, and accepted the pastorate of the Pitts Street Chapel, which the Rev. F. T. Gray had just resigned. This was a missionary enterprise, designed to instruct and uplift the poor of the city; and here six years of faithful labor were passed. The first Sunday in every month was devoted to a special service for children; and I well remember a sermon I heard him preach on one of these occasions, as among the vivid events of my boyhood. Young persons are remorseless critics, and are often terribly conscious of what our associate, Mr. Barrett Wendell, calls the "histrionic insincerity" which cannot be eliminated from leadership in matters ecclesiastical. But as I listened to that glowing discourse of more than half a century ago, the thought came to me that here was a minister absolutely spontaneous and sincere. He stimulated a power of perception distinctly above the usual unregenerate condition of a boy's mind, and awakened an earnest desire to press forward in the paths of righteousness which he made so attractive.

From this scene of useful labor, Mr. Waterston was called to the pastorate of the Church of the Saviour, which was organized in the spring of 1845. The congregation was drawn from various sources. Some wished to emphasize their disapproval of two Unitarian clergymen who had invited Theodore Parker into their pulpits; others had persuaded themselves that new spiritual life would be brought into the Church if the expression of religious sentiment and the setting forth of Christian duty were not left so exclusively in charge of the clergy. To the Parker controversy

Mr. Waterston had contributed a long letter which placed him among the majority of his brethren; while his tendency to what were known as "evangelical views" was opposed to any routine which denied the opportunity for exhortation to the earnest layman. But the new Society found that the current of circumstances was setting strongly against its ultimate success. The vicinity of Bedford Street, in which its beautiful church building had been placed, was gradually deserted by many who preferred the freedom of a country home. The encroachments of trade led to the gradual depopulation of that part of the city, and five other churches of kindred faith in the immediate neighborhood largely satisfied the existing demand. If there were other causes that brought about the dissolution of the Society, it is not worth while to summon them from oblivion. Among Protestants, at least, an ideal church is associated with widely different conceptions; and these conceptions are constantly changing as new requirements are recognized. Small criticisms from the pews, though they often inhibit one another, are apt to accumulate, and make it more and more difficult to realize what once seemed to be a collective ideal. But whatever discouragements or disappointments may have been felt by the pastor or by different members of his congregation, they were ignored when the time for the dissolution of their connection actually arrived. A meeting of the Society charged its committee to report to Mr. Waterston "its lively sense of the union, and most remarkable and unquestioned unanimity of purpose which from the first has actuated pastor and people in forwarding the best interests of the Society." It further testified that "we have all witnessed the ability, zeal, and deep devotion which you have given to the duties of your office; and though our Society is small in numbers, we have rejoiced in the great success which has attended your efforts in gathering into the visible Church souls which we trust you will find in the great day numbered among the spiritual members of the Church above, to be your eternal crown of glory." We must obviously go deeper than these cordial expressions to explain the resolution which the retiring minister made and kept that he would never again accept the permanent charge of a parish. The existence of the Church of the Saviour was limited to about seven years.

In the years that followed, Mr. Waterston frequently preached and performed other pastoral offices. He accepted an invitation to take charge of a pulpit in Taunton while its occupant, Rev. Charles H. Brigham, spent a year of travel in Palestine and the East. He likewise supplied for six months the pulpit in Augusta, Maine, left vacant by the death of his early friend, Rev. Sylvester Judd, well known as the author of "Margaret." An earnest call to continue this connection was resisted.

Europe was twice visited by Mr. Waterston, the second time in the company of his wife and daughter; and it is safe to say that we rarely send travellers to the older world who are such intelligent students of the wonders of art and the historical monuments it has to offer. Instead of the chaotic state of undefined purposes characteristic of the ordinary American tourist, Mr. Waterston knew just what he wanted to do and to see, and instinctively took the best way to gain the ends he sought. Skill with the pencil was a constant source of education as well as of pleasure. His sketches enabled him to evoke interesting scenes which otherwise might have lain dormant in consciousness, unavailable for permanent satisfaction or for practical use. He greatly enjoyed the society of many persons distinguished in science or letters with whom his travels brought him into intercourse. Talks with De Quincey in Scotland, or with the group of artists in Rome, were as fully reported to friends in America as if he had carried the Boswellian note-book; for in the presence of men of merit his mind was receptive rather than critical, and he met them with that eager expectation which plays so important a part in our appreciation of excellence.

Mr. Waterston's second visit to Europe was marked by an affliction whose shadow never left his subsequent life. His only son had died in infancy; but there remained to him a daughter, esteemed by all who knew her as a lovely specimen of budding womanhood. Early in the spring of 1857 this cherished maiden was taken from a Protestant school in Paris to accompany her parents in their progress up the Rhine and through Switzerland and Italy. The following year they were called upon to resign this beautiful and beloved girl. The sympathy of all who knew them went out to Mr. and Mrs. Waterston as the mortal tenement of this fair spirit was placed

in the Protestant cemetery at Naples. But such events can be no passing episodes in the history of life ; they must leaven and transform whatever remains of it.

Subsequent years, passed by Mr. Waterston at his winter home in Chester Square, or upon his estate at Whitefield in New Hampshire, were marked by few experiences other than those common to the good citizen and genial gentleman. He maintained an active interest in our institutions of religion, charity, and education, and his service upon the Boston School Committee was devoted and constant. The great personalities of the past, with whom his well-selected library brought him into contact, retained their accustomed hold upon thought and feeling. The fact that many of the old standards of conduct were perishing, while new ones were springing into life, did not disturb him. Seeing all that was excellent in the backward vista of man's existence, he was untroubled with forebodings of storms upon the turbulent waters of democracy over which our course leads. The good old pilotage of Channing and Walker would be sufficient for the ruffled deeps we are approaching ; and the counsels of social perfection, loudly clamoring for recognition, received scant attention.

The discipline of acute physical pain was frequent during the closing years of Mr. Waterston's life. But the poet, who in most men is said to die young, did not succumb to its attack ; the enthusiasms of youth were never recognized as delusive, or as incomplete representations of mundane facts. Whenever the clutch of disease was relaxed, the old self returned, fresh, ardent, hoping all things, eager as ever to impart knowledge or to stimulate taste. There was none of that indifference to former interests which so often marks declining years. On the twenty-first day of February, 1893, the long struggle with the infirmities of the body was brought to a merciful end ; and the spirit passed into whatever condition may have been appointed as the fitting sequence to its earthly life.

The question what any human existence might have accomplished had it been placed among slightly different surroundings is as tempting as it is futile ; but it is difficult to resist the feeling that the abundant sympathy and swelling enthusiasm of Mr. Waterston might have wrought to better

advantage in some division of the Christian Church other than that in which he chanced to be cast. His temperament and gifts seemed better suited to those stirring appeals to perception and intuition characteristic of the disciples of Wesley than to the placid demonstrations of intellectual reasonableness associated with the followers of Channing. Fifty years ago the scholastic Unitarianism of Boston had a tendency to become colorless and conventional; it was inelastic and scarcely tolerant of personal equations in its interpreters. Fully accepting the noble mission of declaring the truth as they saw it, the leaders of this body felt the Puritan shrinking from draping its majestic proportions with a generous mantle of emotion. There was no place quite fitted to the preacher whose copious vocabulary poured forth in fervid speech, — one who was so anxious to give the people of his best in full measure that somewhat of his second best was entangled with it; but just this diffuseness, with the intense earnestness behind it, would have made Mr. Waterston a power with another section of the religious community. Necessarily the statement of faith he had once accepted could never be considered what we now phrase as one of the ever-changing forms through which man's relation to the Unseen finds temporary clothing; it must be comprehensive enough to cover its total expression. Hence the intellectual doubt of which Theodore Parker was the exponent was an intolerable offence to one whose love and reverence were entwined about a definite formula of belief. "The words and deeds of Christ," said Mr. Waterston, "are given upon the same authority; if the record is false in regard to the miracles, why not in regard to the teaching? Sweeping declarations may be uttered in a sentence; the fact of the resurrection of Jesus may be denied in one line; but that simple statement cuts off all that is recorded after, shuts up the sepulchre, erases the closing and most affecting interviews between Christ and his disciples, the parting blessing, and the ascension to heaven." Holding with tenacity this faith of the ages, it was impossible for the minister of the Pitts Street Chapel to admit Mr. Parker to his pulpit as Mr. Clarke and Mr. Sargent had done. Just how far the much belauded but somewhat feeble virtue of tolerance will prove a panacea for man's wrong-doing or his stimulus to heroic action is a question that the centuries rather

than the years must answer. That the word easily becomes a polite name for indifference, few will dispute. The personage of nursery romance whose function it was "to sweep the cobwebs from the sky" has, in our time, wielded her broom with ceaseless activity. It is pardonable to inquire whether the fixed stars, which have hitherto guided humanity, may not be displaced in the vigor of her cosmical cleansing.

Two courses of Lowell Lectures by Mr. Waterston, if measured by the popular interest they excited, must be regarded as among the most successful given under the auspices of that noble foundation. No doubt they were unreportable for fastidious breakfast-tables; they were, nevertheless, delightful from those qualities of exuberant enthusiasm and intense delight in imparting feeling which can charm even commonplace into eloquence. The soul of the speaker vitalized every sentence, and lifted the mass of his auditors from their workaday surroundings as few men are able to do. The discourses upon art, illustrated from his private collection of drawings and photographs, could not but stimulate taste and imagination in that great majority of men and women whose names have no sequence of collegiate letters.

In the later course of lectures, in which Mr. Waterston gave an account of a visit to California, the fresh factors of life upon the Pacific coast, and the contrast of its delicious climates with our New England frosts and heats, were set forth with a vividness which seemed to give out the very reality the lecturer's senses had taken in. To broaden the outlook of the less fortunate masses — to give them the atmosphere of intellectual and cultured life — was the special gift of Mr. Waterston. Critics might declare that there was a want of due selection, among the thousands of impressions which his mind received; but this did not detract from the inherent buoyancy of that eager rush of words, which swept hearers away from their familiar moorings as nothing else could have done. Not alone to popularize knowledge, but to do it with the sort of reverent exultation which in his case accompanied its acquisition, was the secret of Mr. Waterston's success. To gaze upon the luminaries in the zenith requires an uncomfortable position of the head, which those who have passed their days in bending over the hard work of the world do not find it easy to adopt. They consequently felt a grateful attachment

to the man who could point out the stars not too far above their terrestrial horizon.

Among Mr. Waterston's published writings were an excellent little book upon "Moral and Spiritual Culture," some verses bearing the title of "The Widow's Son," and two occasional poems, — one of which was delivered before the Mercantile Library Association in 1845, and the other at the semi-centennial anniversary of the English High School in 1871. He likewise published addresses treating the difficult subjects of Pauperism, the Condition of the Insane in Massachusetts, the Diffusive Nature of Christianity, and the True Position of the Church in relation to the Age. The Proceedings of this Society record the tributes that he paid to several of our deceased members; and his memoir of the life and character of Joseph Andrews, read at a meeting of the Art Club, testifies to the breadth of his sympathy with all sorts and conditions of men.

The Humboldt Centennial, celebrated in Boston, Sept. 14, 1869, was the suggestion of Mr. Waterston; and its success was largely, if not wholly, due to his untiring efforts. Having determined that an address by Professor Agassiz was the fitting tribute to the memory of the great naturalist, he spared no pains in securing it, making light of the various obstacles which seemed to block the way. Few who enjoyed that masterly oration, and the addresses at the evening meeting from such men as Dr. Hedge and Mr. R. W. Emerson, realized that it was only through the persistent zeal of the Chairman of the Committee that exercises which seemed so natural and spontaneous had come to be. A portrait of Humboldt, painted from life, was presented by Mr. Waterston to the Boston Society of Natural History, under whose auspices the memorial services had been given.

Mr. Waterston was in full sympathy with the men of his time who were determined not only to resist the encroachments of the slave power, but looked to the abolition of slavery by the action of the General Government. Had he been willing to abstain from what was known as "political preaching," it is probable that his career, from a worldly point of view, would have been more advantageous; but he was ever sensitive to this stain upon our national life, and set forth his feelings in no measured phrases. He declared from the pul-

pit that the Mexican War was "a savage and bloody work," and affirmed the "weighty responsibility" of the Christian Church, so long as slavery darkened any portion of our land. Alluding to the subject in a sermon before his Bedford Street congregation, he exclaimed, "To what are we indebted, but to the loving mercy of God, that the earth has not already opened, and the clouds shaken fire from their folds!" This imagery was probably somewhat distasteful to the "Webster Whigs," who provided much of the financial basis which sustained the Society. An impartial view of events preceding the War of the Rebellion, and of the judgments of men in relation thereto, is not yet possible. The situation was not alarming to those who accepted the sarcasm with which Wendell Phillips rounded one of his brilliant periods: "The South secede? Yes,—when the town paupers secede from the town!" But the outlook was different to those who foresaw a long and bloody war, from which the chances that the Union and representative government would emerge intact seemed infinitesimal. It remains true, however, that the clergyman deserves all honor who pressed his conviction beyond the limits of ecclesiastical usage, and said the strongest word that was in him at a time when one considerate of his own advancement in social estimation might have left this word unsaid.

Modern psychologists tell us that a large portion of the Self is never revealed, and that all we make out to do or to say is but a limited manifestation of a total individuality. If there are any exceptions to this scientific dictum, Mr. Waterston was certainly among them. The enthusiasm—which his shrewd Scotch blood never permitted to run into sentimentalism—seemed to carry the full outcome of his nature. In discussing interesting subjects with the many visitors to his library, he used that redundancy of language and illustration which impressed the average listener as precise and measured statements never could have done. And more than the tongue could find words to convey, his face beamed upon his auditor who caught, as it were by infection, the taste and feeling of his host. No man more thoroughly enjoyed the society of distinguished characters, and no man was better fitted to mediate between them and that less fortunate majority whose representatives he delighted to welcome.

The works of art and literature with which Mr. Waterston had been able to surround himself did not merely amuse or excite a leisure hour; they possessed the entire man. He needed no catalogue to that noble collection of books which loaded tables and mantelpieces, and stood in double rows upon his shelves. The place of every volume was known to him, and at his touch each appeared to open automatically at the passage or illustration that was sought.

This well-beloved library has been bequeathed to the Massachusetts Historical Society with abundant means to secure its care and preservation. It has been said that every man makes his own Nirvana, in which his once conscious life unconsciously persists. Few individuals, as they are swept away by the great current, leave behind them a memorial so associated with themselves, so permanent, and so interesting. Posthumous remembrance is the lot of a very limited minority; even the few who achieve a contemporary reputation are likely to find its justification to posterity a somewhat difficult task. But as future members of this Society look upon the books and the rare collection of autographs that Mr. Waterston has confided to their care, they will recognize the collector as a lover of the good and the beautiful, and as a patient explorer of a little segment in the vast circle of human interests.

NOVEMBER MEETING, 1893.

THE stated meeting was held on Thursday, the 9th instant, at three o'clock P. M.; the President, Dr. GEORGE E. ELLIS, in the chair.

After the reading of the record of the last meeting and of the list of donors to the Library, the PRESIDENT said:—

For all time to come, while this Society preserves its living activity, that massive oaken cabinet in the adjoining hall, with its precious contents of historical manuscripts,—to which more are to be added,—must serve as the living presence among us of a most honored and distinguished associate of world-wide repute. Our first vice-president, Mr. Francis Parkman, was yesterday released from the burden of severe, yet by no means wholly disabling infirmities, visited upon him for many years. As the one probably of all our associates longest and most intimately related to him as a friend, and following the whole course of his laborious and faithful life, what little I can now permit myself to say of him must be prompted by private memories and feelings.

I had occasion but little more than a year ago to furnish for our Proceedings a paper recognizing his talents, his lofty and brilliant qualities as an historian, and the attractions and exactions of that continental subject for research, description, and narration to which he had devoted his life from closing boyhood to the end of a full span of years. I recall that for many of those years in almost weekly interviews with him I was privileged to follow, through manuscript and proof-sheets, the progress of his keen and faithful skill in the digesting of his widely gathered and strangely miscellaneous materials on two continents.

The impression made upon me was deep and admiring of the patient persistency, the Spartan heroism, the ever-conquering cheerfulness, the consummate richness of tone and style with which he made the forest wilderness, its red denizens, and its white intruders and explorers arrange themselves in

panoramas of scenic grandeur and human adventure. He won and will keep his place of highest distinction in dealing with the theme of most transcendent interest in the history of our continent, and investing it with all the grace and charm of romance as well as of historic narration.

I hold in my hand a close sealed parcel, — it must contain several sheets of manuscript, which he committed to my keeping as he was about preparing to cross the ocean on one of his many voyages. At that time, however, the tortures of his physical maladies having seemingly reached their acme he had in view rather the seeking of medical advice than research. As he confided to me the parcel, it seemed to be with a misgiving that he would not return here again.

The parcel bears date, 1868, and is inscribed, "Not to be opened during his life." As, through the twenty-five years since, my eye has occasionally fallen upon it in my private repository, I have thought that it might go back to him unopened. He never reclaimed it, nor have I yet broken the seal. From a hint which he dropped I suppose it to be autobiographical, perhaps relating to some of the severer triumphs by which his work was done. Readers for generations to come will gratefully pay to him their tribute as an historian. It is for those who knew him best among his contemporaries to hold fondly and respectfully the memory of his grand and noble character.

The PRESIDENT then said that the Council had voted to hold a Special Meeting of the Society to commemorate the life and labors of Mr. Parkman. The Hon. ROBERT C. WINTHROP moved that the action of the Council be approved, and said:—

I had made up my mind some days ago, Mr. President, to climb the iron staircase and be here this afternoon, if health and weather should permit, to listen to an account of the wonderful World's Fair by Mr. Adams. I trust we are still to have it. But the sad tidings which the morning papers contained have brought me here in a far different mood. I could not resist the impulse to be with you at the announcement of the sudden death of our dear and honored associate and first vice-president, Francis Parkman. He was a near neighbor of mine, while I passed so many summers at Brook-

line,—a frequent guest, a more frequent visitor, whose friendship I valued beyond price. A note of his, in reply to my felicitations on his recent seventieth birthday, is full of cordiality and kindness, and will be among my most precious autographs. I will not attempt to add anything to the just and excellent notice which you have taken of him. I have only risen to express my hearty concurrence in all you have said, and to second the action of the Council. Parkman has left a most enviable name as an historian, and we shall all miss him as a friend.

The action of the Council was then approved by a unanimous vote.

Mr. CHARLES C. SMITH said, that in view of the present amount of the real and personal estate held by the Society, and of several recent bequests, it was desirable to petition the Legislature for authority to hold an additional amount of property; and with the approval of the Council he moved the following vote:—

Voted, That the Treasurer be instructed to petition the General Court at its next session for the passage of an Act authorizing the Society to hold real and personal estate, in addition to its Library and Library Building, to an amount of six hundred thousand dollars.

The vote was adopted, *nemine contradicente*.

Mr. SMITH then moved the following vote, which was also adopted:—

Voted, That the income of the Massachusetts Historical Trust Fund for the current year be appropriated toward the publication of the Society's Collections.

Mr. CHARLES FRANCIS ADAMS, on being called on by the President, said:—

At the time of the last meeting of the Society I chanced to be making a long-deferred, though second, visit to that World's Fair at Chicago which is now a thing of the past. It was during the week which began with what was called "Chicago Day,"—the day during which seven hundred and fifty thousand people entered the grounds,—and that week

proved to be the climax week of the undertaking. In those seven days over two million people passed in through the gates.

In common, so far as my observation goes, with every one else who visited the Fair, I was deeply impressed by it; and it seemed to me at the time, and has seemed to me since, that there should be some reference to it as a passing event in our Proceedings. Its importance calls for it. I therefore submit these few words this afternoon.

Though I have attended a number of Universal Expositions, as they have been generally called, until that somewhat unnecessarily long name was superseded by the better one of "World's Fair," I will say at once that they have as a rule left an unpleasant impression on my mind, — a vague, mixed-up reminiscence of crowds, fatigue, weariness, and general boredom. This was not so at Chicago.

Why it was not so in my case, as, I think, in the case of most others, becomes apparent when one realizes the magnitude of the undertaking, the ability and untiring energy with which it was carried through, and the executive capacity, combined with what may fairly be called genius in conception, which throughout both in scope and in detail marked the whole thing. So much has been said in the newspapers, and will doubtless in process of time become matter of more permanent record in regard to the Chicago Fair, that for me now to repeat the commonplaces would be mere waste of time; but two features of it were so pronounced that I think they may fairly be considered as throwing all other and minor considerations into the shade. The first was the architectural effect in its *tout ensemble*; the second was what might be called the exhibit of the American people.

Taking the last first, I can say, without exaggeration, that I hardly remember, in the course of my life, to have seen anything which in a certain way impressed me more than the appearance and character of the crowd which thronged the Fair grounds almost every day, and especially on that Monday known as "Chicago Day." So far as weather was concerned, "Chicago Day" could not have been more perfectly adapted to its uses. Bright and fresh, clear and cool, almost windless, it seemed made to order. At eight in the morning the grounds were already comfortably filled with people; and as the day

wore on, the throng increased, until every nook and corner were occupied. That it should be enjoyable, or even comfortable, to be one of so vast and miscellaneous a concourse, is hardly supposable; but certainly I found it very interesting and most suggestive. It was, above all else, a self-governed gathering; and the American people seemed to be instinctively, unconsciously, but as one man, on their good behavior. The policeman was quite superfluous. Upon that day especially, though the same was true of all other days, a spirit of order and decorum—a sort of simple courtesy arising from an instinct of mutual consideration—seemed pervasive. In so vast a crowd there was, of course, more or less pushing and elbowing, for without it movement was impossible; but there was a noticeable absence of rudeness or scolding, and absolutely no loud language or profanity, much less roughness or violence. There was no drunkenness, no disorder; there were no arrests. It was as if all felt that anything of the sort would be out of place, unbecoming,—that by general consent it would be frowned down. I one day questioned two of the leading officials of the Fair on this point, asking them whether, during the time it had been open, they had seen any intoxication or disorder. One of them—and he was responsible for the whole executive management of the grounds—told me that he had never seen a drunken person in them; while the other remembered one case of intoxication, adding, however, that the objectionable party in this case “was a Venetian gondolier; nor was he obtrusively drunk, either.” Neither was this feature of the Fair—so wholly different from what would be looked for in a Western city—in any way due to police regulation or a restricted sale of spirits; for however it might be inside the gates, outside of them every possible facility for vice and excess was, judging by appearances, freely offered. Even in what was known as the Midway Plaisance,—which, after all, resembled in its essential features the vulgar surrounding accompaniments of a successful circus,—even there the same order, sobriety and practical decorum was everywhere and at all hours noticeable.

Turning from the demeanor to the aspect of those composing the throng, the type of face and bearing, the dress and manner, of the person you encountered, were curiously Amer-

ican, and, it may be added, Western, — noticeably conventional in its way, uniform, by no means elevated; simple, natural, unpretentious, it was remarkable only, so far as I could judge, for what might be called a general comfort and thriftiness of aspect. It is an old and familiar saying that "the Englishman takes his pleasure sadly"; and any one who has ever been in England and seen the average Englishman and Englishwoman taking their holiday pleasure, — except, perhaps, on the British carnival of the Derby day, — every person, I say, who has seen one of these English merrymakings must have been impressed by the sombre character of the merriment. In this respect the crowd at the Chicago Fair bore indubitable evidence of its Anglo-Saxon descent. Those composing it took their pleasure seriously, not to say sadly. They were there for an outing, but it was to be an instructive outing. There was no suggestion of song or laughter or jollity. Not often did you see a smile on any one's face; and I look back now on an hour I passed in the Cairo Street of the Midway Plaisance with peculiar pleasure, for the simple reason that the crowd there was hugely delighted with the alarmed expression on the faces of the men and women, especially the young women, who rode on the camels, when the animals got up after being mounted or knelt down for their riders to dismount. The boisterous good-natured hilarity which accompanied this performance was in most agreeable contrast with the matter-of-fact business-like aspect so noticeable elsewhere. But, after all, that aspect was characteristic of the race.

While, therefore, the crowd was interesting, I cannot say that it impressed me as a particularly exhilarating spectacle. There was about it too much uniformity, one might perhaps say monotony. It gave an insight into the tendency of American and democratic institutions. There was about it an absence of individuality the reverse of inspiring. An artist, for instance, would have seen little to attract him. He would, on the contrary, have characterized it as hopelessly commonplace, marked by a striking absence of indications of refinement. It called to mind the common-school and platoon-front, — a crowd not calculated to produce instances of genius or inspiration, or even of any high order of talent, though a good deal of ability of a practical kind. So to

speak, it was conventional in a quite unconventional way. It was suggestive of averages,—that system of identification by numbers and not names resorted to in hotels and penitentiaries, and, by foreign writers, attributed as a well-defined tendency to democracies. But, on the other hand, there was in its way a distinct average elevation. The standard might be far from the highest conceivable, but still, as standards go, it was indubitably a high standard average.

Turning from this feature of the great Fair to the other feature I have referred to, it is difficult while a looker-on at such a display not continually to ask one's self,—What, after all, if anything, will come of it?—what permanent residuum will it leave? Passing over other efforts at vaticination, in the matter of architectural effect there has been, so far as I know, but one verdict expressed. The world has seen nothing like it before; nor is it soon to see its like again. Certainly no government, municipal or imperial, would have undertaken, or would even now undertake, what the men of Chicago undertook—and accomplished! To spend \$30,000,000 in building up a city which was to be destroyed and swept off the face of the earth the moment it had accomplished its work, is something very considerable,—altogether unprecedented. Yet there it was; and of all the visions of architectural beauty which human eyes have dwelt upon, it may well be asked if anything ever compared to, or even approached, the Chicago Fair, whether viewed at sunset from the summit of the Liberal Arts building; or in the early morning from the so-called Court of Honor, while the chimes were sounding from the turrets of the Palace devoted to machinery; or, best of all, at night from the water of the lagoon, when the myriads of electric lights, the blazing torches of natural gas and the shifting reflections on the illumined fountains made of the whole a veritable vision of fairyland.

One day while there I met the editor of a leading paper of New York, and he was earnest and loud-spoken in his regret that one half of the sum which the national government now annually worse than squanders in the gratuities known as pensions could not be devoted—and it would amply suffice for the purpose—to turning those buildings from wood and plaster into marble, as a perpetual memorial. I cannot say the thought impressed me favorably. Indeed, one of the most

gratifying features about the whole thing to my mind was that it was evanescent. It suggested Shakespeare's

" Like the baseless fabric of this vision,
The cloud-capped towers, the gorgeous palaces,
The solemn temples . . . shall dissolve ;
And, like this insubstantial pageant faded,
Leave not a rack behind."

Nor would I have had it otherwise. There is something quite fine, as well as altogether unprecedented, in the idea of a community — a local community like Chicago — being absolutely willing to expend so enormous a sum in carrying out in a large, *carte-blanche* sort of way the highest and most elaborate ideals of the best educated taste of the century and land.

And it is, I apprehend, in this way that the Chicago Fair will leave its lasting mark on the American people, — a mark not only for years, but probably for centuries. It has lifted up by an entire stage — at one effort — the standard of our architectural knowledge and taste. We shall no more see such monstrosities in the way of capitols, court-houses, libraries, and public buildings generally as have heretofore, in all the despairing hopelessness of permanent material, disfigured the land, and now abide with us, nightmares not evanescent.

When one reflects upon it, it is, indeed, a curious and somewhat saddening fact that here in Boston, for instance, the best educated architectural taste the country can command has been at work for the last half century, those possessing it constantly vying in effort one with another, and the old State House on Beacon Hill still remains infinitely the most dignified and most imposing, the most characteristic, the most perfectly designed and agreeable architectural effort we can boast. Few, I fancy, will disagree with me when I say we have nothing else at all comparable with it. Yet the State House was built hard upon a century ago, and before architecture was in America recognized as a distinct calling !

In like manner, take the façade of old Beacon Street as it was thirty years ago. I know of nothing equal to it as it then appeared. A mere happy result of chance, its details would not stand criticism, for in it, as a whole, were many individual features the reverse of artistic ; but, as it rose there in the

sunshine of a bright autumnal day, ascending slowly from Charles Street behind its fringework of ancient elms until it culminated in the gilded State House dome, — unpretentious, quiet, harmonious, dignified, — it was a veritable thing of beauty and a joy forever. Then, one evil day, the educated architect came along. First he wantonly thrust into the middle of it an absurdly incongruous specimen of the execrable school of the second French empire. Not content with that, a few years later he stuck up, in opposition to the State House, square monumental erections, quite devoid of either proportion or beauty, destroying forever the traditional profile of the city. So we of Boston had small cause to laud the educated architect who, marring what we chanced to have of unequalled beauty in the large way, failed to improve on the best of our individual buildings.

But now, after passing through every conceivable phase of crudeness, in the restless effort at striking novelty, the educated architect has justified his existence. All his previous efforts, becoming merely as it were tentative, have culminated, flowered, in the buildings at the World's Fair. When a professional calling has once achieved such a result as that, it is not possible it should again retrograde. We have a right, therefore, to believe that the more elevated standard now reached will prove permanent, and hereafter we may fairly hope for architectural effects in America on a scale the world has scarcely seen before. If in this respect alone the lesson of the Fair be not lost, it will be worth all its cost.

It is a familiar saying that it takes three generations to make a gentleman. Whether this be true or not, when one is brought face to face with what the West in a material way has accomplished in a single generation, it gives a visitor from the East a curious intellectual shaking-up, so to speak, as to what is inevitable there at the end of five or six generations more. The possibilities are bewildering.

Not long since I heard at a dinner-table an amusing story attributed to a leading Chicago character, — the typical Chicago magnate, — one who had made a large fortune suddenly in pork-packing, or in grain elevators or options, or in the rise of real estate. In reply to some criticism on the present absence of a certain refinement in Chicago, he remarked that it was true, and could not be denied, that culture had not yet

reached Chicago; but, he added, "when it does reach Chicago, we will make it h-u-m!" The architectural success of the World's Fair gives a certain practical point to this sentiment. After all, may there not be truth in it? Architecture, having accomplished the results I have spoken of here in Boston and elsewhere at the East, did this summer reach Chicago; and we must all admit that Chicago undeniably "made it hum." May it not in the more or less immediate future be the same with other branches of culture as it has now been with this one branch? On the whole, after seeing that wonder, the World's Fair, I am now rather inclined, as a matter of prophecy, to believe that when, a generation or two hence, culture does get there, Chicago will make it HUM!

Dr. SAMUEL A. GREEN presented the following paper on the formation and growth of the Society's Library:—

The management of large libraries is a science of modern growth, and the details have taken such shape as the needs of different communities demanded. The founders of the Historical Society for their work had a true estimate of the importance of books and other printed matter, and throughout the early records this sense of their appreciation is continually shown. The prime object of the Society, as set forth in the first paragraph of the Constitution, was the preservation of books, pamphlets, manuscripts, and records containing historical facts, etc. A secondary object, as announced in the next paragraph, was the collection of specimens in natural history and of curiosities generally. It is worthy of note that all the members, with the exception of Mr. Baylies and Dr. Belknap, at the second meeting of the Society, on April 9, 1791, handed in lists of books, pamphlets, maps, etc., which they purposed to give as a nucleus for a library; and two meetings later Dr. Belknap furnished a similar list, of which a part was to be considered as the payment of his fee for life-membership. Included in Dr. Belknap's gift are several bound volumes of very rare tracts marked in ink on a label pasted on the back "H," which monogram probably stands for Historical Pamphlets. These several lists include many volumes, which to-day are exceedingly scarce, and some of them almost invaluable; and I am happy to add that with few exceptions they are still in the Library and can easily be identified.

The first local habitation of the Society was a single room in the Manufactory House, a building owned by the Massachusetts Bank, and situated where Hamilton Place is now; and for a year it served the purposes of a library and for the meetings. This room was occupied from June 30, 1791, until the next summer, when the books and the museum were taken to new quarters, an attic chamber in the northwest corner of Faneuil Hall. The first meeting was held here on July 31, 1792, at which time the Library contained not far from 225 volumes, and perhaps 500 pamphlets. Of these, as a rough estimate, 75 volumes and many pamphlets have not been identified, and some, doubtless, have been lost. Most of the pamphlets received before July 31, 1792, were bound in 50 volumes, of which now only 40 are known to be in the Library. These volumes were probably added soon after the removal to Faneuil Hall; and before June 11, 1794, about 225 other volumes were received. Of these 25 contain about 200 pamphlets, which had been given to the Library and bound in the latter part of the year 1792, or early in 1793. Up to June 11, 1794, it is estimated that about 1,000 pamphlets had been received, of which perhaps 700 were bound in 75 volumes, as explained above.

The Society continued to meet in its chamber at Faneuil Hall until June 11, 1794, a period of nearly two years, when it removed to the Tontine Crescent, Franklin Place, where, according to a deed executed on May 1, it had bought the fee of a large room in the upper story, over the archway which passed under the centre of the building. The apartment was forty feet in length and twenty-seven in breadth, and was finished at the Society's expense. At that time the Library is supposed to have had about 500 volumes and 300 pamphlets, for the most part relating to New England history, and for that period it was a very considerable collection of books. The explanation of the decrease in the number of pamphlets for the previous two years lies in the fact that during this period 75 volumes, more or less, had been bound, each volume containing about ten pamphlets. For the first time the members owned their place of meeting, which was their home for thirty-nine years, until June 5, 1833. This period appears to be the natural cycle of the Society, as it occupied the old building on the present site in Tremont Street for the same term.

The growth of the Library during the early years was slow, and, so far as can be learned from the Proceedings and other sources, there were in the year 1800 probably 1,000 volumes and a large number of pamphlets. In 1810, near the time of the preparation of the new catalogue, there may have been as many as 2,000 volumes; and while numerous pamphlets had been received, the number was largely diminished by binding from time to time, each volume containing on an average ten pamphlets. The increase of the Library during the next two decades was not so marked, but at the close of the third, it is estimated by the Librarian, Dr. Harris, that there were:—

Four thousand six hundred volumes of bound books.

Four hundred and fifty-five large volumes of newspapers.

Ninety-four folio volumes of manuscripts.

Seventy-five smaller volumes of manuscripts.

Twelve large volumes of charts and maps.

Many single maps.

Several hundred pamphlets.

Counted Nov. 20, 1839.

In the year 1850 the Library contained probably 6,000 volumes, and several thousand pamphlets; and in 1860, according to the Treasurer's report of that year, there were, not including the Dowse Library, about 8,000 volumes and 13,000 pamphlets. In 1870, according to the Librarian's report, there were then, including the Dowse Library, files of newspapers, and the bound manuscripts, nearly 19,000 volumes and more than 30,000 pamphlets; in 1880, 26,569 volumes and 53,727 pamphlets; and in 1890, there were about 34,600 volumes and 89,739 pamphlets.

It should be borne in mind that the room occupied by the Society at the outset was not kept open constantly, but was accessible to the members by means of the Corresponding Secretary's key; and that each one on taking out a book made his own charge on a slate used for that purpose. Under such conditions it is not surprising that some volumes should be missing now from these lists; and presumably they were lost soon after their receipt, as their titles do not appear in the Library catalogue, which was printed in the year 1796.

In the early days of the Society, books, manuscripts, maps, etc., were not so carefully guarded as they have been subse-

quently, nor were the givers' names and the dates of accession so accurately kept on record.

At the third meeting, on June 30, 1791, it was ordered that the Recording Secretary should procure "four hundred blanks of the following form:—

*This Book is the property
of the
Historical Society,
established in Boston, 1790.*

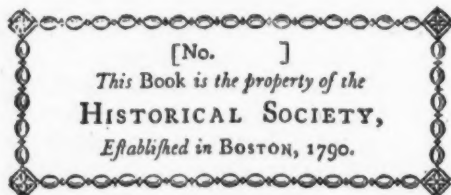
and place them in the books presented to the Library." It will be noticed that the duty of preparing these slips devolved on the Recording Secretary, and not on the Librarian, who now would be the proper officer for such service. The order, as here given, was duly carried out, though a number within brackets was added thus [No.], for the numeration of the volume, which was printed as the first line of the book-plate; but the numbering does not appear ever to have been used. Notwithstanding the date given in the foregoing book-plate, the original members agreed to consider the meeting held on January 24, 1791, as the first; and counting from that date the centennial anniversary was duly celebrated by the Society.

Among the rules for the government of the Library, adopted at the fourth meeting, held on October 11, 1791, was one which required a book-plate—or "printed ticket," as it was then called—to be pasted on the inside of the cover of each volume, showing it to be the property of the Society; and at the same time the rule required that the donor's name should be indicated if the book was given. With some exceptions this rule was not observed in both requirements for more than fifty years, though in many cases the name of the giver was written on a fly-leaf of the book, or across the titlepage, or else in the margin, sometimes up and sometimes down, or perhaps on the cover. About 1840 and for a few subsequent years, however,—in regard to volumes previously presented to the Library,—there are instances where the Librarian, by fits

and starts, has apparently ascertained the date of gift, and duly recorded it on the book-plate; but the practice even at that period was by no means uniform or permanent. It was during the second term of Mr. Felt's librarianship that the custom of writing on book-plates both the name of the giver and the date of the gift became at all general. During the past ten years many hundred book-plates, — perhaps two thousand, — in volumes for a long time in the possession of the Society, have been filled out with the name and date, where this record had been previously omitted. Not included in this number are many similar entries on separate pamphlets received from various sources, but which are now for the most part bound. Much time has been spent, though unsuccessfully, in trying to obtain the same facts in regard to numerous other titles. Since the Annual Meeting of April, 1884, with some exceptions during the first year, they have been indicated on the cover of pamphlets, with a pencil, at the time of gift.

The use of particular book-plates furnishes a good clew as to the time when certain volumes were received in the Library, of which there is no other record. In occasional instances, for reasons not now clear, there are two or three book-plates pasted one over another, or perhaps the third one on a fly-leaf, but none of them written upon. In such cases it is fair to suppose that the earliest one indicates an approximation as to the date of receipt. For that reason I here present a simple statement of their chronological order, so far as it can be ascertained from the records or from their use in the various volumes.

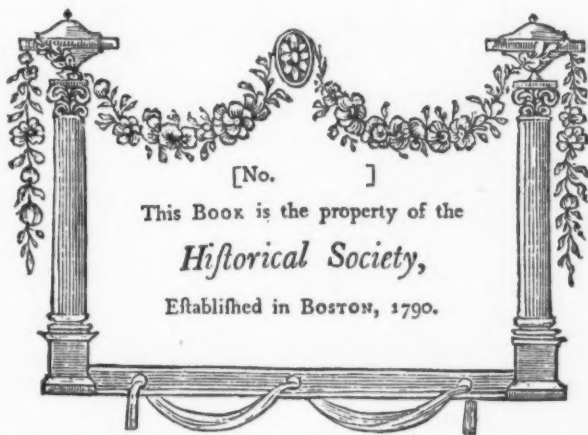
The first book-plate used in the Library was the one ordered on June 30, 1791, which is now found in less than 75 volumes, probably all in which it was ever placed. It follows substantially the form specified in the records; and a reproduction in fac-simile is herewith given: —



Most of these plates, printed probably on separate slips, appear in books received before the summer of 1794, when the Society moved into the Tontine Crescent, though a few — perhaps some that had been left over — were pasted in volumes given as late as January 30, 1798.

The second book-plate was struck off probably in the early summer of 1794, perhaps under the direction of a Committee appointed on April 4, 1794, to draft and report By-Laws and Regulations for the Society. It was a wood-cut with types mortised in the block. Of these plates only about 35 are now found, — doubtless all that were used, — and these are in books received for the most part before June 11, 1794. A very few, however, — perhaps some that were then still on hand, — appear later, and were last used in books reported at the meeting on January 30, 1798.

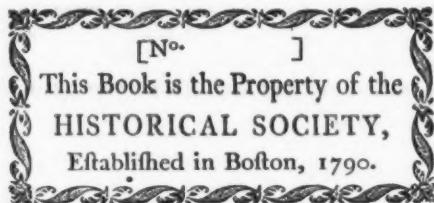
This cut is rather pretentious in appearance; and the following is a fac-simile: —



It was printed probably by Belknap & Hall, at that time the publishers of "The American Apollo," a weekly periodical, in which had previously appeared a large part of the first volume of Collections; and they were also the publishers of the first two volumes of Collections. A festoon similar to the one over the top of this book-plate is found in the Apollo. Joseph

Belknap, one of the printers, was a son of Dr. Belknap, the principal founder of the Historical Society.

The third book-plate closely resembles the first one, and was printed probably in the year 1798. It was used in a few of the books reported at the meeting held on January 29, 1799, though some specimens of the plate may be seen in volumes given earlier. Only about 20 of these plates already inserted can now be found, though there are more than 175 still on hand, which have never been used. They were all printed on one slip containing three impressions, and 60 of these slips still remain in the Publication room. Here follows a fac-simile:—



The number on these plates, as given within brackets thus [No.], was probably intended for an accession number, and not to show the case and shelf for the location of the book, which were generally indicated, certainly during the earlier years of the Society, on a small label pasted on the back of the volumes.

A fourth book-plate, differing entirely in shape and wording from the others, was printed probably in the summer of 1809, and contained besides "Extracts from the laws, regulating the Library." These "laws," or rules, had been reported to the Society on May 4, 1809, and adopted at the same meeting. The plates were printed on a small sheet containing three impressions, side by side, and then cut apart as wanted for use, though no specimens of the three together have been saved; and there are some slight typographical variations in each. In Volumes IV., V., and VI. of "The Parliamentary Register" (London, 1776, 1777) may be seen three such plates, which fit together on their borders, showing that they once belonged to the same sheet. A similar instance is found in three bound volumes of miscellaneous pamphlets, marked

on the back "American Tracts." The following are the titles of the first pamphlet in each volume, which I here give in order to identify the collection of Tracts:—

Volume IV. Extracts from the Votes and Proceedings of the American Continental Congress, . . September, 1774. . . London, reprinted, 1774.

Volume II. The Plea of the Colonies, . . London, 1776.

Volume III. An Oration in Memory of General Montgomery, . . February 19th, 1776. . . By William Smith. Second edition. London, reprinted, 1776.

Near the top of the fourth plate is a blank space for the location mark of the book, which, however, was rarely designated. These plates were pasted in the volumes over any of the previous ones that happened to be already inserted; and their use appears to have been discontinued about 1820.

The fifth book-plate was made, probably soon after the Society removed from the Tontine Crescent to the present site in Tremont Street, which was in March, 1833. It was engraved on copper by David Russell, and the impressions were taken on white paper. The plates were of a size similar to those now used in the Library, and essentially the same in appearance and wording. They are found in many of the volumes received at an early period, where they have been pasted over other plates; and they also appear in books given since 1820 or thereabouts, when the use of the preceding plate was discontinued, although they are found like the fourth plate in many volumes given earlier.

Some time after the election of the Reverend Thaddeus M. Harris as Librarian, on October 26, 1837, impressions from the same plate were made on red-faced paper, probably about 1839. These are found in volumes given as late as October 16, 1846, in most cases pasted over the earlier book-plates already in volumes, excepting the fifth one. A new plate on copper, now in the possession of the Library, was probably made within a few weeks of that date; and impressions from it on green-faced paper were printed. These book-plates were used during the remainder of Mr. Felt's librarianship, and until September 16, 1857. On October 24 of that year, the first book-plate of gray paper was used; and on March 15, 1864, five hundred more impressions were struck off from this

copper plate by Nathaniel Dearborn, an engraver, who had retouched it. The first of these book-plates was pasted in a volume given on April 23, 1864, and probably on that date; and the last was used in October, 1866. Since that time the book-plates have been printed on stone by William H. Forbes & Co., now known as the Forbes Lithograph Manufacturing Company, many copies at one impression, and the sheets cut up afterward. The first of these was used on October 11, 1866, and since then very slight changes have been made from time to time, as new impressions were struck off, certainly in October, 1868, and on October 19, 1885.

Before the year 1799 there was no record of books lent out as required by the By-Laws, adopted on October 11, 1791, that "for the present a slate and pencil shall be hung up in the chamber, and the person taking books shall enter on the slate his name, the titles of the books, and the date; which the librarian, at his next visit to the chamber, shall enter in his book"; but this book, if one was then kept, has not been found. On June 11, 1794, the "Laws and Regulations" were revised; and Article VI. of the portion relating to the Library was so changed that each member was required to "give receipts for the books which he shall take out of the Library, in a receipt-book to be provided for the purpose." For a time these entries were made on separate sheets of folio paper, three of which used between April 25, 1796, and October 19, 1799, are still preserved. On April 30, 1799, the Librarian was instructed to "purchase a book to be left in the Society's room," for members "to give in it a receipt for the books which they shall take out of the Library." In this small volume, bound in vellum and still in the Library, the first entry was antedated August 28, 1798, and, with two trifling exceptions, February 7, 1833, the last on October 29, 1818. According to the amended By-Laws adopted on May 4, 1809, the Librarian began a record of books taken out, and from that date the practice has been continued down to the present day. The volume bought for this purpose has the name of the Society and "1809" stamped in gilt on the front cover, and was used from May 4, 1809, to December 26, 1833. It contains the names of members taking out books arranged for the most part alphabetically, one name to a page, and it also has an index. Since February 11, 1834, when another

book was begun, the titles have been entered chronologically; and during its use, until the time of Dr. Appleton, it was the general custom for each member to sign his own name against the charge.

From a careful collation of the catalogues of the Library, both printed and manuscript made before 1796, with the books on the shelves it is found that certain books were missing even at that early period; and since then losses, particularly those to which special attention has been called, have been noted from time to time in the Proceedings. Of the first gift of books, pamphlets, and manuscripts, received at the second meeting of the Society held on April 9, 1791, many still remain unidentified and are probably lost. On October 25, 1796, a committee was appointed "to sell the useless books belonging to the Society." This may account for some of the missing volumes, while votes at different times to exchange duplicates and triplicates will explain the absence of others. There are instances where volumes have been returned which have been out of the Library for a long period; and the fact has been sometimes noted by the Librarian in the volumes, and occasionally it has been mentioned in the Proceedings.

From the collection furnished by Dr. Belknap, at the fourth meeting of the Society, on October 11, 1791, several volumes were lent out at the time, and only one of these is known to have been returned. This volume contains many rare and valuable tracts published between 1628 and 1732, the first of which is "A Copy of the Kings Majesties Charter for Incorporating the Company of the Massachusetts Bay" . . . Boston, 1689. Another title is "New Englands First Fruits;" . . . London, 1643, which is printed in part in the first volume of the Collections, pages 242-250. It once contained "New England, or a Briefe Enarration" . . . London, 1625, a Latin poem by William Morrell, which has since been taken out and bound separately. This poem with the English translation was also printed in the same volume of Collections, pages 125-139. On the inside of the cover of this book of tracts is written: "Returned to me by Dea. George A. Thatcher of Bangor Me. Sept. 30, 1853. He found it among books which fell to him from B. B. Thatcher, who died, 1840. Joseph B. Felt, Librarian."

Another volume of tracts, stamped on the back "Whitfield,"

and probably borrowed from the Library as early as 1812, contains the earliest and fourth plates. The first title in the volume, which was bound some time in the year 1792, is "Divine Influence the true Spring of the Extraordinary Work at Cambuslang and other Places in the West of Scotland," . . . by Alexander Webster, Boston, reprinted, 1743. The following memorandum in the handwriting of Dr. John Appleton, Assistant Librarian, and signed with his initials, appears on a fly-leaf: "This volume was found in the Library of a deceased clergyman in New Haven, Conn., and returned to the Massachusetts Historical Society, by Franklin B. Dexter, Tutor in Yale College, July 28, 1866. J. A."

On July 5, 1816, two volumes entitled "*Bibliotheca Americana*," London, 1789, and "*Bibliothecae Americanae Primordia*," . . . by White Kennett, London, 1713, were taken from the Library by Isaiah Thomas. At a meeting of the Society on April 28, 1831, after the death of Mr. Thomas, which occurred on April 4, the Librarian was requested "to obtain return" of both volumes, which about that time had been given to the American Antiquarian Society. Although the Historical Society's ownership was then questioned, the first volume was returned in the autumn of 1831, and the second in January, 1836. At a meeting held on October 29, 1835, the subject of the return of the Kennett volume was again brought up, and referred to the Librarian and Recording Secretary; and on November 26 of that year, they reported that "they had written fully to the Council of the American Antiquarian Society, and had furnished full and complete evidence of the property of our Society" in this volume; and it was accordingly returned in the following January as above stated. See Proceedings, Volume II., pages 24, 26, and 29.

A short time before Mr. Thomas's death he wrote the following on the inside of the front cover: "This Book was loaned to a member of the Historical Society by Mrs. Crocker to whom it belonged, and was included in the purchase I made of her, of Part of the Mather Library, Decr 1814." According to votes passed by the Society, on December 20, 1794, and April 25, 1822, it appears that at some time a "valuable portion of the Mather Library" had been either given or deposited by Dr. Samuel Mather's executors, and by his daughter Mrs. Hannah Mather Crocker, to this Society;

and certain volumes are found containing the autograph signatures of the Mathers, father, son, and grandson, and occasionally in the same book.

On November 3 and 6, 1790, the library of Mather Byles, consisting of 3,000 volumes and a large collection of pamphlets was sold in Boston, on which occasion many books and pamphlets were bought by Thomas Wallcut, as appears by notes in his handwriting; and these he afterward gave to the Society at different times. Many contain autograph signatures of the Mathers and Dr. Byles.

Among many instances of missing books are the following: "Transactions of the American Philosophical Society," Volume III., No. 2, borrowed by John Davis, October 28, 1830, and returned on October 22, 1864; a volume of "Sermons on Lexington Battle," which contains the following note: "This Book appears never to have been in the new Library, till 1844, when it was returned. J. B. Felt"; and two volumes taken out probably not long after the removal of the Library to its present site, one of which, Cotton Mather's *Life of his father*, was returned on November 2, 1855, having been found in the library of the Boston Athenæum; and the other, Charles Vallancey's "An Essay on the Primitive Inhabitants of Great Britain and Ireland" (Dublin, 1807), which turned up in the library of the Grand Lodge of Massachusetts some time in March, 1858.

By a vote passed on October 30, 1828, the Librarian was authorized to furnish the Commissioners for settling the boundary line between the United States and New Brunswick with certain maps and other documents belonging to the Society, which were not accessible elsewhere to them. At the request of the Commissioners, the application came from the Governor of the Commonwealth; and in accordance therewith the various works were sent to Washington, though no list was made by the Librarian. It was stipulated that they should be safely returned, though this does not appear to have been done promptly, as they came back at different times, one map as late as June, 1852; but it is not now believed that they all were returned, as no record of the fact is found. With no list kept by the Society, this does not seem surprising.

When Dr. Appleton began, in 1855, to prepare a catalogue of the Library, he kept a small note-book in which he

entered titles and shelf-numbers of "Books missing." Following this is a similar list of 30 pamphlets that "have been stolen from the Volumes in which they were bound." Many references to other lost pamphlets are found noted in various volumes where the tracts are missing. So far as known, wherever a pamphlet is taken out to be bound separately, a memorandum to that effect has been made. Many in the first list are marked as returned, but of the second none apparently has been received. On June 3, 1880, a volume entitled "An Answer to George Keith's Libel against a Catechism," by Francis Makemie (Boston, 1694), was stolen from the Library and has never been returned. The loss was at once detected, and the thief strongly suspected. In my own mind I never had any doubt as to his guilt; and it is a satisfaction to know that he is now undergoing a long term of imprisonment at Charlestown for another crime.

Another instance where a memorandum is found appears in a bound collection of medical tracts of which the first is "Some Reasons and Arguments . . . for the setting up Markets in Boston" (Boston, 1719). This volume contained a rare tract entitled "A Friendly Debate," etc. (Boston, 1722), which was wanted in the Library of the Surgeon-General's Office, United States Army. As there were two other copies in the Library, and this one was slightly imperfect, the Council voted on January 10, 1876, to give it to the Library at Washington; and accordingly the pamphlet was taken out and sent. The fact was duly noted on a fly-leaf by the Librarian. The Morrell tract mentioned above may be cited as another instance where a pamphlet was removed from a bound volume and a memorandum of the fact made.

The first catalogue of the Library was published in 1796, and contains about a thousand titles, not including "unbound books," pamphlets, newspapers, and manuscripts. The earliest list of any portion of the Library is one indorsed in the handwriting of John Eliot, the first Librarian, "Mss. list of, in the Hist. Cabinet, 1792." Mr. Eliot also kept a rough list of accessions to the Library, which probably served as a catalogue until one was begun by Thomas Wallcut, in 1792, where titles for the first time were arranged alphabetically; although additions to Eliot's catalogue were made as late as 1793. On October 23, 1792, it was voted to print "a number

of copies of the catalogue"; but this seems not then to have been done, as on October 29, 1793, "The Catalogue of the Library being reported," it was voted "That the Librarian procure it to be copied at the expense of the Society." This probably referred to the Wallcut catalogue, which was completed near that time. It is a fold of folio sheets consisting of 83 pages, and, with additions made from time to time, was the working catalogue until 1796.

The "Catalogue of Books," published in that year, as mentioned above, was in use until 1811, and from time to time new titles were added in manuscript. The Library copy has these words written on the top of the titlepage: "The property of the Society. To lie on the Table for the use of the Members, it being the only copy with references to the places of the Books." On September 1, 1803, a reprint of 500 copies was voted, but it is very doubtful whether the order was ever carried out. This catalogue was interleaved and bound near the time when Timothy Alden began his services as Librarian on May 9, 1808; and with new titles added on the blank leaves served for a time as the working catalogue. Before the end of his term of service on October 26, 1809, he had made what seems to be a full catalogue of the Library at that time; and this he carried away when he removed to Newark, New Jersey, and he did not return it until April 25, 1811. It was subsequently bound in leather, and stamped on the back "Catalogue of Historical Library Alden's Manuscript." At the meeting held on the day of its return, it was voted to print 400 copies, which were published in October, 1811, making a pamphlet of 96 pages. It contained about 4,000 titles, two columns to a page; and the appendix is composed of "Lists" of Newspapers, Maps, Manuscripts, Tracts, etc., also of Preachers of Election Sermons, Artillery Election Sermons, Annual Convention Sermons, and Dudleian Lectures, as well as Anniversary Addresses of the Massachusetts Charitable Fire Society, Discourses before the Massachusetts Humane Society, Fifth of March and Fourth of July Orations, Orations and Poems before the Phi Beta Kappa Society, a List of Preachers before the London Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts, and before the Massachusetts Missionary Society, also Ordination and Installation, Funeral, and Dedication Sermons, and a List of various

Almanacs published in New England and elsewhere. Soon after this catalogue was issued, a working copy was made up by pasting on the ten inside leaves of six folds of folio paper, four columns of the catalogue to a page. On the outside in the hand of Joseph McKean, then Librarian, is written "Catalogue of the Historical Library. (This is not to be removed from the Table.) 1811." In the upper right-hand corner of this page is the following: "c. c. Began this Catal. Monday Aug. 2^d /13 & finally finished Nov. 12, 1813." This entry related to the shelf-numbers which Mr. Joseph Tilden, at that time Librarian, wrote opposite to the titles; and the two letters "c. c." at the beginning probably referred to the shelf and book-case where it was kept. For a while occasionally some new titles, as well as others which had been omitted, were added below the pasted scraps. A little later a volume was made up in a similar way, probably by James Savage, and bound in leather, containing one column to a page; and many shelf-numbers were marked in. It was probably used during the latter part of his Librarianship and until the removal of the Library in 1833, possibly a year or two later, as it contains some of the new shelf-marks of that period. As before, new titles were added from time to time. Subsequently a similar volume was made up for the same purpose, though but little used.

On August 25, 1835, it was voted that "Joseph B. Felt, a member of the Society, be requested, in concurrence with the Librarian [Nahum Mitchell], to make a catalogue, alphabetical and systematic, of all the books, pamphlets, and manuscripts in the Library of the Society." On May 26, 1836, when they made a report upon the progress of the work, a large portion of the Library had been catalogued. The volume in which the entries were made was like the one prepared by Mr. Savage, only of oblong shape and much larger; and it was the working catalogue for about twenty years, or until the beginning of the new catalogue by Dr. John Appleton, then Assistant Librarian, on April 18, 1855. This last catalogue was published in two volumes, one in 1859 and the second in 1860, a copy of which was interleaved and bound up for use in the Library. The original, from which a copy was made for the printer, consisted of many folio sheets of brown paper on which were pasted the slips containing the

titles arranged alphabetically; and this collection of sheets was the working catalogue for a few years. In the interleaved copy, titles were entered on the blank pages until about 1864, when a system of cataloguing on paper slips of a blue tint was begun, and continued for a time. Soon afterward cards were used, as stated in the Librarian's Report, April, 1869, where it says that "the card system has been adopted some years, and continues to give satisfaction." Some time later the blue slips were either copied or pasted on long cards. These cards were used until about October 1, 1878, when others of regulation size, like those used to-day, were first bought for the purpose. Up to this time the cards were kept in broad pasteboard boxes, two rows to a box, although some of the boxes were used for a few years longer. When the small cards were bought, a case of ninety-two drawers was made in September, 1878, by Azel E. Steele for the purpose of holding them; and it is estimated that there is room for about 250,000 cards. The catalogue of the Library is now in three parts, — the printed titles, those on the blank leaves, and the cards which have now been brought into one alphabetical arrangement. See the note on pages 43 and 44 of the second volume of the Proceedings for another account of the catalogues.

According to some manuscript notes made by Joseph McKean about the year 1811 in a bound copy of the first Catalogue of Books, 1796, there were then in the Library at the Tontine Crescent one mahogany book-case on the west side of the room, a "range," — probably a book-case or section of one, — next to the north window on the east, and three other "ranges" on the same side, and also two on the south side, one near the door and another near the window. These several cases were indicated on the catalogue by capital letters, A, B, C, etc., and the shelves were marked by lower case letters, while the order on the shelf was shown by figures. There were only two book-cases in the Library at the time the Wallcut catalogue, already mentioned, was made; but a third case was soon added. Before 1799 the fourth and fifth book-cases were bought, and before 1811 two more. Down to the time of the appearance of the catalogue in 1811, a system of figures was used to indicate the places of books in the Library, — the first to show the case, the second the shelf, and the third the order on the shelf, thus: 1. 6. 5. The letters and

figures just referred to were used until the removal of the Library in 1833, since which time there have been in the main two numbers only, one to indicate the shelf and the other the place on the shelf.

The early place-marks of volumes were written on small paper labels, many of them diamond-shaped, which were pasted on the back of books; and probably this practice continued with some irregularity until about 1798. From that date until about 1811, the number, if entered at all, is found on the inside of the front cover, in the upper left-hand corner. When the second method of marking volumes came into use, a small red-faced label was printed, like this, as near as type will allow: —

~~~~~  
HIST. SOC.  
 ~~~~~

It was pasted on the back of each volume near the bottom; and in the lower space of the label was written the place-mark of the book, as — E. b. 24. Traces of numbering in this way are found for fifteen years, more or less, until possibly 1830. After the removal of the Library in 1833, and upon its re-arrangement, two new labels were made, one of which was to be used for the Library, and the other for the Cabinet, like the following: —

/////////
HIST. SOC.
 Sh. No.
 //////////

/////////
HIST. SOC.
 Cab. No.
 //////////

In most cases, one of these was pasted over the first slip, if on the volume at the time. This method of notation continued until about 1857, when the Dowse Collection was received, and the catalogue of the Library was in process of making, both of which caused great changes in the arrangement of books. During these changes an "Index" volume was prepared by Dr. Appleton, containing the numbers only, both the old and the new, which was used while this catalogue was printing, and perhaps later. Since that time, in a great ma-

jority of cases, the numbers have been written on the inside of the front cover, in the upper left-hand corner, with a black pencil; although many volumes are found in which blue has been used, especially in such as were then rearranged on the shelves, in order to make room for the Dowse Library.

When the "Rules for the Library and Museum" were first adopted on October 11, 1791, the Librarian was required to present a "catalogue of the books, pamphlets, manuscripts, maps, and curiosities." The same requirement was made in the By-Laws of June 11, 1794, and with the exception of the "curiosities" was repeated in those of May 4, 1809. This "catalogue" or list was printed, accordingly, in the Proceedings from time to time, and during the year 1792, in a changed form, in "The American Apollo." The Lists from 1798 to 1810 also appeared in several newspapers, one of which was published outside of the State, and all so far as known are mentioned below.

This practice of reporting the titles was kept up for the most part until the end of 1796; and during the year 1797 similar references to gifts were omitted. On January 30, 1798, the Librarian reported a long list of titles received since the preceding entries of November 18, 1796; and afterward at the January meeting of each year he read a similar list, with the exception of the following instances, when it was presented on October 30, 1804, August 27, 1805, and August 28, 1810; although it was omitted in the years 1806 and 1808. At this last date the practice of entering the list in the record of the meetings was discontinued. From October 25, 1809, to October 31, 1816, the titles of books received, with the names of the givers, were entered on some blank pages in the "Loan Book" of 1809; and from July, 1815, to July, 1838, an "Acknowledgment of Donations" was printed in the Collections (2d series, II., to 3d series, VII.).

On January 28, 1830, it was voted "That the Librarian procure a suitable book for the purpose of entering the donations, to be kept in the room"; and since that date, when the first entry was made, this method of recording gifts has been kept up. For further reference to gifts received by the Library, see the Proceedings, Volume I., page 250. With a few exceptions, the following are the dates at which gifts were made, and the places where a list of them may be found:—

PROCEEDINGS.

- 1791, April 9, pp. 6-13, October 11, pp. 18-22, December 21, pp. 26, 27.
1792, March 30, pp. 30, 31, April 24, pp. 32, 33, June 8, pp. 37, 38, July 31, p. 39, August 10, 13, p. 41. Also in *The American Apollo*, May 11, p. 210, June 15, p. 274, August 3, p. 351, August 24, p. 380.
1793, January 29, pp. 47, 48, April 30, p. 50, July 30, pp. 51-53, October 29, pp. 54, 55, November 26, p. 56.
1794, January 28, p. 60, April 4, p. 66, June 11, pp. 67, 68, July 29, pp. 73, 74, October 28, pp. 75-77, December 20, p. 79.
1795, January 27, pp. 81, 82, April 28, pp. 83, 84, August 17, pp. 87, 88, October 27, pp. 88, 89, November 24, p. 91.
1796, April 26, pp. 97, 98, June 6, p. 99, July 26, pp. 100, 101, November 18, pp. 102, 103.
1798, January 30, pp. 111-116, and the *Columbian Centinel* (Boston), February 3.
1799, January 29, pp. 121-124, and the *Massachusetts Mercury* (Boston), March 19.
1800, January 28, pp. 129-131, and the *Massachusetts Mercury*, April 1.
1801, January 27, pp. 136-139.
1802, January 26, pp. 145-147, and the *Mercury and New-England Palladium* (Boston), February 23.
1803, January 25, pp. 151-156, and the *Boston Weekly Magazine*, May 14.
1804, July 5 (*Boston Gazette*), October 30, pp. 166-168.
1805, July 23 (*The Repertory*, Boston), August 27, pp. 176-179.
1806, November 15 (*Portsmouth, N. H., Oracle*).
1807, January 27, pp. 190-192.
1808, February 19 (*The Repertory*).
1809, January 31, pp. 200-203, and the *New-England Palladium*, August 22.
1810, August 28, pp. 216-219, and the *Repertory*, September 28.

LOAN BOOK, 1809.

October 26, 1809, to October 31, 1816, with some breaks, and also for 1812 and 1813, in the *New England Palladium*, February 18, 1814.

COLLECTIONS.

- 1814, to August, 2d series, II., pp. 285-292.
1815, to July, 2d series, III., pp. 292-296.
1816, to August, 2d series, IV., pp. 304-308.
1818, to April, 2d series, VII., pp. 297-300.
1819, to April, 2d series, VIII., pp. 329-332.

- 1822, to January, 2d series, IX., pp. 369-372.
1823, to April, 2d series, X., pp. 188-191.
1825, to March, 3d series, I., pp. 295-299.
1830, to January, 3d series, II., pp. 365-368.
1833, to January, 3d series, III., pp. 404-407.
1834, to May, 3d series, VI., pp. 294-296.
1836, to June, 3d series, V., pp. 291-298.
1837, to June, 3d series, VI., pp. 296-300.
1838, to July, 3d series, VII., pp. 292-296.

GIFT BOOK.

1830, January 28. Since then regular entries have been made.

The last "Acknowledgment of Donations" in the form of a list of titles was made in Volume VII., 3d series of Collections mentioned above. While the By-Laws of 1833 repeated the requirement that the Librarian at each stated meeting should furnish a "catalogue of books, pamphlets, manuscripts, and maps," few references to such a list are found until the last entry of this kind on October 31, 1833; but on February 27, 1834, the practice of presenting the names of those making "donations" was begun, which were printed in the Proceedings of each meeting until March 11, 1869, when it was discontinued. Since then the list has been regularly presented by the Librarian, but the names have appeared at the end of each volume of Proceedings, beginning with Volume XI. (1869-1870), in an alphabetical arrangement under the title "List of Donors to the Library."

Of the large number of pamphlets given to the Library many have been bound up in volumes; and from time to time votes have been passed ordering such work to be done. It was an early practice to tie up the pamphlets in small parcels, and keep them in this way preparatory to binding; and in the course of time several thousand were bound. On April 8, 1858, when the Librarian read his first "Annual Report," under the requirement of the By-Laws adopted on October 8, 1857, there were about 12,000 pamphlets in the Library arranged in cases made for the purpose. It appears by the report of the Standing Committee on April 24, 1856, that at that time 457 cases had been bought, and about 10,000 pamphlets classified and thus arranged. These cases, shaped like

a volume, had the word "Pamphlets" printed on the back. In April, 1862, the number had reached 492, and probably more were added later; and their use continued until about 1878, although a few are still found serviceable for the largest pamphlets. According to the system of classification begun by Dr. Appleton, and fully given in the report of the Librarian, made on April 12, 1866, a paper label of the proper size, bearing the printed name of the division, was pasted on the back of the boxes. About the year 1878 the pamphlets had increased so much that it was found easier and more convenient for use to tie them up in bundles. Later, in October, 1884, these parcels were first carefully guarded from the wear of the string by strips of pressboard. The system of classification now in use, although somewhat changed as to the names of the divisions and other minor particulars, is similar to that begun by Dr. Appleton. These pamphlets are kept in one room, and arranged on the alphabetical plan in the several divisions and subdivisions.

It was the practice of early Librarians to enter, on the fly-leaf of each volume of miscellaneous tracts, the titles contained therein, as well as occasionally other memoranda. One of such volumes, in which the first title is "The Church of Ephesus arraign'd," by Josiah Smith (Charles-Town, S. C., 1768), has on the fly-leaf at the end the following note written by John Eliot: —

There is no perswading Bookbinders to do as you *desire* them. Besides the misplacing of several pamphlets & paying no regard to the date, tho' arranged for him by the Librarian, he must take this *Narrative of the work at C. from the parcell which were collected with great diligence & many months assiduity; & where all the Cambuslang pieces preceeded the other works of the Whitefieldian controversy.*

Two books are spoiled to the no small vexation of M^r E. who hath had his patience tried often in this way.

Use — or Caution.

Never send but pamphlets enough to fill one volume — let these be bound in boards only till you have seen them — then may you alter the arrang^{mt} before the finishing. Otherwise you must stand over the Bookbinder till there is not a bare possibility of his *mistaking*.

Another volume, in which the first title is "The Importance of Righteousness . . in two Discourses delivered at

Brookfield, July 4, 1774," by Nathan Fiske (Boston, 1774), has a note at the beginning in the same hand as follows: —

Remark — for the benefit of other Societies besides the historical.

A *stupid* book binder will never mind your orders about placing pamphlets.

If *cheapness* is the thing aimed at, you will have none but *stupid fellows* to work for you.

Still another volume of bound tracts, in which the first pamphlet is entitled "Three Choice and Profitable Sermons," by John Norton (Cambridge, 1664), contains the following memorandum: —

These Sermons were given by several Gentlemen [probably not members of the Society] M^r Harris & M^r J. Eliot. Some of them were collected from the Mather Library. They were bound at the expense of M^r _____ who gave 100\$ for this laudable purpose.

Since the year 1868 it has been the rule in the Library to bind up all historical tracts separately; and miscellaneous pamphlets have not been bound in the same volume unless they belonged to a series or were closely connected in their subjects. Reports of various societies and institutions in Massachusetts are bound together in sets, and divided according to their thickness, though frequently by tens or fives, either as to the year or the ordinal number of the report. On the back and near the top of the volumes given during the first twenty years of the Society, there is found a small cross in ink. I am unable to give the meaning of this mark, but perhaps it was meant to show that the work had been catalogued. To indicate the fact in later years a small "c" has been written in ink or with pencil at the beginning of the book or pamphlet in the upper right-hand corner.

In former times the style of binding pamphlets varied somewhat from that now in use, as well as the lettering on the back. Such volumes were generally bound in sheep, which has not proved to be serviceable. The following instances may be mentioned as fair samples of the lettering: "Religious Tracts," "Mixt Tracts," "Mixt Sermons," "Select Pamphlets," etc.; and about 1815 the back titles ran thus: "Tracts. D. F. 1," "Tracts. D. F. 2," with several other combinations of letters and figures, which were intended probably for the place-mark of the books.

In recent years it has been the practice to bind the newspapers in duck, as it is now considered by library experts to be more durable than leather, which in time becomes very tender and fragile. Since June 7, 1889, a handle, or loop, projecting behind, has been firmly riveted to each side of the cover, so that the volume can be more easily taken from the shelf. This has been found to be a convenient contrivance for large or heavy files.

On October 13, 1882, the Society received a bequest of \$3,000 made by a Corresponding Member, William Winthrop, Esq., of Malta, who died on July 3, 1869. According to the terms of the will, the Society was to apply "the whole of the accruing annual interest and profits to the binding, for the better preservation, of the valuable manuscripts and books appertaining to the Society"; and from the income of this fund, known as the "William Winthrop Fund," books were first bound on June 9, 1883. In all the volumes a small slip, first made in 1884, is pasted on the inside of the front cover, in the upper right-hand corner, mentioning the fact and giving the date of binding; and later a similar label, first struck off on June 4, 1890, has been used in all books repaired from the same income. See the Proceedings, Volume XX. (1882-1883), pages 17-20, for references to Mr. Winthrop and the bequest.

At the Annual Meeting of the Society on April 9, 1857, the large and costly collection of books given by Mr. Thomas Dowse, of Cambridgeport, was formally received. It consists of fine editions of miscellaneous works, and all the books are elegantly bound. The following minute written on a sheet of letter paper and pasted on a fly-leaf at the beginning will explain itself:—

CAMBRIDGE, July 30, 1856.

This volume — "Purchas His Pilgrimes" — being numbered 812 in the Catalogue now in the press of Mess. John Wilson & Son, is delivered by me on this thirtieth day of July, 1856, to the Honorable Robert C. Winthrop, President of the Massachusetts Historical Society, as an earnest and evidence of my having given the whole of my library to said Massachusetts Historical Society, the books to be preserved forever in a room by themselves, only to be used in said room

THOMAS DOWSE

In presence of
O. W. WATRISS, }
GEORGE LIVERMORE. }

Boston, 30 July, 1856.

I received this 1st Volume of "Purchas His Pilgrimes" from Thomas Dowse, Esq., in his own Library in presence of Messrs. Watriss and Livermore, the witnesses to his signature, this Wednesday afternoon, the thirtieth day of July, 1856, and brought it away with me at his request to be presented to the Massachusetts Historical Society at a Special Meeting, which I have caused to be notified for Tuesday next at 10 o'clock, A. M., and in evidence of the gift of his whole collection of books to said Society.

ROBERT C. WINTHROP,
President of the Mass. Hist. Society.

After the receipt of the books at this meeting, Mr. Winthrop paid a tribute to the memory of Mr. Dowse, and announced a gift of \$10,000, from his executors, to be known as the "Dowse Fund." For an account of the proceedings and the eulogy by Mr. Everett, delivered in the Music Hall, on December 9, 1858, see the third volume of Proceedings (1855-1858). The collection by actual count consists of 4,665 volumes, which is three less than the number shown by the catalogue printed in 1856, and several hundred less than that which has been mentioned on several occasions before the Society; but according to memoranda made at the time these three by some accident were never received. The numbers and titles of the missing volumes are as follows:—

785. Poems. With Engravings after Westall. By Thomas Gray. London, 1821.

1308. Stories of the Gods and Heroes of Greece. By George Berthold Niebuhr. Translated from the German, and edited by Sarah Austin. London, 1843.

1907. Letters to one of his Friends. By Bishop William Warburton. New York, 1809.

The six bookcases originally received with the collection are still the property of the Society, but are now used for another purpose.

In the autumn of 1871 a book-plate, modelled with some variations after that in the Ticknor Collection at the Boston Public Library, was made and duly inserted. The impressions were struck off from stone, twenty-three copies in one sheet, and afterward cut up; and several of these sheets are still preserved.

The late Mr. Savage, who was Librarian from 1814 to 1818, and afterward President from 1841 to 1855, bequeathed the sum of \$5,000, "of the income whereof no use shall be made except for the increase of said Society's library," — the first bequest ever received for that purpose, and now known as the "Savage Fund." This amount became available in 1873; and soon afterward, in September, 1875, a book-plate, modelled after the one used in the Dowse Collection, was made for all books bought with this income. The plate was engraved on steel, and contains a likeness of Mr. Savage. See the Proceedings (XIV., 153) for October, 1875, where an impression is given. Pamphlets bought in the same way and afterward bound, also receive this plate, as they are then considered books. Since November, 1892, impressions inserted in such volumes have the blank "Bound 189," printed at the bottom so that the date of binding can be entered. A book is kept in which all the accessions from this source, including the various titles and the price, are entered, as well as other memoranda. At each meeting of the Council it is the custom of the Librarian to read a list of such books bought since the previous report.

At a meeting held on December 22, 1813, it was voted that a committee then named "apply to the Trustees of the New England Library, so called, for the deposit of the same in the Historical Room." On October 30, 1817, this committee reported that, "in consultation with the pastor of the Old South Church and Society," and according to a vote of that church, on December 1, 1814, 261 volumes, 12 volumes of manuscripts and numerous pamphlets "most conducive to the design of deposit" had been selected and arranged in ten movable cases, open in front, in the rooms of the Historical Society. It is supposed that this collection was transferred as early as 1815, though there is no record of the fact. See Collections, 2d series, VII., 179-185, for a brief account of the deposit. On May 23, 1815, Moses Gill, of Princeton, gave to the Library the manuscript catalogue of this collection, in the handwriting of Rev. Thomas Prince, entitled "New-English Books & Tracts collected by Thomas Prince of Boston N E." To this volume, before it was bound, several blank leaves were added by Rev. Abiel Holmes, who entered therein the titles of the books selected as well as a brief list of

the manuscripts. This collection remained as a part of the Historical Library until 1859, when the pastors and deacons of the Old South Church, feeling the "need of a convenient and quick access to the whole collection" by the public, in a communication dated July 12, 1859, asked for the "return of the books and papers," agreeably to the terms of the vote whereby they were deposited; and accordingly they were returned to the Prince Library, which was, on July 12, 1866, transferred to the care of the Boston Public Library. In October, 1869, a complete catalogue of the collection was published by the Trustees of that institution, containing an historical introduction.

On various occasions during recent years special book-plates have been printed for particular gifts. Among such instances, as the more important ones, may be mentioned the bequest of a collection of music books by Williams Latham, received on May 22, 1884 (*Proc.*, 2d series, I., 200); the works of Rear-Admiral Preble, on March 20, 1885; the Ticknor collection of books and pamphlets, on May 25, 1885; and the autograph collection given by Mr. and Mrs. Alexander C. Washburn, on April 13, 1893.

On December 23, 1873, the three volumes of "Hutchinson Papers," which had been in the Library for more than fifty years, were delivered by the Librarian to Charles R. Train, Attorney-General of the Commonwealth, according to a decision of the arbitrator, Robert S. Rantoul, Esq., made to the Society on December 6 of that year. The manuscripts relating to the controversy about the ownership of these files were bound in May, 1880, together with the House and Senate Documents relating to the same, and were printed in the *Proceedings*, Volumes II. (1835-1855) and X.-XIII. (1867-1875). An account of the Papers with the final correspondence may be found on pages 217-232 of Volume XIII.

One of the early objects of the Society first mentioned in a "Plan of an Antiquarian Society, August, 1790," written by Dr. Belknap, was the collection of "specimens of natural and artificial curiosities"; and this was embodied in the Constitution drawn up at the beginning of 1791 and in the early By-Laws. The "best part of the cabinet," according to the By-Laws, contained such articles, and was called the "Museum"; and until the annual election of officers on April

4, 1794, the Librarian had charge, but on that date Mr. Samuel Turell was chosen "Keeper of the Cabinet," and this office then became a permanent one. One of his duties was to present at the stated meetings of the Society a "catalogue of the curiosities." Before April 30, 1793, there is an occasional reference to articles given to the Cabinet; but at the meeting held on that date the first list "For the Cabinet" was appended to that for the Library. These lists were added in the same way until January 31, 1809, and are included in the references to gifts mentioned above, excepting June 6, 1796; while in the records of later meetings allusions will be found to other articles received by the Cabinet. Although "a list of the natural and artificial productions belonging to the Museum" was reported on October 25, 1796, by Samuel Turell, Cabinet-Keeper, a catalogue, as such, was not begun until May, 1800; and this contains entries as late as 1814. About 1811 a catalogue of minerals and plants was made, Joseph McKean then Cabinet-Keeper; and this contained a list of the plants given by Thomas H. Perkins on October 27, 1795. At a meeting held on December 23, William Dandridge Peck, a member, asked the Society to lend him these plants, that he might "put them in order and in a state of preservation," which application was granted. At the end of the catalogue it is recorded that "the Society consented that they should remain with the Professor till further orders." Mr. Peck died on October 3, 1822, and in another portion of the list is the following: "Oct. 27, 1825 After Mr Peck dec^d these Plants were kept in the care of Rev^d Dr Lowell at Cambridge, till further orders." What became of them is not known.

As early as August 24, 1819, an effort was made to dispose of some of the articles belonging to the Muscum, when it was voted "That the Librarian and Cabinet-Keeper be authorized to dispose, at their discretion, of any perishable articles in the possession of the Society." Besides other efforts in the same direction, it appears by the record of the meeting held on October 25, 1796, that the Cabinet-Keeper was "authorized to exchange some of the shells belonging to the Society for Governor Hutchinson's picture"; and in return the Society received the portrait painted by Copley. On April 25, 1833, it was voted "to deposit with the Society of Natural History

such articles in the Museum, relating to that subject, as they (the Committee) may think proper." This occurred before the first meeting in the new room, but after the books had been moved; and the articles, including several stuffed animals and 71 minerals, were delivered to that Society on July 20. A box of minerals from the neighborhood of Lynn, given by Alonzo Lewis on January 27, 1831, was not taken by the Natural History Society, perhaps because it was either overlooked or not wanted. At a meeting on January 10, 1867, it was ordered "That such aboriginal relics as Professor Wyman should select . . . be . . . *deposited* with the 'Peabody Museum,' and that a list of every article thus deposited be kept." In accordance with this vote 178 specimens were sent to Cambridge, and a list is preserved. These votes stripped the Society, for the most part, of its collection of articles in natural history and archæology.

According to the Laws adopted by the Society on May 4, 1809, it was the duty of the Librarian "to attend at the Library, or to procure some member to attend in his stead, on the afternoon of each Thursday, at three o'clock P. M., for the accommodation of the members." Until then it does not appear that he was required to be present at any specified time, or that the room was kept open; but afterward the requirement continued in force until the By-Laws of February 10, 1853, were adopted. From that date the Librarian, according to the new regulation, has been present at the Library daily, "in person, or by a substitute . . . at the regular hours appointed for keeping it open," although with much irregularity at first. Before 1853, as is implied in various ways, there may have been times when the rooms were open oftener than once a week for the convenience of members.

Until about 1794 the key of the Library remained in the hands of Dr. Belknap, then the Corresponding Secretary, whose duty it was to deliver it to "no other person but one of the members." The By-Laws, adopted in that year, required the Librarian and Cabinet-Keeper each to keep a key; and this custom continued until 1853, when, as mentioned above, the Librarian was to be present daily. Owing to some difficulty in carrying out the last regulation, a committee was chosen to consider the subject of "keeping the Library open and making provision for a new catalogue." At the meeting on October

12, 1854, Mr. Winthrop, for this committee, made a full report; and in order to carry out the suggestions contained therein, the Librarian was authorized to employ an assistant whose duty should be "to keep the Library open according to the By-Laws of the Society, and to proceed at once to the preparation of a complete and systematic catalogue of the Library, Cabinet, and pictures." Accordingly the services of Dr. Appleton were secured, who entered upon his duties on December 4, 1854, as given below.

In the earlier days of the Society the By-Laws required that all books "be accepted, with thanks," but it does not appear that there was then any formal letter sent to the givers. An acknowledgment, however, was made either in the American Apollo or the Collections, and occasionally in the newspapers of the period, as mentioned above. On August 24, 1819, a vote was passed ordering a "form of acknowledgment of donations," and at several other subsequent times similar requirements were made, as is noted in the second volume of Proceedings (pp. 20, 252, 312). On April 24, 1845, "a suitable plate" was ordered; but there is now no evidence that this was done. According to the By-Laws of 1853, the Librarian acknowledged the gift "by a letter addressed to the person making it"; but in December, 1855, an engraved copper-plate for this purpose was made by Messrs. Morse & Tuttle, which has since then been in use. The "certificate," so called in the regulation of 1857, contains blank spaces for the title of the book, the name of the giver, and for the signatures of the President and Librarian.

By a disastrous fire which burned many buildings and warehouses very early in the morning of November 10, 1825, the Society suffered a serious loss in its publications. At that time the edition of volumes VII. and VIII. of the second series of Collections was entirely destroyed, and nearly the whole of volumes IV. and V. of the first series, and IX. of the second series, amounting in all to more than 2,000 volumes. Most unfortunately the manuscript copy of the second volume of Winthrop's Journal was also burned, — an irreparable loss to historical scholars, although the work had then been recently printed; besides other valuable works belonging to the Society. The fire broke out in the building at No. 10 Court Street, rapidly spreading across the way, and destroying the building num-

bered 7, in which was the office of Mr. Savage, who had taken out for temporary use certain volumes belonging to the Library. The Collections were stored at the time with Messrs. Phelps & Farnham, printers to the Society, who occupied rooms in the next building, which was also burned. For other particulars concerning the Society's losses, see the first volume of Proceedings (1791-1835), pages 392 and 410.

At the third meeting of the Society, on June 30, 1791, it is recorded "That the Treasurer be desired to purchase twelve chairs (Windsor, green, elbow); a plain pine table, painted, with drawer and lock and key; an inkstand, &c." According to Mr. Winthrop, who referred to them in an address when, as President, he received the keys of the Dowse Library on April 9, 1857, they were "believed to be the same which, until within a few months past, have constituted the principal part of the furniture of our rooms." It is interesting to note that the table and chairs are still in use, and show no great sign of wear; and five benches or settees are found which may have been a part of the original furniture of the Library. For further references to Windsor chairs, see the Proceedings, volumes XVII. (p. 218), XVIII. (p. 243), and 2d series, I. (p. 147).

Until August 29, 1815, members of the Society were elected by ballot, but on that date it was voted unanimously that "the law and custom of our forefathers be adopted, as it stands in the Statute of Elections, 1643, *mutatis mutandis*, 'For the yearly choosing of assistants, the freemen shall use Indian corn and beans, the Indian corn to manifest election, and the beans contrary.'" The substance of this vote was embodied in the By-Laws of 1833, and has since continued in force. During recent years the corn used for this purpose has been taken from an ear given by Mr. Winthrop. Attached is a tag on which is written the following:—

The ear of corn held up by Edward Everett as an illustration in his speech on "Vegetable and Mineral Gold" at the dinner of the United States Agricultural Society, 26th October, 1855, and given to me as we drove home together after the dinner. He said he had plucked it himself from the field in Lexington on that or a previous morning. He brought it to the dinner wrapped in paper, uncovering it only at the moment when he alluded to it. See his Orations and Speeches, 3d Vol. p. 387.

R. C. W.

In the summer of 1818, Louis XVIII., King of France, gave to the Library several works in return for a set of the Society's Collections which had been previously sent to him. These works, consisting of eleven volumes in all, taken from the King's own library, were elegantly bound, and bear on the covers the Royal Arms in gilt. One of them entitled "*Dictionnaire des Ouvrages Anonymes et Pseudonymes*," in four volumes, was for a long time through some mistake in the possession of the Library of Harvard College. After many years they were returned to the Society, with the college book-plates pasted in them.

Among important additions may be mentioned certain books, pamphlets, and manuscripts from the Library of Dr. Belknap, which were given to the Society by his daughter, Miss Elizabeth Belknap, on March 11, 1858. See the third volume of *Proceedings* (pp. 286-328) for an account of the gift. Another valuable accession was Dr. John Pierce's set of early election sermons given by him, and received by the Society on October 22, 1849, soon after his death; and his collection of *Massachusetts Registers*, received on September 20, 1851, and also his manuscript diary, from 1803 to 1849, in 18 volumes, on February 25, 1858. Another addition, consisting of works of early American poetry, was received from Mr. Ticknor on December 9, 1858; and this was supplemented by many books and pamphlets given by the family after his death. Still another came through a bequest from Mr. Savage received on June 12, 1873, which included many local histories, genealogies, etc., and his own copy of the *Genealogical Dictionary*, with manuscript notes and corrections.

On February 11, 1869, a valuable collection of books and pamphlets was given by Mr. Winthrop, at that time President of the Society. Among the works then received there were 78 volumes lettered on the back according to their subjects, and each containing about ten pamphlets. At several times during the years 1863 and 1864, Mr. Winthrop also gave many early broadsides, for the most part relating to New England, which have been placed in two large volumes made for the purpose; and a special book-plate has been inserted, with the dates of the gift.

When I entered on my term of service as Librarian in 1868, I began to form a collection of the different editions of the

Society's publications, with all the various reprints of articles that have appeared either in the Collections or Proceedings. This collection, now very complete, soon became known in these rooms as "the Archives," and is found to be of great service in many ways. It furnished the basis of the paper on the Centennial Bibliography of the Society, which was presented on January 8, 1891, and printed in the Proceedings (2d series, VI., 203-249). The collection is kept in one of two mahogany book-cases which were given by Mr. Everett, on February 15, 1852.

The following is a list of Librarians, Assistant Librarians, and Assistants in the Library, with their terms of service:—

Librarians.

John Eliot,	January 24, 1791, to April 30, 1793.
George Richards Minot,	April 30, 1793, " April 28, 1795.
John Eliot,	April 28, 1795, " July 19, 1798.
John Thornton Kirkland,	July 19, 1798, " April 29, 1806.
William Smith Shaw,	April 29, 1806, " May 9, 1808.
Timothy Alden,	May 9, 1808, " October 26, 1809.
Joseph McKean,	October 26, 1809, " April 30, 1812.
Joseph Tilden,	April 30, 1812, " April 28, 1814.
James Savage,	April 28, 1814, " April 30, 1818.
Nathaniel Greenwood Snelling,	April 30, 1818, " April 26, 1821.
Elisha Clap,	April 26, 1821, " April 24, 1823.
William Jenks,	April 24, 1823, " October 25, 1832.
James Bowdoin,	October 25, 1832, " April 25, 1833.
Joseph Willard,	April 25, 1833, " April 30, 1835.
Nahum Mitchell,	April 30, 1835, " December 29, 1836.
Joseph Barlow Felt,	December 29, 1836, " October 26, 1837.
Thaddeus Mason Harris,	October 26, 1837, " April 28, 1842.
Joseph Barlow Felt,	April 28, 1842, " April 12, 1855.
Samuel Kirkland Lothrop,	April 12, 1855, " April 11, 1861.
Nathaniel Bradstreet Shurtleff,	April 11, 1861, " April 14, 1864.
Thomas Coffin Amory,	April 14, 1864, " April 9, 1868.
Samuel Abbott Green,	April 9, 1868, "

Assistant Librarians.

John Thornton Kirkland,	April 24, 1798, " July 19, 1798.
Thomas Wallcut,	July 19, 1798, " April 30, 1799.
Thaddeus Mason Harris,	March 30, 1837, " October 26, 1837.
Lucius Robinson Paige,	April 24, 1845, " May 7, 1846.

Assistant Librarians (not members).

John W. Snelling,	August 1, 1839,	" April 17, 1843.*
John Appleton,	December 4, 1854,	" December 1, 1868.
Frederick Henry Hedge, Jr.,	April 9, 1869,	" December 31, 1871.
John Andrew Henshaw,	April 13, 1877,	" September 30, 1883.
Julius Herbert Tuttle,	October 1, 1883,	"

Assistants in the Library.

James I. Wood,	August 17, 1853,	" February 9, 1854.
George Arnold,	June 15, 1855,	" January 7, 1878.
Julius Herbert Tuttle,	January 21, 1878,	" September 30, 1883.
Alfred Baylies Page,	October 12, 1883,	"

Dr. GREEN also communicated, in behalf of Prof. Franklin B. Dexter, of New Haven, a Corresponding Member, abstracts of a number of letters in the Bodleian Library at Oxford, written by Increase Mather to Anthony à Wood in answer to letters of inquiry in connection with Wood's *Athenæ Oxonienses*, then in press.

Mr. Dexter's communication was as follows:—

I have been favored by Rev. Andrew Clark, Fellow of Lincoln College, Oxford, with the following abstract of Increase Mather's letters to Anthony Wood—in Bodleian Library, Wood Ms. F. 43, fol. 112–137—written in answer to letters of inquiry in connection with Wood's "*Athenæ Oxonienses*," then in the press. The fact of Mather's having assisted Wood with such information was already known, and two of Wood's letters in acknowledgment (dated June 12, 1690, and Feb. 23, 1690–1) are printed in Sibley's *Harvard Graduates*, vol. i. pp. 595–597. See also 2 *Mass. Hist. Coll.*, vol. vii. pp. 187, 188.

Dated at Copt Hall Court in Throgmorton Street, London, November: 27, 1690.

"Mr John Davenport was born Anno 1597 as himselfe has told me, & (to the best of my remembrance) in the city of Coventry. Hee was of Brasenose Colledge. Hee was for many years a laborious preacher in Coleman Street here in London; but upon his scrupling y^e Ceremonies he removed to Holland. And from thence to N. England. Hee was pastor of y^e church at Newhaven in N. E. for the space of 30 years complete. Hee passed from thence to Boston in N. E. anno 1668,

* Died on that date, at the age of sixty-three years.

and continued in Boston till y^e day of his death which was March 13, 1698. There is no epitaph on his Tomb, but hee lieth interred in y^e same tomb with Mr. Cotton for whom hee had in his life time an extraordinary respect. He has not many books published . . . His sermons on y^e Canticles or Song of Solomon are transcribed for y^e press. They contayne above 100 sheets in a small hand. Hee follows Mr Brightman in his exposition of y^t Booke, supposing y^t a propheticall Historical & not only a mystical sense belongs to y^t portion of Scripture. The merchant who designed to publish y^t MSS is dead, so y^t I question whether those discourses will ever see light.

"Concerning my father (Mr Richard Mather) of w^m you enquire, Hee was born at Lowton in y^e parish of Winwick in Lancashire anno 1596. Hee was of Brasennose College Oxford.

"Hee preached 15 years at Prescot & in Toxteth in Lancashire on y^e Lords dayes at Toxteth and on Tuesdays at Prescot. Anno 1635 hee removed with his family to N. E. where he continued a laborious & eminent minister (at y^e Town of Dorchester in N. E.) for more yⁿ 34 years. Hee dyed April 22. 1669. Hee has not many books printed. Only there is his *Answer* to Mr Charles Herle; & to Mr. Rutherford wherein hee defends y^e congregational way of church government wherein it differs from y^e Presbyterian. Also the *Answer* to 32 Questions, and y^e discourse about y^e Church covenant written anno 1639, both which pass under the name of the elders of N. England; my father was y^e sole Author of y^m. All in 4to . . . His Sermons on y^e 2 Epistle of Peter Hee did him selfe transcribe for y^e press, but they are not yet made publick.

"The Platform of Church discipline agreed unto by y^e elders and messengers of y^e Churches Assembled in y^e Synod of Cambridge in N. E. anno 1648, my father had y^e principal hand in drawing of it up.

"His life and death was printed in N. E. Anno 1670. The substance whereof is reprinted here in London & published in Mr Clark's last volume of his printed since his death."

London, Dec^r 9, 1690. "As for Mr. Newman I knew him well, but what University Hee was of, I can not give any account. Those of our New England divines who were of eminency (e.g. my father Cotton, Mr. Hooker, Mr Norton, Mr Stone) were of Cambridge. My eldest brother Samuel Mather was once of Magdalen Colledge in Oxford. Hee was born at Much Woolton in Lancashire May 13, 1626; was transported with my father's family to N. E. Anno 1635; had his Education in Harvard Colledge at Cambridge in N. E., where he proceeded Bachelor of Arts after he had bin in y^e Colledge 4 years, & Mr. after 7 years. He returned to England 1650, was admitted ad eundem in Oxford, and also in the University of Cambridge. Hee was not many years in Oxford but y^e who were in power having bin

informed y^t Hee was a man of excellent parts & learning, sent to him, to go to Leith in Scotland there to be a publick preacher, where Hee continued above a year. In 1655 Hee removed to Dublin in Ireland, where Hee was a Senior Fellow in y^e Colledge there; and preached as a lecturer in S. Nichols Church in y^t City, Also, to y^e yⁿ Lord Deputy and Councel, in his Turn. Altho hee was as to his principles respecting church government a Non Conformist yet Hee was very kind to those of the Episcopal perwasion when it was in his power to have done many of y^m in Ireland a disfriend way. For when y^e L^d Deputy gave a Commission to him with some others in order to the displacing of Episcopal ministers in y^e province of Munster hee declined to act upon it, whereby many did escape that storm. After y^t my brother with some others had a commission printed to call those of that perwasion in Dublin before y^m, but Hee declared y^t Hee would meet about y^t matter ad Graecas calendas, saying y^t Hee came to Ireland to preach y^e Gospel Himselfe & not to hinder others from preaching it. My brother's refusing to act on y^t commission had such an Influence on others y^t they refused also: so did many worthy & learned men escape y^t trouble which otherwise would have proved very afflictive to them. Hee was greatly valued by some who differed from him as to opinion in lesser & circumstantial poynts in Religion. He dyed in Dublin in y^e year 1671.

" . . . The N. E. prints which I wrote to you about are of an Historical nature, such as give an account concerning very strange providences which have hapned in N. E. One of these books I published 1684. The other was published by my eldest son (who is pastor of a church in Boston N. E.) since I was in N. E. which is allmost 3 years ago. I have bin & am wayting here about y^e publick affairs of y^t countrey. The Colledge there is under my peculiar inspection."

London Janry 6, 1699. "Mr Newman dyed in a Town called Rehoboth in New England where hee lived (and was pastor to the church there) many years. Hee was (I take it) in the 65 year of his Age. Hee once lived in Cheshire, but I think Hee was a Yorkshire man as to his birth; but y^e particular place where I am ignorant of.

"Mr. Davenport was minister in S^t Stevens Church in Coleman Street in London.

"My brother Samuel was in Oxford in year 1651 & 52. Hee was admitted ad eundem having bin a Master of Art 6 years before that in y^e Colledge at Cambridge in New England. Hee was one of y^e chaplains in Magdalen Colledge in Oxford. . . . My brother dyed October 29, 1671; and is buried in Nicholas church in Dublin, where he used to preach a morning lecture. He was born at Much Woolton in Child-well parish in Lancashire May 13, 1626."

London, Janry 22, 1699 — sends a list of books published by himself.

"As for that Cotton Mather (of whom you enquire, one of whose bookes you have, for hee has many published) hee is my eldest son. I named him Cotton in honour to his grandfather, for my wife is famous Mr John Cotton's daughter. He is pastor of a church in Boston; & in great reputation amongst the people in N. E. My father had 4 sons ministers viz 1. Samuel, of whom you have some account, 2 Nathanael who is now pastor of a Congregation here in London, 3 Eleazar who dyed pastor of y^e church at Northampton in N. E. after hee had preached 11 years amongst them. 4. Increase.

"My eldest son has bin an ordained minister these 5 years. My second son Nathaniel was a Master of Arts, just entring on y^e ministry but y^e God saw meet to remove him to a better world. Hee was a young man of stupendous learning and great piety. My youngest son whose name is Samuel is a Bachelor of Arts. A studious & pious youth, I bless the Lord. I design him for the ministry, if God please."

London, Febr. 3. 169⁹ — is sending notes of several Nonconformist ministers.

"The account of Mr. Ben's life, I had from my brother Nath. whose wife was Mr. Ben's daughter. From him also, I had that concerning Mr. Tim. Taylor, for my brother & hee were several years conjunct in the work of the ministry in the same congregation in Dublin. . . . Mr. Sam. Lee is my very intimate friend. I left him in New England 3 years ago. He is still living. & so is Mr. Charles Morton in N. E. who was contemporary with Mr Lee & of Wadham Colledge."

The life of William Ben, written by Nathaniel Mather, is MS. Wood F. 43 fol. 127, and that of Timothy Taylor, by the same is *ibid.* fol. 128.

Feb. 18, 169⁹. "I was born at Dorchester in New England June 26, 1639. I was sent to Harvard Colledge at Cambridge in N. E. in the year 1651 when I was but 12 years old: there continued 6 years. Then removed to Ireland 1657 & in Trinity Colledge neer Dublin I proceeded Mr of Arts 1658. I returned to N. E. 1661; was chosen president of the Colledge in N. E. 1681. Returned to England in May 1688, being desired by the principal gentlemen in N. E. to acquaint the late king with the state of his subjects in y^e territory, whose civil libertyes & properties were then invaded, so as was intollerable. I have stayed here ever since only to serve y^e countrey. I hope when the K. returns from Holland, I may in a few weekes obtain w^t I have bin solliciting for, & his Maj. has graciously promised shall be done for y^e people, as to restoring y^m to y^e aunient rights & priviledges."

April 7, 1691 — has been promised an account concerning several persons Wood has asked about.

London, April 23, 1691 — has been promised accounts of Christopher Fowler and Dr. Manton and Mr. Charnock: is unable to give further information "besides those formerly sent."

London, May 21, 1691 — cannot obtain information "excepting such as I have formerly transmitted."

London, June 25, 1691. "I propose (if God permitt) for N. E. again. The Colledge there has no president to govern it in my absence, besides many other obligations to recall me thither. But I must not go till y^e affair of N. E. which I have been Negotiating for these several yeares shall be brought to an issue; & when y^e will be is uncertayn. The K^t absence, first in Ireland & since in Holland, has retarded the accomplishment of that great affair which I am concerned in for N. E."

London, June 30, 1691. A "large account" of Mr. Fowler has been passed from minister to minister, but not reached Mather: has written to Fowler's son.

London, July 10, 1691 — sends notes of lives of Christopher Fowler and Stephen Charnocke.

Totteridge, August 27, 1691 — is retired to the country for his health for a few weeks.

"Nathanael Mather who dyed Octobr. 17, 1688, was my second son. His life is written & published (first in N. E. & since at London) by his eldest brother Cotton Mather, who is my eldest son & is the pastor of a congregation at Boston in New England. God has given me three sons. My youngest his name is Samuel. Hee is a Bachelor of Arts; a very good scholar. I design him for y^e ministry if God please."

Mr. A. B. ELLIS referred to a discussion at the meeting in June last as to what seemed to be the practice of New England ministers of entering the names of persons who joined the church as part of the record, the parties themselves not signing their names to the covenant on the church book, but the minister merely giving a list of the persons in his own handwriting. Mr. Ellis said that he had examined entries on the original records of the First Church in Boston,¹ and found that the ministers were accustomed to enter the names of members in their own handwriting.

The Hon. R. C. WINTHROP presented the prospectus of a recent collection of maps relating to the United States and Canada, drawn between 1651 and 1731, on which brief remarks were made by Mr. Justin Winsor, Mr. Henry W. Haynes, and Mr. A. C. Goodell, Jr., mainly with reference to the original French spelling and pronunciation of the name Boston.

¹ Persons joining this church do not appear to have signed the church covenant in their own handwriting until 1786, during the ministry of John Clarke.

SPECIAL MEETING, NOVEMBER, 1893.

A SPECIAL MEETING, to express the Society's sense of the loss which it has sustained by the death of its senior Vice-President, Francis Parkman, LL.D., was held on Tuesday, the 21st instant, at two and one-half o'clock P. M.; the President, Dr. GEORGE E. ELLIS, in the chair. There was a large attendance of the members; and several of Mr. Parkman's relatives were also present.

After calling the meeting to order, the PRESIDENT said:

Gentlemen,—It has been but at very infrequent intervals in its century of years that the members of this Society have been called together for a Special Meeting. Such have been in honor and in grateful recognition of the most signally distinguished of our associates, who have wrought works of eminent ability and value in the field of American History, by making some single part of it the labor of their lives. No occasion for such a meeting has ever come to us, or is ever likely to come, with a stronger or closer engagement of our personal and associate interest than that which brings us here to-day in commemoration of our late First Vice-President, Francis Parkman. We would thus recognize the privilege and dignity as well as the benefit and service which have come to this Society from his association here. The engaging and impressive qualities of his own personality, of his noble character, as well as his genius and grand accomplishments as an historian, alike present themselves as themes of spontaneous tribute for some of you to speak, and for all of us to hear.

The President produced the manuscript which, then closely sealed, he had held in his hand when, at our meeting for this month, he announced the decease of Mr. Parkman on the day preceding. The parcel, as he repeated, had been confided to his keeping by Mr. Parkman in 1868, as he was

going abroad for medical advice and for research, with an intimation of the uncertainty before him. It was inscribed "Not to be used during his life." The President added that he found within the seal a private note addressed to himself, which he would read.

50 CHESTNUT ST., 28 NOV., 1868.

MY DEAR FRIEND, — Running my eye over this paper, I am more than ever struck with its *egoism*, which makes it totally unfit for any eye but that of one in close personal relations with me.

It resulted from a desire — natural, perhaps, but which may just as well be suppressed — to make known the extreme difficulties which have reduced to very small proportions what might otherwise have been a good measure of achievement. Having once begun it, I went on with it, though convinced that it was wholly unsuited to see the light.

Physiologically considered, the case is rather curious. My plan of life from the first was such as would have secured great bodily vigor in nineteen cases out of twenty, and was only defeated in its aim by an inborn irritability of constitution which required gentler treatment than I gave it. If I had my life to live over again, I would follow exactly the same course again, only with less vehemence.

Very cordially,

F. PARKMAN.

The President remarked that as he saw no trace of what the writer called "egoism" in the autobiographical paper in his hands, he would read it. The first page of the manuscript bearing the figure 8, shows that the earlier pages were reserved by the writer.

The autobiographical fragment read by the President was as follows: —

Allusion was made at the outset to obstacles which have checked the progress of the work, if the name of obstacles can be applied to obstructions at times impassable and of such a nature that even to contend against them would have been little else than an act of self-destruction. The case in question is certainly an exceptional one; but as it has analogies with various other cases, not rare under the stimulus of our social and material influences, a knowledge of it may prove of use. For this, as for other reasons, the writer judges it expedient to state it in full, though in doing so much personal detail must needs be involved.

His childhood was neither healthful nor buoyant. His boyhood, though for a time active, was not robust, and at the

age of eleven or twelve he conceived a vehement liking for pursuits a devotion to which at that time of life far oftener indicates a bodily defect than a mental superiority. Chemical experiment was his favorite hobby, and he pursued it with a tenacious eagerness which, well guided, would have led to some acquaintance with the rudiments of the science, but which in fact served little other purpose than injuring him by confinement, poisoning him with noxious gases, and occasionally scorching him with some ill-starred explosion.¹ The age of fifteen or sixteen produced a revolution. At that momentous period of life retorts and crucibles were forever discarded, and an activity somewhat excessive took the place of voluntary confinement. A new passion seized him, which, but half gratified, still holds its force. He became enamored of the woods,—a fancy which soon gained full control over the course of the literary pursuits to which he was also addicted. After the usual boyish phases of ambitious self-ignorance, he resolved to confine his homage to the Muse of History, as being less apt than her wayward sisters to requite his devotion with a mortifying rebuff. At the age of eighteen the plan which he is still attempting to execute was, in its most essential features, formed. His idea was clear before him, yet attended with unpleasant doubts as to his ability to realize it to his own satisfaction. To solve these doubts he entered upon a training tolerably well fitted to serve his purpose, slighted all college studies which could not promote it, and pursued with avidity such as had a bearing upon it, however indirect.² The task, as he then reckoned, would require about

¹ In the paper referred to on p. 338, Mr. Parkman gives some additional facts in regard to his childhood. He there writes: "At eight years I was sent to a farm belonging to my maternal grandfather, on the outskirts of the extensive tract of wild and rough woodland now called Middlesex Fells. I walked twice a day to a school of high but undeserved reputation, about a mile distant, in the town of Medford. Here I learned very little, and spent the intervals of schooling more profitably in collecting eggs, insects, and reptiles, trapping squirrels and woodchucks, and making persistent though rarely fortunate attempts to kill birds with arrows. After four years of this rustication I was brought back to Boston, when I was unhappily seized with a mania for experiments in chemistry, involving a lonely, confined, unwholesome sort of life, baneful to body and mind."—Eds.

² In the paper sent to Mr. Brimmer, Mr. Parkman says: "Before the end of the Sophomore year my various schemes had crystallized into a plan of writing the story of what was then known as the 'Old French War,'—that is, the war that ended in the conquest of Canada,—for here, as it seemed to me, the forest drama was more stirring and the forest stage more thronged with appropriate actors than

twenty years. The time allowed was ample ; but here he fell into a fatal error, entering on this long pilgrimage with all the vehemence of one starting on a mile heat. His reliance, however, was less on books than on such personal experience as should in some sense identify him with his theme. His natural inclinations urged him in the same direction, for his thoughts were always in the forest, whose features, not un-mixed with softer images, possessed his waking and sleeping dreams, filling him with vague cravings impossible to satisfy. As fond of hardships as he was vain of enduring them, cherishing a sovereign scorn for every physical weakness or defect, deceived, moreover, by a rapid development of frame and sinews which flattered him with the belief that discipline sufficiently unsparing would harden him into an athlete, he slighted the precautions of a more reasonable woodcraft, tired old foresters with long marches, stopped neither for heat nor rain, and slept on the earth without a blanket.¹ Another cause added not a little to the growing evil. It was impossible that conditions of the nervous system abnormal as his had been from infancy, should be without their effects on the mind, and some of these were of a nature highly to exasperate him. Unconscious of their character and origin, and ignorant that with time and confirmed health they would have disappeared, he had no other thought than that of crushing them by force, and accordingly applied himself to the work. Hence resulted a state of mental tension, habitual for several years, and abundantly mischievous in its effects. With a mind overstrained and a body overtasked, he was burning his candle at both ends.

in any other passage of our history. It was not till some years later that I enlarged the plan to include the whole course of the American conflict between France and England, or, in other words, the history of the American forest ; for this was the light in which I regarded it. My theme fascinated me, and I was haunted with wilderness images day and night." — Eds.

¹ Referring to this period, Mr. Parkman writes in his letter to Mr. Brimmer : " I spent all my summer vacations in the woods or in Canada, at the same time reading such books as I thought suited, in a general way, to help me towards my object. I pursued these lucubrations with a pernicious intensity, keeping my plans and purposes to myself while passing among my companions as an outspoken fellow." And of a little later period, when in the Law School, he writes : " Here, while following the prescribed courses at a quiet pace, I entered in earnest on two other courses, one of general history, the other of Indian history and ethnology, and at the same time studied diligently the models of English style, which various pursuits were far from excluding the pleasures of society." — Eds.

But if a systematic and steady course of physical activity can show no better results, have not the advantages of such a course been overrated? In behalf of manhood and common-sense, he would protest against such a conclusion; and if any pale student, glued to his desk, here seek an apology for a way of life whose natural fruit is that pallid and emasculate scholarship of which New England has had too many examples, it will be far better that this sketch had not been written. For the student there is, in its season, no better place than the saddle, and no better companion than the rifle or the oar. A highly irritable organism spurred the writer to excess in a course which, with one of different temperament, would have produced a free and hardy development of such faculties and forces as he possessed. Nor, even in the case in question, was the evil unmixed, since from the same source whence it issued came also the habits of mind and muscular vigor which saved him from a ruin absolute and irremediable.

In his own behalf, he is tempted to add to this digression another. Though the seat of derangement may be the nervous system, it does not of necessity follow that the subject is that which, in the common sense of the word, is called "nervous." The writer was now and then felicitated on "having no nerves" by those who thought themselves maltreated by that mysterious portion of human organism.

This subterranean character of the mischief, early declaring itself at the surface, doubtless increased its intensity, while it saved it from being a nuisance to those around.

Of the time when, leaving college, he entered nominally on the study of law, — though in fact with the determination that neither this nor any other pursuit should stand in the path of his projects, — his recollection is of mingled pain and pleasure. His faculties were stimulated to their best efficiency. Never, before or since, has he known so great a facility of acquisition and comprehension. Soon, however, he became conscious that the impelling force was growing beyond his control. Labor became a passion, and rest intolerable, yet with a keen appetite for social enjoyments, in which he found not only a pleasure, but in some sense a repose. The stimulus rapidly increased. Despite of judgment and of will, his mind turned constantly towards remote objects of pursuit, and strained vehemently to attain them. The condition was that

of a rider whose horse runs headlong, the bit between his teeth, or of a locomotive, built of indifferent material, under a head of steam too great for its strength, hissing at a score of crevices, yet rushing on with accelerating speed to the inevitable smash.

A specific sign of the mischief soon appeared in a weakness of sight, increasing with an ominous rapidity. Doubtless to study with the eyes of another is practicable, yet the expedient is not an eligible one, and the writer bethought him of an alternative. It was essential to his plans to give an inside view of Indian life. This then was the time at once to accomplish the object and rest his failing vision. Accordingly he went to the Rocky Mountains, but he had reckoned without his host. A complication of severe disorders here seized him, and at one time narrowly missed bringing both him and his schemes to an abrupt termination, but, yielding to a system of starvation, at length assumed an intermittent and much less threatening form. A concurrence of circumstances left him but one means of accomplishing his purpose. This was to follow a large band of Ogillallah Indians, known to have crossed the Black Hill range a short time before. Reeling in the saddle with weakness and pain, he set forth, attended by a Canadian hunter. With much difficulty the trail was found, the Black Hills crossed, the reluctance of his follower overcome, and the Indians discovered on the fifth day encamped near the Medicine Bow range of the Rocky Mountains. On a journey of a hundred miles, over a country in parts of the roughest, he had gained rather than lost strength, while his horse was knocked up and his companion disconsolate with a painful cough. Joining the Indians, he followed their wanderings for several weeks. To have worn the airs of an invalid would certainly have been an indiscretion, since in that case a horse, a rifle, a pair of pistols, and a red shirt might have offered temptations too strong for aboriginal virtue. Yet to hunt buffalo on horseback, over a broken country, when, without the tonic of the chase, he could scarcely sit upright in the saddle, was not strictly necessary for maintaining the requisite prestige. The sport, however, was good, and the faith undoubting that, to tame the devil, it is best to take him by the horns.

As to the advantages of this method of dealing with that

subtle personage, some question may have arisen in his mind, when, returning after a few months to the settlements, he found himself in a condition but ill adapted to support his theory. To the maladies of the prairie succeeded a suite of exhausting disorders, so reducing him that circulation at the extremities ceased, the light of the sun became insupportable, and a wild whirl possessed his brain, joined to a universal turmoil of the nervous system which put his philosophy to the sharpest test it had hitherto known. All collapsed, in short, but the tenacious strength of muscles hardened by long activity. This condition was progressive, and did not reach its height—or, to speak more fitly, its depth—until some eighteen months after his return. The prospect before him was by no means attractive, contrasting somewhat pointedly with his boyish fancy of a life of action and a death in battle. Indeed, the change from intense activity to flat stagnation, attended with an utter demolition of air-castles, may claim a place, not of the meanest, in that legion of mental tortures which make the torments of the Inferno seem endurable. The desire was intense to return to the prairie and try a hair of the dog that bit him; but this kill-or-cure expedient was debarred by the certainty that a few days' exposure to the open sunlight would have destroyed his sight.

In the spring of 1848, the condition indicated being then at its worst, the writer resolved to attempt the composition of the "History of the Conspiracy of Pontiac," of which the material had been for some time collected and the ground prepared. The difficulty was so near to the impossible that the line of distinction often disappeared, while medical pre-science condemned the plan as a short road to dire calamities. His motive, however, was in part a sanitary one, growing out of a conviction that nothing could be more deadly to his bodily and mental health than the entire absence of a purpose and an object. The difficulties were threefold: an extreme weakness of sight, disabling him even from writing his name except with eyes closed; a condition of the brain prohibiting fixed attention except at occasional and brief intervals; and an exhaustion and total derangement of the nervous system, producing of necessity a mood of mind most unfavorable to effort. To be made with impunity, the attempt must be made with the most watchful caution.

He caused a wooden frame to be constructed of the size and

shape of a sheet of letter-paper. Stout wires were fixed horizontally across it, half an inch apart, and a movable back of thick pasteboard fitted behind them. The paper for writing was placed between the pasteboard and the wires, guided by which, and using a black lead crayon, he could write not illegibly with closed eyes. He was at the time absent from home, on Staten Island, where, and in the neighboring city of New York, he had friends who willingly offered their aid. It is needless to say to which half of humanity nearly all these kind assistants belonged. He chose for a beginning that part of the work which offered fewest difficulties and with the subject of which he was most familiar, namely, the Siege of Detroit. The books and documents, already partially arranged, were procured from Boston, and read to him at such times as he could listen to them, the length of each reading never, without injury, much exceeding half an hour, and periods of several days frequently occurring during which he could not listen at all. Notes were made by him with closed eyes, and afterwards deciphered and read to him till he had mastered them. For the first half year, the rate of composition averaged about six lines a day. The portion of the book thus composed was afterwards partially rewritten.

His health improved under the process, and the remainder of the volume — in other words, nearly the whole of it — was composed in Boston, while pacing in the twilight of a large garret, the only exercise which the sensitive condition of his sight permitted him in an unclouded day while the sun was above the horizon. It was afterwards written down from dictation by relatives under the same roof, to whom he was also indebted for the preparatory readings. His progress was much less tedious than at the outset, and the history was complete in about two years and a half.

He then entered upon the subject of "France in the New World," — a work, or series of works, involving minute and extended investigation. The difficulties which met him at the outset were incalculable. Wholly unable to use his eyes, he had before him the task, irksome at best, where there is no natural inclination for it, of tracing out, collecting, indexing, arranging, and digesting a great mass of incongruous material scattered on both sides of the Atlantic. Those pursuing historical studies under the disadvantages of impaired sight have

not hitherto attempted in person this kind of work during the period of their disability, but have deputed it to skilled and trusty assistants, — a most wise course in cases where it is practicable. The writer, however, partly from the nature of his subject and his plan, though in special instances receiving very valuable aid, was forced in the main to rely on his own research. The language was chiefly French, and the reader was a girl from the public schools, ignorant of any tongue but her own. The effect, though highly amusing to bystanders, was far from being so to the person endeavoring to follow the meaning of this singular jargon. Catalogues, indexes, tables of contents in abundance were, however, read, and correspondence opened with those who could lend aid or information. Good progress had been made in the preliminary surveys, and many books examined and digested on a systematic plan for future reference, when a disaster befell the writer which set his calculations at naught.

This was an effusion of water on the left knee, in the autumn of 1851. A partial recovery was followed by a relapse, involving a close confinement of two years and a weakened and sensitive condition of the joint from which it has never recovered. The effects of the confinement were as curious as unenviable. All the irritability of the system centred in the head. The most definite of the effects produced was one closely resembling the tension of an iron band, secured round the head and contracting with an extreme force, with the attempt to concentrate the thoughts, listen to reading, or, at times, to engage in conversation. This was, however, endurable in comparison with other forms of attack which cannot be intelligibly described from the want of analogous sensations by which to convey the requisite impressions. The brain was stimulated to a restless activity, impelling through it a headlong current of thought which, however, must be arrested and the irritated organ held in quiescence on a penalty to avert which no degree of exertion was too costly. The whirl, the confusion, and strange undefined torture attending this condition are only to be conceived by one who has felt them. Possibly they may have analogies in the savage punishment once in use in some of our prisons, where drops of water were made to fall from a height on the shaved head of the offender, soon producing an effect which brought to reason the most contumacious. Sleep, of

course, was banished during the periods of attack, and in its place was demanded, for the exclusion of thought, an effort more severe than the writer has ever put forth in any other cause. In a few hours, however, a condition of exhaustion would ensue; and both patient and disease being spent, the latter fell into a dull lethargic state far more supportable. Excitement or alarm would probably have proved wholly ruinous.

These were the extreme conditions of the disorder, which has reached two crises,—one at the end of 1853, the other in 1858. In the latter case it was about four years before the power of mental application was in the smallest degree restored, nor, since the first year of the confinement, has there been any waking hour when he has not been in some degree conscious of the presence of the malady. Influences tending to depress the mind have at all times proved far less injurious than those tending to excite or even pleasurably exhilarate, and a lively conversation has often been a cause of serious mischief. A cautious vigilance has been necessary from the first, and this cerebral devil has perhaps had his uses as a teacher of philosophy.

Meanwhile the Faculty of Medicine were not idle, displaying that exuberance of resource for which that remarkable profession is justly famed. The wisest, indeed, did nothing, commending his patient to time and faith; but the activity of his brethren made full amends for this masterly inaction. One was for tonics, another for a diet of milk; one counselled galvanism, another hydropathy; one scarred him behind the neck with nitric acid, another drew red-hot irons along his spine with a view of enlivening that organ. Opinion was divergent as practice. One assured him of recovery in six years; another thought that he would never recover. Another, with grave circumlocution, lest the patient should take fright, informed him that he was the victim of an organic disease of the brain which must needs despatch him to another world within a twelvemonth; and he stood amazed at the smile of an auditor who neither cared for the announcement nor believed it. Another, an eminent physiologist of Paris, after an acquaintance of three months, one day told him that, from the nature of the disorder, he had at first supposed that it must in accordance with precedent be attended with insanity, and had ever since been studying him to discover under what form the

supposed aberration declared itself, adding, with a somewhat humorous look, that his researches had not been rewarded with the smallest success.

In the severer periods of the disorder, books were discarded for horticulture, which benign pursuit has proved most salutary in its influences. One year, four years, and numerous short intervals lasting from a day to a month, represent these literary interruptions since the work in hand was begun. Under the most favorable conditions, it was a slow and doubtful navigation, beset with reefs and breakers, demanding a constant lookout and a constant throwing of the lead. Of late years, however, the condition of the sight has so far improved as to permit reading, not exceeding, on the average, five minutes at one time. This modicum of power, though apparently trifling, proves of the greatest service, since, by a cautious management, its application may be extended. By reading for one minute, and then resting for an equal time, this alternate process may generally be continued for about half an hour. Then, after a sufficient interval, it may be repeated, often three or four times in the course of the day. By this means nearly the whole of the volume now offered has been composed. When the conditions were such as to render systematic application possible, a reader has been employed, usually a pupil of the public schools. On one occasion, however, the services of a young man, highly intelligent and an excellent linguist, were obtained for a short time. With such assistance every difficulty vanished, but it could not long be continued.

At present the work, or rather the series of separate works, stands as follows: Most of the material is collected or within reach. Another volume, on the Jesuits in North America, is one third written. Another, on the French explorers of the Great West, is half written; while a third, devoted to the checkered career of Louis de Buade, Comte de Frontenac, is partially arranged for composition. Each work is designed to be a unit in itself, independently of the rest; but the whole, taken as a series, will form a connected history of France in the New World.¹

¹ In the letter to Mr. Brimmer, Mr. Parkman says: "While engaged on these books I made many journeys in the United States and Canada in search of material, and went four times to Europe with a similar object. The task of exploring archives and collecting documents, to me repulsive at the best, was under the circumstances difficult, and would have been impossible but for the aid of competent assistants working under my direction." — Eds.

How far, by a process combining the slowness of the tortoise with the uncertainty of the hare, an undertaking of close and extended research can be advanced, is a question to solve which there is no aid from precedent, since it does not appear that an attempt under similar circumstances has hitherto been made. The writer looks, however, for a fair degree of success.¹ Irksome as may be the requirements of conditions so anomalous, they are far less oppressive than the necessity they involve of being busied with the past when the present has claims so urgent, and holding the pen with a hand that should have grasped the sword.

Dr. OLIVER WENDELL HOLMES then read the following poem: —

He rests from toil ; the portals of the tomb
Close on the last of those unwearying hands
That wove their pictured webs in History's loom,
Rich with the memories of three mighty lands.

One wrought the record of the Royal Pair
Who saw the great Discoverer's sail unfurled,
Happy his more than regal prize to share,
The spoils, the wonders of the sunset world.

There, too, he found his theme ; upreared anew,
Our eyes beheld the vanished Aztec shrines,
And all the silver splendors of Peru
That lured the conqueror to her fatal mines.

Nor less remembered he who told the tale
Of empire wrested from the strangling sea ;
Of Leyden's woe, that turned his readers pale,
The price of unborn freedom yet to be ;

Who taught the New World what the Old could teach ;
Whose silent hero, peerless as our own,
By deeds that mocked the feeble breath of speech
Called up to life a State without a Throne.

¹ Writing in 1886 to Mr. Brimmer, Mr. Parkman says: "Taking the last forty years as a whole, the capacity of literary work which during that time has fallen to my share has, I am confident, been considerably less than a fourth part of what it would have been under normal conditions." — Eds.

As year by year his tapestry unrolled,
What varied wealth its growing length displayed!
What long processions flamed in cloth of gold!
What stately forms their flowing robes arrayed!

Not such the scenes our later craftsman drew;
Not such the shapes his darker pattern held;
A deeper shadow lent its sober hue,
A sadder tale his tragic task compelled.

He told the red man's story; far and wide
He searched the unwritten annals of his race;
He sat a listener at the Sachem's side,
He tracked the hunter through his wildwood chase.

High o'er his head the soaring eagle screamed;
The wolf's long howl rang nightly; through the vale
Tramped the lone bear; the panther's eyeballs gleamed;
The bison's gallop thundered on the gale.

Soon o'er the horizon rose the cloud of strife,—
Two proud, strong nations battling for the prize,
Which swarming host should mould a nation's life;
Which royal banner flout the western skies.

Long raged the conflict; on the crimson sod
Native and alien joined their hosts in vain;
The lilies withered where the Lion trod,
Till Peace lay panting on the ravaged plain.

A nobler task was theirs who strove to win
The blood-stained heathen to the Christian fold,
To free from Satan's clutch the slaves of sin;
Their labors, too, with loving grace he told.

Halting with feeble step, or bending o'er
The sweet-breathed roses which he loved so well,
While through long years his burdening cross he bore,
From those firm lips no coward accents fell.

A brave, bright memory! his the stainless shield
No shame defaces and no envy mars!
When our far future's record is unsealed,
His name will shine among its morning stars.

The Hon. ROBERT C. WINTHROP said : —

You kindly call upon me, Mr. President, to say something ; but I came here this afternoon only to hear — I should rather have said only to try to hear — the tributes of others to our lamented associate and friend, and more especially to listen to that autobiographical paper of his own, which you have held in confidence for so many years, and which you have just read to us. I can add nothing to the few words in which I expressed my sense of our great loss when it was first announced to the Society a fortnight ago, and certainly I can say nothing worthy to follow the impressive lines which have just been recited by our ever ready, ever welcome, ever felicitous associate, Dr. Holmes.

Most vividly does this occasion recall to my mind the scene which was witnessed here more than thirty years ago, when our Dowse Library was lighted by yonder chandelier for the first time at a special meeting of the Society, of which I was then President, held to express their respect and affection for the historian PRESCOTT, whose funeral we had attended the day before. Since then we have been called to lament the departure of Ticknor and Sparks and Bancroft and Palfrey and Motley, — all of whom were then living, — and now we meet to add the name of PARKMAN to a succession of Massachusetts historians hardly second to any which has adorned this department of literature during the same period in this or any other land. Prescott and Parkman — the first and the last to leave us — had many things in common. Both labored under severe disabilities and infirmities. Both struggled bravely, heroically, against them. Both achieved a deserved celebrity which time will not obliterate.

I second, by anticipation, the expression of our sense of the loss we have sustained, as prepared by the President for insertion in our Records. He can say nothing of Parkman as an historian and a friend in which I shall not heartily concur.

The Hon. GEORGE S. HALE said : —

I feel honored, Mr. President, that you should allow me the privilege of joining in this tribute to an old and dear friend. If I yield to yourself and to others like yourself the pleasure of describing more fully the subjects which he touched and

adorned, and of portraying his great merits and success as an untiring student, a brilliant writer of pure and picturesque English, and an historian of his own country without a superior, I claim that of speaking as one who knew and valued the man. I have sometimes thought that those who stood nearest to a great figure were less capable, for that reason, of seeing and appreciating its noble proportions. A close friend may not only be incapable of criticism, but be less able than a more distant observer to describe the qualities which awaken his love and appreciation. But if Mark Antony came to bury Cæsar, not to praise him, he did not fail to show his love or to justify his praise.

Fifty-and-three years are the span of my close, unbroken, and intimate friendship for Francis Parkman, boy and man, in youth and in age, — of a friendship without an interruption, without a break, without a shadow, without a cloud, — begun when, a boy of fourteen, I entered with him, nurslings of Harvard, into the gladsome light of those days of eager hope, of bright anticipations, of keen enjoyment, of life, of literature, of study, of books, of the new world opening before us, or, in words which it is a pleasure to quote in this presence,

“Of vistas bright with the opening day,
Whose all-awakening sun
Showed in life's landscape far away
The summits to be won.”

I do not think he was ambitious of the honors and successes which lead many of us astray. He paid no homage to the queens of Gain, of Fashion, of Power, or of Pleasure. His was the “mightiest and the best,” — that

“Glorious Lady with the eyes of light
And laurels clustering round” her “lofty brow,
On a far shore,” who “smoothed with tender hand,
Through months of pain, the sleepless bed of Hyde”;

and could say to him,

“When on restless night dawns cheerless morrow,
When weary soul and wasting body pine,
Thine am I still, in danger, sickness, sorrow.”

His aim was early fixed and never changed. More than most men he seemed to realize Wordsworth's conception of

"The generous spirit who
 hath wrought
 Upon the plan that pleased his boyish thought,"

and played

"In the many games of life that one
 Where what he most doth value must be won."

He was the same in youth as in manhood, free, fearless, independent, calm, yet full of fire, vigorous, determined, patient, untiring, persistent, without assumption or pretence, clear, just, and considerate, loving Truth too much not to wish to decorate her with all the grace and interest his spirited narrative could add; too eager to display the interest of the great epic he developed not to consider truth its brightest ornament.

I am impressed with the recollection — and the more impressed because it comes to me, I will not say, as unrecognized, but rather as so natural and unqualified that it seemed a part of the nature of the man — that I do not remember ever seeing him depressed, dispirited, or discouraged, morose or sour, or otherwise than cheerful, ready for the event, and patient with its trials, finding always "comfort in himself and in his cause."

His glowing and picturesque narratives, the fruit of studies pursued amidst physical difficulties sufficient to dishearten other men, of the discoveries, the wanderings, the struggles, the combats, the sacrifices, the devotion of an alien race and another faith, have associated him for all time with that portion of our history, — with, I had almost said, every river, every mountain, every lake, and with the wide prairie and the trackless forest. In New England, on his native soil, he is forever associated with the scenes of romantic history and of natural beauty which he loved.

"The meanest rill, the mightiest river,
 Runs mingling with his name forever,"

whether it be the broad stream of the Merrimac, bearing on its bosom Hannah Emerson Duston, her nurse, and their boyish companion, with the trophies of their victory; the gleaming waves of Champlain decorated by the picturesque fleet of Indian and French canoes and batteaux; or Lovewell's Pond, long, says Dr. Palfrey, as famous in New England as Chevy Chase on the Scottish border, "with its sandy beach, its two

green islands, and its environment of lonely forest." Nor can I forget the tokens not merely of these associations but of his enjoyment of our early pleasures in my own birthplace, and of his affectionate remembrances of the friends and associations of his youth, which he has preserved forever in the volumes which closed his labors.

"In the valley of the little river Ashuelot, a New Hampshire affluent of the Connecticut, was a rude border settlement, which later years transformed into a town noted in rural New England for kindly hospitality, culture without pretence, and good breeding without conventionality." There, within the curtilage of my father's house, the "brown Indian" marked "with murderous aim"; and there the captive, returned from his life as a savage chieftain, died among his kindred. I please myself with the fancy that his interest in the events and scenes he so well depicted was there stimulated and strengthened.

I suppose the feature in his life which impresses us most deeply is the unflinching patience, persistence, and courage with which he pushed his labors, snatching every moment from the rarely relaxing grasp of pain; as wakeful for labor as he was for suffering, even while, as it might almost be said, without eyes to see, or hands to write, or feet to walk, and by which, although "doomed to go in company with pain," he could turn "his necessity to glorious gain," so that the title of his crowning work, "A Half Century of Conflict," seemed an apt description of his own life.

I remember how he told me, perhaps some thirty-five years ago, what you have already heard from the touching autobiographical fragment which Dr. Ellis has read, that the distinguished physician, Dr. Brown-Séquard, declared his anticipation of the dread alternative, — death of the body or of the mind; and after that he did his best work!

In a letter I received from him only last year he speaks of his enemy of forty-one years' standing. That enemy won no conquest over him, but he was borne to his rest covered with the laurels of a life-long victory.

SAMUEL ELIOT, LL.D., followed in some extemporaneous remarks, highly appreciative of Mr. Parkman, both as an historian and as a man; and the Hon. E. R. HOAR also spoke

briefly, referring particularly to the impressive *apologia pro vita sua* to which the Society had just listened, and to the noble example which Mr. Parkman had set us. He had been acquainted with Mr. Parkman for many years, and had often met him at the Saturday Club, where no one showed a keener wit, but he had never really *known* the man, he said, until he heard that paper.

CHARLES W. ELIOT, LL.D., who had intended to speak, was obliged by a previous engagement on college business to leave early in the meeting.

The Hon. JOHN LOWELL, having been called on, spoke substantially as follows:—

Mr. President, — The noble tributes which have been already pronounced upon Mr. Parkman and his work leave little to be said. We all acknowledge with admiration and wonder his courage and perseverance under obstacles which would have daunted any man of merely ordinary firmness. The narrative read by you, in which these obstacles are told by himself in so simple and manly a way, will give to many, even of his friends, a more thorough understanding of the obstinate courage and more than soldierly persistence of his character.

Mr. Parkman was born to be an historian. His mind was apprehensive of incident. In conversation he always had an anecdote appropriate to the occasion; not a story gathered from others and remembered for the amusement of his friends, but one from his own experience, amusing, if it so happened, but, at any rate, pertinent to the subject under discussion.

In his story of the French successes and failures in America, all his powers were called into play, to make a narrative which will live, we may be sure, as a priceless addition to our literature. It is not the subject, but himself, that gives immortality to his histories. The subject appears to the untutored mind somewhat barren. The spaces are too vast, the heroes too few, and the savages too many to interest one in themselves. But when informed by his imagination and power of expression, the story becomes immortal. He created his theme as truly as Homer created the tale of "Troy Divine."

In private life, Mr. Parkman was not only a most entertaining companion, but the truest of friends. He knew and remembered everything which affected or interested those with

whom he was intimate. He knew their children and grandchildren by name and by character; he knew their affections and all their history.

I belonged to a little club of which he was a member, which used to meet every fortnight during the season. He was very fond of meeting with these few companions. After he had become unable, from infirmity, to climb the stairs, he came, one evening, I remember, to my house in town. We all went down to the hall and had a most agreeable chat with him as long as he could stay, which was not very long.

Seeing him a few weeks since, I asked if his work was done. He said that he was revising his books, and wanted to insert in them some fresh discoveries,—how important I do not know. It is to be hoped that these may be added by another hand; but whether so or not, we can rejoice that he was permitted to bring his great work to a substantial and admirable close.

Dr. SAMUEL A. GREEN said that he had received a letter from Mr. Parkman's classmate, the Hon. Leverett Saltonstall, who was not able to be present at the meeting.

CHESTNUT HILL, NOV. 16, 1893.

DEAR DR. GREEN,—I have just received your kind note telling me that you are requested by Dr. Ellis to ask me to be present at the meeting next Tuesday commemorative of Dr. Francis Parkman; but to my very great regret this will be impossible, as I am confined to my room with trouble in my foot. It would indeed be a satisfaction to bear testimony to the admirable traits which in so marked a manner distinguished our late associate.

From the day we entered college, fifty-three years ago, through life, as classmates, club mates, friends, my affection for him has been strengthened by his many endearing qualities and by my respect for him in his manly struggle against physical infirmities.

Francis Parkman was a beloved member of the class of 1844. Distinguished as a scholar, especially as a writer, he was also a favorite as a joyous, light-hearted companion. His pursuits even then showed the strong bent of his tastes. His vacations were passed in the woods; and, as a companion on one of these long camping excursions tells me, he talked of Indians, relating anecdotes about them and of their raids with the French on our frontier settlements, oftener than of other subjects. Through all these years of arduous labor he has kept his eye steadily fixed upon the goal he intended to reach, while at the same

time he loved to meet his old friends and classmates, and to talk of college days. No one more vividly remembered or more joyously recalled the incidents of college days.

He was selected by the class at the last Commencement to respond at the next Alumni dinner, according to custom, for the class which graduated fifty years ago, and, evidently gratified with this mark of his classmates' regard, he was looking forward with much satisfaction to performing this duty. But it has been otherwise ordered, and this will have to be done by another.

Love, respect, and admiration for the memory of Francis Parkman fill the hearts of his surviving classmates.

Truly yours,

LEVERETT SALTONSTALL.

The Hon. MARTIN BRIMMER said that some years ago Mr. Parkman, who had perhaps forgotten the existence of the paper given to Dr. Ellis, had sent to him a paper similar in its character to that which had been read this afternoon. It was somewhat shorter, and was written fifteen or twenty years later, and it was Mr. Parkman's wish that on his death it should be given to the Massachusetts Historical Society. The note which accompanied it is as follows:—

50 CHESTNUT STREET.

MY DEAR BRIMMER,—I dare say that you have forgotten that I threatened, some years ago, to send you such a paper as that herewith enclosed. Will you oblige me by keeping it, and, in case of my death, giving it to the Mass. Historical Soc.? But first pray do me the favor to look it over and suggest any omissions, additions, or changes that may occur to you.

Yours faithfully,

F. PARKMAN.

14 Nov. 1886.

The following minute was then adopted, all the members standing:—

The members of the Massachusetts Historical Society would relieve the sadness with which they enter upon their records the loss by death of their honored and eminent associate, Francis Parkman, by assigning to him the highest awards of ability, fidelity, and signal success as an American historian. He had won at home and abroad that place of chiefest honor. The work which he has wrought was one of freshness, reserved because it had been seeking and waiting for him. And it came to him with all its attractions and exactions, finding in

him the most rare and richly combined qualities of genius, aptitude, taste, and unique sympathetic fitness, to turn its romances, heroisms, and enterprises, with the enrichments of character and grace, into history. Nor would we fail to express our respectful and admiring estimate of the impressiveness of his character, of his noble manliness, his gentle mien and ways, and the patient perseverance of his spirit in its triumphing over physical infirmities.

DECEMBER MEETING, 1893.

THE stated meeting was held on Thursday, the 14th instant, at three o'clock, P. M.; the President, Dr. GEORGE E. ELLIS, in the chair.

The records of the stated meeting in November, together with those of the special meeting in memory of our late First Vice-President, were read and approved; and the list of donors to the Library during the last month was also read.

Communications having been called for, Mr. R. C. WINTHROP, JR., said:—

It may be remembered that, at our monthly meeting in May last, I commented at some length upon a letter to Emmanuel Downing in 1632, signed Richard Saltonstall, a photograph of which, taken from the original among the Coke MSS. at Melbourne Hall, had recently been presented to the Society by Miss A. C. Dethick. In the course of my remarks I alluded to the regret felt by historians of New England that the missing correspondence between Downing and Governor Winthrop, in the earliest years of the Massachusetts Colony, had never come to light, and I expressed the hope that the discovery of this Saltonstall letter might lead to further finds of the same nature. Miss Dethick subsequently wrote me that no letters of Governor Winthrop had been found at Melbourne Hall, but that there were three from Emmanuel Downing to Sir John Coke, — one dated in 1633, two in 1634, and all immediately relating to New England. I accordingly purchased copies of these three letters and am now about to communicate them, as they undoubtedly possess considerable historical interest, furnishing additional evidence of the important services rendered by Downing to the infant Colony, and showing how his intimacy with Sir John Coke, then Secretary of State, with Sir Robert Naunton, a former Secretary of State, and with Lord Coventry, then Keeper of the Great Seal, enabled him to exert a potent influence against the designs of Sir Ferdinando Gorges.

In one of them he describes the arrival of the first ship which returned from New England laden with masts for vessels, and how these masts were immediately sold at "an extraordinarie great price," giving promise of an important industry. In the same letter he gives some account of the Connecticut River (of which his correspondent had apparently never heard), and urges that the Dutch be strictly confined to the west bank of it. In another letter he describes the efforts making for the release of Edward Winslow, who, having gone to England to defend the Plymouth and Massachusetts Colonies from the calumnies of Thomas Morton, had been arbitrarily imprisoned by Archbishop Laud; and he alludes to the sympathy felt for Winslow by Lord-Keeper Coventry, who had been a friend of his father. In reading this passage I was reminded of one of Winslow's letters, written six years later, and long since printed by us, in which he speaks of the death of Lord Coventry and the retirement from office of Sir John Coke, as sad losses to New England.¹

Much the longest of the three letters, and the earliest in point of date, is devoted to an earnest defence of Massachusetts against what he styles the foul and malicious charges of Gorges and his co-partners, and, in particular, against the insinuation that the Colony was not unlikely to join in trade with foreigners and become disloyal to the mother-country. In reply, Downing points out that the majority of those who have risked most money in the enterprise have no intention of leaving England, while the most influential of those who have emigrated are animated by the strongest attachment to the land of their birth, in which they still retain property or are in reversion to estates, and which is the home of many of their nearest relations. He incidentally speaks of the hundreds of affectionate letters which come by every conveyance from New England, of the great joy in the plantation over every vessel from home sighted in Massachusetts Bay; and he cites examples from both ancient and modern history to show that, however frequent may have been home-bred rebellions, a colony is rarely, if ever, separated from the parent country except by conquest. "To conclude," he says, "this State is as sure of firm allegiance from this Colony, or Corporation, in New England, as of any Corporation here

¹ See 4 Mass. Hist. Coll. vol. vi. p. 167.

within this land, and let them but enjoy the liberty of their patent, and choose their own officers as every Corporation doth here, then shall this kingdom clearly gain, by the fruits of their labors, that commodious trade of cordage, pitch and tar, — and that without money, yea, for nothing ; . . . and for their apparel and some few other necessaries . . . we shall gain that trade unto us."

Of the numerous letters of Downing hitherto printed, several were written before the settlement of the plantation, but the greater part are of much later date than those I have just described. Of the years 1633 and 1634 there are but two, and they relate to matters of business and contain no references to public affairs. I am informed that there are five less important letters of his at Melbourne Hall, besides two long Memorials addressed by him to Coke, — one (in 1622) on the decay of trade, piracy, and the hoarding of money ; the other (in 1632) on the condition of Ireland, — and that there are also a number of letters from Emmanuel's brother, Joshua Downing, who was a Commissioner of the Royal Navy. I have written to obtain further particulars of some of these manuscripts, and shall endeavor to procure copies of all that contain allusions to New England.

There has also been sent me, with prices annexed, a list of a variety of material, much of it genealogical rather than historical, collected in different parts of England by the antiquarian whom Miss Dethick represents and who apparently does not wish his name to be known. It includes copies of no less than eighteen wills, one of them as early as 1526, of members of the family of Governor Simon Bradstreet, with extracts from parish-registers relating thereto ; a copy of the will of the father of Captain John Smith of Virginia ; copies of numerous wills of members of the family of Rev. John Davenport, not one of which (it is stated) is referred to in any memoir of him ; a copy of the long will of Richard Whittingham of Boston, who died in England, which contains references to many persons and includes a legacy to John Cotton ; a copy of an original letter of Sir Ferdinando Gorges not printed by Baxter ; a copy of an original letter of John Mason of New Hampshire not printed by Dean ; and copies of four interesting documents preserved in the archives of the city of Exeter, one of them a letter written by Francis, Lord Russell, in 1623, and

all relating to plantations in New England. These last, I should add, are mentioned as being already in print, but in so unsatisfactory and inaccurate a form as to give no adequate idea of their importance. I do not imagine that I am the only person to whom such copies have been offered, but if any member, now hearing of them for the first time, should desire to know more with a view to purchase, I shall be happy to furnish him with any information in my power.

There is also offered for sale what is described as positive evidence, collected in recent years in Lincolnshire and elsewhere, that the benefice of the Rev. John Wheelwright became vacant by a flagrant offence of his own, and that this was the real reason of his coming to New England. It may be remembered that in a memoir of Wheelwright, written some time ago for the Prince Society by our recently deceased Corresponding Member, Charles H. Bell, it is vaguely stated that "apparently some cause existed which warranted his ecclesiastical superior in treating the vicarage [Bilsby, co. Lincoln] as vacant." "Whether," continues Governor Bell, "this was owing to his Puritanical views we have no means of ascertaining, but it is certain that either then or shortly afterwards Wheelwright was silenced for non-conformity." It is now contended that he was thus silenced not for non-conformity, but for misconduct; and it is affirmed that not long ago this evidence was privately offered to Governor Bell, who replied that it did not interest him. I have a strong feeling that such a charge ought not to be left where it is. If, on investigation, it should turn out to be an assumption or an exaggeration, the accused will be vindicated; if it be clearly established, we shall be in less haste to proclaim him a saint. A fresh interest in his early career has been excited by the important part assigned to it in a book recently issued by our surviving Vice-President, as well as in a former work of the same writer, wherein is attributed to Wheelwright "the most momentous single sermon ever preached from an American pulpit."¹ Personally, I have no wish to be considered either his champion or his denunciator. I have always believed him to have been a less objectionable personality than his irrepressible sister, and I am disposed to regard his conduct in the Antinomian Controversy as only that of a comparatively harmless

¹ C. F. Adams's *Three Episodes of Massachusetts History*, vol. i. p. 368.

prototype of the notoriety-seeking clerical enthusiast, — a type which began to blossom here in Boston in the first half of the seventeenth century, but which can hardly be said to have reached its consummate efflorescence until the second half of the nineteenth.

This matter leads me by an easy transition to indulge in a little criticism of the recently published work to which I have just alluded. During the fifteen years in which I have somewhat actively occupied myself with the concerns of this Society two things have impressed me as especially noticeable. One of them has been the apparent want of familiarity with early New England history exhibited by no inconsiderable number of its members. The other has been the apparent indisposition of a large majority of them to peruse the productions of their associates, — nor is this wholly to be wondered at. I venture to urge, however, that an exception be made in the present instance. I can promise any gentleman who has not yet found time to read Mr. Adams's new book, that he will reap therefrom both entertainment and instruction; and it possesses the additional attraction of being as short as it is sharp. Our revered President, it is true, is understood by no means to approve of it; our revered ex-President (my honored father), it is true, shakes his head over conclusions the ability of which he cannot deny; but, for my own part, I have gone through it more than once with that sensation of intellectual gusto with which one appreciates the scintillations of an exceptionally caustic pen irrespective of wide differences of opinion. It is entitled "Massachusetts, its Historians and its History: An Object Lesson," — this word "lesson" being here, I think, to be interpreted in its subordinate signification of *rebuke*, so that the sub-title might not inappropriately have been "A Rebuke with an Object." The rebuke is addressed to the historians of Massachusetts, past and present, who, with the exception of the author's younger brother and two or three obviously impartial Quaker writers, are collectively characterized as a set of sophistical sinners against the light, wriggling and squirming (I use his own words) in the presence of recorded facts, their minds saturated with what he expressively terms a filio-pietistic spirit. The object in view is, in the first place, to point out the imperative duty of disregarding all ties of patriotism, religion,

or descent, when engaged in historical composition, and, in the next place, to proclaim *ex cathedra* that if the founders of Massachusetts had seen fit in 1637 to establish Religious Toleration, as we understand it, their posterity would have achieved "a great destiny," and have escaped "a century of intellectual torpor, in the deep night of old-time theology." In his preface Mr. Adams is modestly content to style himself a radical and an iconoclast, but he might well have added that he is an adept in the art of what might be called Retro-spective Vaticination. He puts one in mind of the familiar lines of Whittier, —

"Of all sad words of tongue or pen,
The saddest are . . . 'it might have been.'"

These words, however, are not only very sad but extremely vague, and they leave room for endless varieties of speculation, — so that when Mr. Adams takes to task his predecessors, and reiterates his "wonder" that they have not been able to see things as he sees them, his robust reliance on his powers of second-sight makes him forget that we have only his bare word that, in the century in question, the experiment would have resulted as he asseverates. The dose prescribed, he frankly admits, lamentably disagreed with neighboring Rhode Island, where, he says, "the born agitator, the controversialist, the generally 'otherwise-minded,' every type of thinker, whether crude and half-crazy or only 'advanced,' . . . found refuge, and the result was a disordered community." "But," he rejoins, "it by no means follows that what disordered infant Rhode Island would have proved more than a healthy stimulant for larger and more matured Massachusetts." This seems at best a hazardous assumption. Even a Roman haruspex required to have entrails spread before him ere he ventured to pronounce his verdict, but Mr. Adams confidently relies upon his diagnosis of the bowels of Massachusetts at a distance of two and a half centuries. "It is indeed strange," he remarks on another page, "how many things of doubtful outward aspect are in the eyes of the filio-pietistic historian 'certain,' 'undoubted,' and in no way open to question." It may strike some of his readers as even more strange that so philosophic a perception of the positiveness of opinion attributed to filio-pietists should not have awakened in his mind some slight mistrust of that exalted sense of superior

infallibility with which his own judgments are habitually fulminated.

"The Antinomian, the Quaker, and the Baptist," he declares, "were the best friends of the New England Puritan, — the acrid salt which saved him from corruption, — but this elementary truth has never dawned on the mind of the filio-pietistic investigator." It certainly has not, nor do I think it ever dawned upon any mind worth mentioning except that of our Vice-President, — I mean in the sense of *elementary truth*. An elementary truth, as the term is ordinarily applied, is the statement of a well-recognized, fundamental fact, distinct from the theories of controversialists. My long intimacy with Mr. Adams has led me to attach a peculiar value to his opinions, but I cannot quite consent to regard them in the light of historical data. Individual tastes differ. So far from considering the Antinomians the acrid salt which preserved the Puritans from corruption, I rather incline to compare them to the flies mentioned by Solomon, which defiled a pot of ointment at the risk of rendering it unsavory.

"In the wonderful economy of nature," proceeds the author, "the Puritan was as much indebted to the Quaker and the Baptist as is the man sinking into frigid torpor to the dog that worries him into activity; he was as wrong in driving away the 'intruder' as is the man in striking at the dog." Dr. Johnson tells us that a metaphor drawn from nature ennobles art, but I cannot help thinking this one, though undoubtedly ingenious, calculated to confuse the reader; for if the man had not restored his circulation by striking at the dog that worried him, he might with difficulty have escaped, relapsing into torpor. A preferable theory, in my judgment, is that the individual in question was really not in the least benumbed, but that he mistook the beast, not for a dog, but for a less domestic quadruped. Be this as it may, the shortness of the afternoon admonishes me to postpone further citations, as there are a few other points I wish to touch upon.

In the first place, I should be sorry if any member present who has not read the book were to obtain the impression that I had buckled my sword to my thigh in consequence of something Mr. Adams may have said about Governor Winthrop. So far is this from being the case that I gladly bear testimony to the courtesy with which he has treated Winthrop in all his

writings. The worst thing he says of him in the present volume is that he was not so strong a man as William the Silent; and I doubt whether even my father, who probably admires him more than any one else does, would venture to insist that he was. In the second place, I should be equally sorry to create an impression that I differ from Mr. Adams *toto celo* and on all points. On the contrary, his book contains many expressions of opinion to which I cordially agree. For instance, where he quotes with approbation the saying of our associate Fiske that with many people history is only a kind of "ancestor-worship," I am quite at one with him. It is, however, as true of the Revolutionary period as it is of the Colonial, and as it will be of the period of the Civil War when we get far enough away from it. When he quotes with equal approbation Sir Henry Maine's reference to the occasionally "nauseous grandiloquence of the American panegyric historian," and Doyle's remark, that in some chronicles of New England we are treated rather to a "hagiology" than to a history, I am sensible that such criticisms are by no means without foundation.

So, too, of much that he says on the subject of Toleration. One might as well undertake to deny the rigor of an old-fashioned New England winter as to contend that the fathers of the Massachusetts Bay Colony were not harsh in their treatment of dissent, — nor is there any reason to suppose they ever intended to be otherwise. Among the varied considerations which induced them to expatriate themselves, — considerations of conscience, considerations of trade, considerations connected with the disturbed state of the mother-country, considerations connected with the spread of the Protestant faith in the New World, — you may search their letters and other writings in vain for any purpose of what we call Toleration. It would no more have occurred to them to consent to Free Religion within their jurisdiction than to permit a phalanstery of Free Love. Shame on their narrow-mindedness! vociferates Mr. Adams. Shame on them if you will, say I, but at least they are not deserving of so much opprobrium as if they had sailed from England with a plan of establishing here a sort of Church Congress of different persuasions and had ended in ejecting from it all but their own pet parsons. Still less am I disposed to deny the appositeness of Mr. Adams's favorite parallel between the banishments and

punishments of the Old World and those of the New. I hesitate to believe that Thomas Dudley was quite as cruel as Philip II., or John Endicott always as arbitrary as Louis XIV. or Archbishop Laud; but there is so strong an analogy between religious persecutions in all countries and all ages that I freely admit Mr. Adams to have been fully entitled to draw the comparisons he has done.

Where I think him not altogether fair is the way in which he makes light of the argument of President Quincy and others, that when men are risking their lives and fortunes in a distant wilderness an instinct of self-preservation leads them to avoid the risk of anarchy by drawing tight the reins of order, — and also the way in which he repeatedly conveys the impression that from the outset the friends of the Colony in England disapproved of severity. In support of this he relies, first, upon what he styles “the formal recorded protest of all the more eminent divines of their own way of thinking,” which constitutes, he says, “nothing less than an indictment of the early polity of Massachusetts at the bar of history.” I know not what signification Mr. Adams attaches to the word “early,” but this “protest” (which, by the by, was no protest at all, but an affectionate letter of advice, first mentioned by Cotton Mather in 1702) was written in the spring of 1669, nearly forty years after the settlement of Boston, thirty-two years after the Antinomian Controversy, thirty-four years after the banishment of Roger Williams, and at a time when, with a few unimportant exceptions, the founders of Massachusetts were in their graves. He further relies — and this is one of his trump-cards, which he plays effectively more than once — upon the well-known letter from Sir Richard Saltonstall to Wilson and Cotton, the date of which, however, he omits to mention. It is true it bears no date, but the internal evidence of Cotton’s answer to it conclusively establishes that the correspondence could not possibly have taken place earlier than 1651, sixteen years after the banishment of Williams, fourteen after the Antinomian Controversy, and at a time when Saltonstall had been twenty years absent from the Colony, in which he had only resided about nine months and to which he never returned. Cotton’s long reply to it begins by explaining that neither he nor Wilson was at all responsible for the punishments complained

of, and he then enters into a very elaborate justification of the course pursued. Mr. Adams, omitting all reference to the early part of this letter, quotes exactly four sentences from the middle of it, and then mysteriously adds, "and there John Cotton stopped!" In point of fact, however, John Cotton, so far from stopping, continued for the equivalent of a page and a half of print, in the course of which are to be found the following memorable words:—

"We have tolerated in our Church some Anabaptists, some Antinomians, and some Seekers, and do still to this day. . . . We are far from arrogating infallibility of judgment to ourselves or affecting uniformity; uniformity God never required, infallibility he never granted us. We content ourselves with unity in the foundation of religion and of Church order; superstructures we suffer to vary. We have here Presbyterian churches as well as Congregational, and have learned (through grace) to keep the unity of the Spirit in the bond of peace; *only we are loth to be blown up and down like chaff by every wind of new notions.*"

John Cotton may have been the weak creature Mr. Adams inclines to think him, but I am not aware that he was ever charged with untruthfulness; and it is only reasonable to assume that this account of what he then personally witnessed in Massachusetts is more accurate than the hearsay testimony of Saltonstall, who had not been on this side of the ocean for two decades. If I were asked for evidence of the state of feeling among friends of the Colony in England during the period of the Antinomian Controversy, I should not wish to appear to seek it in what was written many years afterward in relation to a wholly different condition of things, but I should refer to contemporaneous correspondence, and in particular to a letter of Emmanuel Downing, dated November 21, 1637, only a few weeks after the adjournment of the Cambridge Synod, and published thirty years ago by this Society. "Here [in London]," he says, "hath been great joy for your great victories, but far more for vanquishing your erroneous opinions than for conquering the Pequots. Our best and worthiest men do much marvel you did not banish Wheelwright and Hutchinson's wife, but suffer them to sow more sedition among you. Mr. Vane's ill-behavior there hath lost all his reputation here. I hear he is about to travel into Germany." By the phrase "our best and worthiest men"

Downing undoubtedly referred to prominent members of the Parliamentary party with whom he is known to have been intimate,—such as Sir Arthur Haslerig, Sir Nathaniel Barnardiston, Sir William Spring, or Lord Brooke,—and it is eminently probable that he was also alluding to the high officials who, as I have taken pains to show in the early part of this paper, honored him with their confidence and were favorably disposed toward Massachusetts. The opinions of such men were not lightly to be disregarded.

But I pass on to what, I think, can hardly fail to be generally deplored, the harsh attacks of our Vice-President upon his predecessors in the field of historical literature,—“that miserable drove of Adam’s degenerate seed,” to use a favorite expression of Roger Williams. Curiously enough, these philippics were addressed to Harvard students, and under somewhat peculiar circumstances. About a year ago our associate Channing wrote me that he was very desirous of procuring a number of duplicate copies of books which have become comparatively rare and quite expensive, on subjects connected with our early Colonial history, in order to stimulate original research among his pupils. To this end I sent him a contribution, and I dare say that he received a larger one from Mr. Adams. It now appears, however, that to counteract the possibly baleful effect which a study of Puritan writings might have upon the minds of these adolescents, it was arranged that the latter should go out there and temporarily occupy the chair of Channing, in order to ventilate his peculiar theories. The volume I am criticising contains his lectures; and in the preface to it we are told that his hearers “took rather kindly” to him, which I cannot for a moment doubt. Not only did they enjoy the unwonted privilege of being brought into immediate contact with one of the most influential members of the Board of Overseers and with a public man who had achieved deserved prominence in unusually varied departments of human activity, but to this was added the intellectual zest of listening while, in a trenchant style and with an authoritative manner not ill-befitting his early acquired rank of colonel of dragoons, the foremost representative of the most distinguished family in New England proceeded (figuratively speaking) first to prod the fathers of Massachusetts with a sharp stick, and then to assail the historians of Massa-

chusetts with a tomahawk! Into the question how far such *ex parte* methods of instruction ought to commend themselves to pedagogists I do not purpose now to enter. "One light for all," exclaims Mr. Adams in one of his most eloquent passages. By all means, I answer, but surely it should be the steady light of reason and of record, and not one that is liable to be considered an *ignis fatuus* of imagination and prejudice. I have already drawn attention to several of the flowers of rhetoric distributed by him among his co-workers past and present, but they convey but an imperfect idea of the vigor of a recital which fairly entitles its author to be henceforth regarded in this community as the very Boanerges of iconoclasm. His lectures teem with such additional amenities as "maze of sophistry," "self-satisfied complacency," "self-sufficient provincialism," "hypocrisy," "evasion," "cant," "self-deception," "systematic narrowness of vision," "jaundiced eyes," "perversion of facts," "distortion of record," "pages pervaded by degrading beliefs," "they knew better," "they had no excuse for not knowing better," "knowing better, they sinned," and so on. The misconduct attributed alike to founders and to historians of Massachusetts has apparently so preyed upon the naturally acute mind of Mr. Adams as to have embedded in it the singular hallucination that whenever any one of them has in the course of his life said or done anything of which he (Mr. Adams) now disapproves, not only must such an individual have *ipso facto* known he was in the wrong and in so doing sinned against light, but that to him is hereafter only applicable the language of the Psalmist, "he travaileth with iniquity, and hath conceived mischief and brought forth falsehood."¹

Of the great ability displayed in this book there can, as I stated at the outset, be no question. Its key-note, however, as it seems to me, is a profound conviction on the part of its author that all Massachusetts historians of any real note, himself excepted, are quite untrustworthy, and that it has been reserved for him to head a crusade for the extirpation of Filio-

¹ It is no disparagement of Mr. Adams to point out that his forcible characterization of writers from whom he differs yields in picturesqueness to that of the poet Swinburne, who, in the December number of "Nineteenth Century," styles one well-known English historical writer "a typical and unmistakable ape of the Dead Sea," and alludes to another (much more recently deceased) as "the Platonic amorist of blue-breeched gondoliers who is now in Aretino's bosom."

Pietism. I am bound to say (though he may not entirely relish the comparison) that no Christian knight of old ever clove the skull of an unbeliever with a more pronounced air of martial exhilaration than that with which Mr. Adams has entered on this combat. It is one, however, in which he cannot hope to be immediately victorious; and as the struggle is likely to last some time, I shall not improbably have other opportunities for mingling in the fray. All I would, therefore, at present say on this head is that, while I have no disposition to deny that instances are to be met with where popular authors, in their treatment of the Puritans, have (slightly paraphrasing the lines of Prior)

Been to their virtues very kind,
Been to their faults a little blind,

yet I contend that, as a rule, our leading historical writers have been conspicuous for a persistent search after, and careful statement of recorded fact, — in short, that, as there is every reason to suppose that there existed in Greece brave men before Agamemnon, so there will always be the best reasons for believing that here in Massachusetts veracious historians were not unknown prior to our Vice-President, — nor can the greatest of them all, Thomas Hutchinson, readily be accused of partiality to the Puritans, as he was a descendant of Mistress Anne Hutchinson and a Tory in his political principles. I may add that perhaps the most unblushing filio-pietist upon our roll of members appears to have been an illustrious progenitor of the author of this volume. In the discourse of John Quincy Adams to us, on the 29th of May, 1843, when we celebrated the bi-centennial anniversary of the New England Confederation, occurs the following stirring passage: —

“Brethren of the Massachusetts Historical Society, the reputation of our forefathers is the choicest inheritance and the richest possession they have left us. The preservation of their good name from those slanders with which they were so bitterly persecuted and so pertinaciously assailed in their own time,¹ and which, passing from age to age, with a perseverance of envy and detraction, are yet showered upon them, is one of the pre-eminent duties of this Society.”

¹ The venerable ex-President had perhaps in mind the ejaculation of Increase Mather in 1690: “Poor New England! Thou hast always been the eye-sore of Squinting Malignity, the Butt of many envenomed arrows. . . . ’T were easy to fill a volume with instances: from the pestilent Morton (the petty-fogger at the beginning) to the infamous Randolph (who comes now in the fagg-end).”

The three letters communicated by Mr. Winthrop here follow:—

EMMANUEL DOWNING TO SIR JOHN COKE.

RIGHT HÖBLE,—Yts well knowne to yo' honn^r how S^r Ferd. Gorge, wth some others his coſt^rners, have these manie yeares past labored to make a plantaçon in N: Engl., where having spent theire monie and travell in vayne, being ashamed of theire owne and envying theire neighbo^rs pſperity, have of late made clayme to the verie ground where M^r Winthrop wth a Colonie late built and planted, and would have had them all to be his teñants. Whereof fayling, he is enraged and stirrs up all the fowle and scandalous complaynts he can devise against the plantaçon, laboring either to overthrow theire patent whereby they are made a Corporaçon, or at least to have other Governm^t established for the better regulating (as he p^rtends) of them. Yo' hono^r sees how this plantaçon (being pmitted to pceed in yts owne way wthout rub or lett) doth prosper and com to pfecton beyond all expectation, yea, contrarie to the judgem^t of historians who conclude a plantaçon cannot be pformed by pivate psons wthout the State. Now if this plantaçon shall be putt out of yts owne way, I much feare yt will fare wth yt as yt did wth the herring fishing and staple of Engl., for under p^rtence of establishing good governm^t for the better regulating of those pricelesse and rich trades, such orders and lawes were made as were the cause of the wholl loose of the one and of letting strangers reape pte of the proffitt of the other.

This plantaçon and that of Virginia went not forth upon the same reasons nor for the same end. Those of Virginia went only for proffitt; having noe disturbance therein they enjoyed all they desired, but if that had be'n taken from them they would soon have broken, some retorning home, others dispsing elsewhere. These went upon 2 other designs: some to satisfie theire owne curiosity in poynt of conscience, others (w^{ch} was more gen'all) to transport the Gospell to those heathen that never heard thereof; to this most of the Cheife amongst them were encouraged upon this ground that the fulnes of the Gentiles might come in before the Jewes shalbe recalled. To beginn this good worke these have ventured farr in respect of theire estates and hasard of theire lives, and there yet submit to manie dangers, both of theire lives and goods, as well from the native as foreign enemyes.

Ob: The only considerable objection ag^t this plantaçon is that in tyme they will revolt from theire alleadgeance & joyne in trade wth strangers, and soe deprive this land of those staple comodities w^{ch} that country may afford us.

Ans: Please the State to encouradge them as hitherto yt hath done, that feare shall easily be removed, for as they doe, soe must they still,

depend upon this kingdome:—first, for that the wholl trade of the plantacon is mayntayned by such undertakers as are in old Engl., having no purpose to transplant themselves thither; 2. those that govern the wholl plantacon have both lands and children here; 3. divers others are in rev'sion and soe in hope of lands here for themselves or their children (w^{ch} are good bonds for their alleadgance), these though not the most in number yet in some authority and such as doe sway and rule the multitude; 4. whereas their patent byndes them to yeald to his Ma^{ty} the 5th pte only of the Oare, the undertakers here will pswade the planters to accept a new patent and thereby be bound to transport noe masts &c. for cordadge and shipping but into old Engl., and for further assurance to peure a law there for this purpose.

One thing wilbe humbly desired from his Ma^{ty} in this patent, that he wilbe pleased to covenant to ayde and assist them, if need require, ag^t all forreigne enemies, and that the patent be enlarged a litle to the North, where are the best flirs and tymber for shipping, and alsoe thereby to p^rvent usurpation and intrusion of p^rjudiciall neighbours.

But yt may be objected they will in tyme encrease to a great number and then shake off this State and Country. *Ans*: The more the plantacon encreaseth, the more assurance there wilbe of fast binding to this State, p^rtly as aforesaid by the estates in possion or rev'sion w^{ch} the better sorte who shall rule the multitude must leave behind them, and p^rtly by th' encrease of the number of undertakers, w^{ch} comonly be of the nearest and dearest friends of the planters.

Its a supposiōn and causeles feare wthout p^resident that a Colony planted in a strange land were ever soe foolishly besotted as to reject the p^roteccon of their naturall Prince (though homebred rebellions in all nations have be'n so frequent.) How close did the Roman Colony placed here adhere to the Empire, yea, till yt broke all in peices, and then the Colony was constrayned to seeke for p^roteccon elsewhere. To come nearer home and to these tymes, the Dutch having manie Colonies abroad, some in the East and West Indyes and some in other places where they enjoy better countryes than at home, yet are wthout feare of loosing any one, unless by surprise of an enemye. Soe the Portingalls had manie Colonies abroad at that verie tyme when their kingdome was translated to Spayne, yet none revolted, neither hath the State of Spayne to this day lost any one but what the Dutch or other enemyes have conquered. And shall any suspect that in this Colony, that never since the Creation happened in any? I have marveyled to see the manie 100 l^res that come from N: Engl. evrie passadge, some to parents, others to masters, some to p^rtners, others to freinds, and most for supply in one thing or other. Againe, yts worthy observation the great joy that is in the plantacon when they see a shipp going in to them from home. Againe, yts most certeyne that yts not an easy thing to

force or compell a Colony planted in a strange land to forsake their alleadgeance & pteccion of their naturall Prince, or to leave their commerce wth their freinds and allyes in their native country (whom they may safely trust) to rest upon strangers for pteccion and comerce, in whom they can put noe confidence. Surely they would be counted a foolish and madde people that should wthout constraynt take their stocks out of their freinds and kinsmens hands, to venture & hasard the same in mens hands in whom they have had no experience.

To conclude, this State is as sure of firme alleadgeance from this Colony or Corporaçon in N: E: as of any Corporaçon here wthin this land, and lett them but enjoye the lib'tye of their patent, and to choose their owne officers as ev'rie Corporaçon doth here, then shall this kingdome clearly gayne, by the fruits of their labo^r, that comodious trade of cordage, pitch and tarr and that wthout monie, yea, for nothing, for were these people at home they must be fedd and cloathed here, & for their apparrell and some few other necessities w^{ch} they must have spent if they had be'n at home wee shall gayne that trade unto us. I could give yo^r hono^r more full satisfaccon herein but that I dare not trench any further on yo^r patience, soe abruptly breaking off I crave pdon for this boldnes and rest

Yo^r hono^r's faythfull Servant,

EM: DOWNINGE.

NELMS, 12^o 10th 1633.

Since my returne from Nelms I understand of ill newes from N: E: by l'fes and passengers come from thence, that the Dutch have intruded upon the principall and best river in N: E:, w^{ch} runneth along the back of this plantaçon.

[Cover missing. Endorsed by Sir John Coke "1633. Decemb. 12. M^r Downing, frō Nelms.¹ — New England."]

EMMANUEL DOWNING TO SIR JOHN COKE.

To the right hōble S^r John Coke, K^t, principall Secretarie to his Ma^{tie} and one of his highnes hōble privy Councell at Court, dd.

RIGHT HÖBLE.— I have not heard from M^r Meredith about Burks land since yo^r hono^r left the towne, w^{ch} makes me jealous of the pceedings therein, but my hope is yo^r hono^r will, or have taken a course for the passing M^r Reades graunt w^{ch} will remove all doubts. There is a ship returned into the west country from New England w^{ch} tooke in masts for hir freight homeward. This is the first ship that cam freighted with masts

¹ Downing is known to have had a house in London at this period, and his wife's letters contain occasional references to his being "at Nelms." This place has not been identified, but is thought to have been a farm near Ipswich.

into these pts from thence. And now this trade being by us discovered I fear the Dutch, as they have done in other trades, will use theire witts and endeavour to appropriate yt unto themselves, but if yt please God the plantacon shall henceforward psprouly p'ceede as heatherto yt hath done. I doubt not but the Englishe will make good that trade against Dutch and ffrench, and likewise gayne the country to his Ma^{ty}. The Governo^r this spring sent some Englishe to plant upon the river of Connecticut, whither the Dutch last yeare encroached, soe the Englishe lye on the one side and the Dutch on the other side of the river. This is a great river lying almost in the midst betwene Hudsons river, where the Dutch first planted, and our plantacon. The Dutch now wilbe confined to theire boundes unles they meane to fight for more, and then I doubt not his Ma^{ty} wilbe as able and ready to maynteyne his Colonie as the Dutch theirs

I made bold to write for that I am goeing wth his hono^r the M^r of the Wards into Suffolke, his native soyle, in hope that will conduce to his gayning of strength, who, I thanke God, is rather mending than payning. His leggs are yet weake, but he can now sett at table to his meate and in his chayre to dispatch busines, and to looke on his face and discourse wth him you would scarce beleive he were sicke.¹ Soe, hartlye praying for yo^r hono^r's long life here and eternall happines hereafter, I humbly take leave and rest

Yo^r hono^r's faythfull servant,

EM: DOWNINGE.

LONDON, 23^o August 1634.

I heare the masts were sold so soone as they were landed, at an extraordinarie great price.

EMMANUEL DOWNING TO SIR JOHN COKE.

To the right hõble S^r John Coke, Kn^t, principall Secretarie to his Ma^{ty} thes p^rsent.

RIGHT HõBLE, — M^r Wynsloe being my Lord Keepers countryman, whose father alsoe his Lõp. loved verie well, doth now much pittie his cause, and expressing soe much last night to his Ladye, shee sent last night to M^r Wynsloe to give him notice of hir husbands affection to him and willed him to petiçon his Lõp. for the furtherance of his freedom out of prison, the w^{ch} he hath now done.² I thought yt my

¹ Sir Robert Naunton, of Letheringham, co. Suffolk, Master of the Court of Wards and Liveries, died in the following year. Earlier in life he had been Secretary of State to James I. Both Downing and his brother-in-law, Governor Winthrop, had held the office of Attorney to the Court of Wards.

² The Lord Keeper of the Great Seal here referred to was Thomas, first Lord Coventry, whose property was in Worcestershire, where Winslow was born.

duty to acquaint you herewth because I would have nothing agitated herein unkuowne to yo^r hono^r. But that the petiçon was delivered before I spake wth M^r Winsloe, I had stayed yt, and soe would he himselfe as now resolved wholly to relye upon yo^r hono^r's favo^r and direccō for his owne and publique good of the plantaçon in all things henceforward. Soe I humbly take leave and rest

Yo^r hono^r's to doe you service whilest I am

EM: DOWNINGE.

19. 10^{br} 1634.

[Endorsed by Sir John Coke "1634. Decb. 19. M^r Downinge — M^r Winslow."]

Mr. CHARLES F. ADAMS said that it seemed to him inexpedient at least to say anything which would enter into the Proceedings of the Society which had not been carefully considered. The criticisms of Mr. Winthrop had been of a somewhat unusual character, and hardly in accordance with the traditions of the Society. Under the circumstances, therefore, he would defer any reply until he had had an opportunity to examine more carefully and in print what Mr. Winthrop had said. He would then take an opportunity to answer Mr. Winthrop, so far as it seemed to him necessary so to do, at the next meeting of the Society.

Dr. SAMUEL A. GREEN communicated for publication in the Proceedings some contemporaneous copies of Funeral Elegies in the Library of the Society, and spoke in substance as follows:—

The poetic impulse in the human breast finds expression in different ways at different periods of time. Two centuries ago, writers of poetical compositions in memory of the dead were more common in New England than they are to-day. They gave utterance to their feelings in a form of verse known as the Elegy. Such productions were often printed as broadsides, and circulated among the friends of the family. They were generally crude in their metrical construction, but they afforded a certain kind of sad satisfaction to the mourners. Sometimes manuscript copies were made from the printed sheet, and these, too, were sent around to the friends of the departed.

In the Historical Library is a copy of two Elegies composed by Benjamin Tompson, and written on the same sheet of

paper, but not in his handwriting, which was given to the Society, by Mr. Winthrop, on April 6, 1864. One of these Elegies is entitled "A Neighbours Tears dropt on y^e grave of an Amiable Virgin a pleasant plant cut downe in the blooming of her Spring Viz m^{rs} Rebecka Sewal. Anno Ætatis 6. ☞. August y^e 4th 1710." and is signed "Ben: Thompson."; and the other is entitled "A Clowde of Tears, sprinkled on the Dust of the Amiable Virgin m^{rs} Rebecka Sewel who Suddenly died August. 3 1710. Ætatis suæ." and is signed "B: T:". The manuscript copy is evidently contemporaneous with the event, and the two Elegies are quite distinct. The correct date of death, according to Sewall's Diary, is August 3. There is no reason to think that the first one was ever printed; but the other certainly was, as the Library owns a specimen. The printed heading is as follows: "A Neighbour's TEARS | Sprinkled on the Dust of the Amiable Virgin, | Mrs. **Rebekah Sewall**, | Who was born December 30. 1704. and dyed | suddenly, August 3. 1710. Ætatis 6."

Rebekah Sewall was the eldest daughter of Samuel Sewall, Jr., and a granddaughter of the Chief Justice. In early times it was the custom to address ladies of high position as Mistress or Mrs., whether married or not; but this is the only instance where I have found a little girl six years old so styled. This Elegy is not given in the list of Tompson's writings, as found in Mr. Sibley's Harvard Graduates.

The following is a copy of the first Elegy here mentioned, which is supposed not to have been printed:—

A Neighbours Tears dropt on y^e grave of an
Amiable Virgin a pleasant plant cut downe in
the blooming of her Spring Viz m^{rs} Rebecka Sewal.
Anno Ætatis 6. ☞. August y^e 4th 1710.

O heighth! o Depths! upon my bended knees
Who dare Expound these Wondrous Mysteries:
That this rare plant is cropt before mine Eyes
(Meer Shadow) left to write her Elegies.
Pray what brave Artist here can Understand
What one intends y^e takes a pen in hand?
Twas 'tother day a place I visited
Where stands a palme, one limb whereof is dead.

A bow'r w^{ch} many years Thousands have shaded
 By whome one Church was built: and Willard aided
 Seeking y^e plat of Immortality
 I saw no place secure but some must die
 Treading that way their Ancient fathers did
 Whose faces are, but Vertues can't be hid.
 I saw this pretty Lamb, but t'other day,
 With a small flock of Doves, Just in my Way.
 What New made Creature's this so bright thought I
 Ah! pitty tis Such prettiness should die
 With rare alliances on Every side
 Had old physicians liv'd She ne're had died.
 Must then the Rulers of this Worlds Affairs
 By Providence be brought to us in tears
 Lord keep their Eyes from such smart Judgments free
 Such mournfull Sights are more becoming mee.
 Pleasant Rebecka, heres to thee a Tear
 Hugg my sweet Mary if you chance to see her
 Had you giv'n warning ere you pleas'd to Die,
 You might have had a neater Elegy.

BEN: THOMPSON.

[Indorsed] "1710 m^r Thompson's Verses on m^r Sewals Child."

The allusion of the writer to his own little girl (Mary), in the closing lines of the Elegy, is quite pathetic. She died on March 28, 1700, at the age of seven years.

Another instance of a Funeral Elegy that was printed, and also circulated in manuscript, is one on John Foster, a graduate of Harvard College in the Class of 1667, who died on September 9, 1681, written by Joseph Capen, a graduate of Harvard, Class of 1677. Still another instance is a second one on Foster, written by Thomas Tilestone. From an advertisement in an old almanac I assume that both these Elegies were printed. It is as follows:—

Advertisement.

THere are suitable Verses Dedicated to the
 Memory of the *INGENIOUS Mathematician*
 and *Printer Mr John Foster*. Price 2d. a single
 Paper, both together 3d.

The Psalter also which Children so much wanted,
 is in part printed; and will shortly be finished: both
 to be sold by *John Usher of Boston*.

The title of the almanac is as follows: "An Ephemeris of Cœlestial Motions, Aspects, Eclipses, &c. For the Year of the Christian Æra 1682. . . . By W. Brattle Philomath. . . . Cambridge Printed by Samuel Green 1682."; and the advertisement appears by itself on the last page of the pamphlet. It is evident that the "Verses" here advertised were two distinct "Papers," or sheets, as they were sold either separately or both together.

A copy of this almanac, bound up with others now in the possession of the Historical Society, once belonged to Chief-Justice Sewall; and on the blank space under the advertisement is written, "The last half Sheet was Printed wth my Letters [or type], at Boston. S. S." At that time Judge Sewall had the official management of the printing-press in Boston, regularly licensed by the General Court, and no one else was allowed to interfere with him without a "like liberty first granted." As he was not brought up to the trade, Samuel Green, Jr. (a practical printer), had charge of the business. The last four leaves of the almanac, or half signature, are in different type, which explains this reference. Under a misapprehension of the facts, the Committee of Publication for Sewall's Diary have referred this manuscript entry, as printed by them in the first volume (page 60) of the Diary, to the almanac which immediately follows in the small volume.

Mr. Sibley, in his *Harvard Graduates*, refers to these two Elegies on Foster, and makes several quotations therefrom. He had found them in Thomas C. Simonds's "History of South Boston" (pages 34-39), published in the year 1857, where they both appear in full. The author of that work says that he received them from certain members of the family. A few months ago I borrowed from Mr. Thompson Baxter, of South Boston, these same copies of the Elegies, which were without doubt contemporary with the printed ones. His grandmother was a Foster, though not a descendant of the printer, as he was unmarried, but she descended in a collateral line. It is interesting to note that certain words in the two manuscripts are written in large capitals, showing probably that the copyist followed a printed sheet. It has been thought that the closing lines of Capen's Elegy suggested to Franklin the quaint epitaph which he wrote for himself. As a bright boy with an inquisitive turn of

mind, Franklin was familiar with the main incidents in the life of Foster, the first printer in Boston, and probably the earliest engraver in New England. The verses differ in some minor respects from those in the "History of South Boston," and for that reason the Elegies are here reprinted, as follows:—

A Funeral Elegy

Upon the much to be Lamented Death and most
Deplorable Expiration of the Pious, Learned, Ingenious,
and Eminently Usefull Servant of God

M^r John Foster

Who Expired and Breathed out his Soul quietly
into the Arms of His Blessed REDEEMER
at Dorchester, Sept. 9th Anno Dom. 1681

Ætatis Anno 33

Here lye the relict Fragments, which were took
Out of Consumption's teeth, by Death the Cook
Voracious Appetite dost thus devour
Scarce ought hast left for worms t' live on an Hour
But Skin & Bones no bones thou mak'st of that
It is thy common trade t' eat all the fat.
Here lyes that earthly House, where once did dwell
That Soul that Scarce [ha]th left its Parallel
For Sollid Judgment Piety & Parts
And peerless Skill in all the practick Arts
Which as the glittering Spheres, it passed by
Methinks, I Saw it Glance at Mercury;
Ascended now: 'bov Time & Tides 't abides,
Which Sometimes told the world, of Times & Tides.
Next to th' Third Heavens the Stars were his delight,
Where's Contemplation dwelt both day & night,
Soaring unceertainly but now at Shoar,
Whether Sol moves or Stands He doubts no more.
He that despis'd the things the world admired,
As having Skill in rarer things acquired,
The heav'ns Interpreter doth disappear;
The Starre's translated to his proper Sphere.
What e're the world may think did Cause his death
Consumption 'twas not Cupid, Stopt his breath.
The Heav'ns which God's glory doe discover,
Have lost their constant Friend & instant Lover
Like Atlas, he help't bear up that rare Art
Astronomy; & always took his part:

Most happy Soul who didst not there Sit down
 But didst make after an eternal Crown
 Sage Archimede ! Second Bezaleell
 Oh how didst thou in Curious works excell !
 Thine Art & Skill deserve to See the Press,
 And be Composed in a Printers dress.
 Thy Name is worthy for to be enroll'd
 In Printed Letters of the choicest Gold

Thy Death to five foretold Eclipses Sad,
 A great one, unforetold doth Superad,
 Successive to that Strange Æthereal Blaze,
 Whereon thou didst so oft astonish'd, gaze ;
 Which daily gives the world Such fatal blows :
 Still whats to come we dread ; God only knows.
 Thy Body which no activeness did lack
 Now 's laid aside like an old Almanack
 But for the present only's out of date ;
 Twil have at length a far more active State.

Yea, though with dust thy body Soiled be,
 Yet at the Resurrection we Shall See
 A fair Edition & of matchless worth,
 Free from Errata, new in Heav'n Set forth :
 Tis but a word from God the great Creatour,
 It Shall be Done when he Saith IMPRIMATUR.

Semœstus cecinit

JOSEPH CAPEN

M^r Foster I am very Happy to have it in my Power
 to Send you this Coppy I have long intended it but
 but [*sic*] want of leisure is the Cause, that this may
 meet you & Children in Health is the Wish of

A SHORES

This note to Mrs. Foster, signed by A. Shores, was written
 by the person who copied the two Elegies. I am inclined to
 think that it is in a woman's hand, but of this I am not sure ;
 nor am I able to identify the family of the copyist. Mrs.
 Foster, here alluded to, was the mother of the printer, as he
 was never married.

Funeral Elegy

Dedicated to the Memory of His Worthy Friend
 The Learned & Religious

M^r John Foster who Deceased in Dorchester the 9 of Sep^r 1681

Amongst the Mourners that are met
 (For Payment of their last love debt

Unto the dead) to Solemnize,
 With Sighs and Tears his Obsequies,
 Loves Laws command that I appear
 And drop a kindly friendly Tear
 I'll venture to bewail his Herse
 Though in a homely Country verse
 To omit the Same, it were
 A Crime at least Piacular

Our woful loss for to Set forth,
 By Setting forth the matchless worth
 Of the Deceased is too high
 For my poor Rural Poetry
 And greater Skill it doth require
 Then whereunto I may aspire

Records declare how he excell'd
 In Parentage unparallel'd
 Whose Grace and Virtues very great
 He did himself Improprate
 Unto Himself; improv'd withall
 By Learning Academical

His Curious works had you but Seen
 You would have thought Him to have been
 By Some Strange Metempsychosis
 A new reviv'd Archmedes;
 At least you would have judg'd that he
 A rare Apelles would Soon be.

Adde to these things I have been hinting
 His Skill in that rare Art of PRINTING:
 His accurate Geography,
 And Astronomick Poetry;
 And you will Say, 'twere pitty He
 Should dy without an Elegie

His piercing Astronomick EYE
 Could penetrate the Cloudy Sky,
 And Soar aloft, ith' highest Sphere
 Descrying Stars that disappear
 To Common eyes: But Faith and Hope
 His all-excelling Telescope,
 Did help his heaven-born Soul to pry
 Beyond the Starry Cannopy.

His excellencies here, we find
 Were crowned with an humble mind

Thus (Grace obtain'd and Art acquir'd
 And thirty three years near expir'd)

He that here liv'd below'd, contented
Now dies bewail'd and much lamented.

Who know the Skill, which to our losse
This Grave doth now alone ingrosse,
Ah who can tell JOHN FOSTER'S worth
Whose Anagram is, I SHONE FORTH
Presaged was his Apoge,
By a preceding Prodigie
Heav'ns blazing Sword was brandished
By Heav'ns iraged wrath we dread;
Which Struck us with amazing fear
Some fixed Star would disappear:
Th' appearance was not long adjour'nd
Before our Fear to Sorrow turn'd.

Oh Fatal Star (whose fearful flame
A fiery Chariot became
Whereby our Phenix did ascend)
Thou art our Foe, although his Friend
That rare Society, which forth
Hath Sent Such Gems of greatest worth
It's OAKS and pleasant Plants by death
Being pluct up, it languisheth:
Thus dye our hopes, and Harvards glory
Scarce parallel'd in any Story

That GOD does thus our choice ones Slay
And cunning Artist take away
The Sacred Oracles do Shew
A dreadfull flood of wrath in vieu

Oh then let every one of you
His rare accomplishments that knew
Now Weep: weep ye of Harvard Hall
With bitterest Tears; so weep we all
Chiefly such as were alone
Flesh of his flesh, Bone of his Bone
Lament indeed and fill the Sky[es]
With th' eccho's of their dolefull cries
Let James, and let Elisha too
With Comfort, Standfast weeping, go
Thankfull, Patience, Mary likewise
Like loveing Sisters Solemnize
With Sigh's your greatest losse but yet
Your Thankfull Hope do not forget
With perseverance to fulfill
Know your Elijah's GOD lives Still

Standfast therefore with Patience
Comfort Shall be your recompence
And as you yet Survive your Brother
So be like comforts to your Mother
Who like Naomi Sad is left
Of Husband, and two Sons breft
So bitterly th' Almighty one
Hath to our weeping Marah done
Grieve not too much the time draws near
You'll re-enjoy Relations dear
And all together Shall on high
With everlasting Melody
And perfect peace His praises Sing
Who through all troubles did you bring

THOMAS TILESTON

[Indorsed] "Elegies on the death of M^r John Foster 1681."

In the last Elegy, near the end, the allusions to James, Elisha, Comfort, Standfast, Thankfull, Patience, and Mary, are to the surviving brothers and sisters of Foster, and to a brother Hopestill, who had previously died. See the Proceedings, 2d series, IV., 203; VI., 41, for other particulars concerning the printer.

Dr. Green at the same time announced the death of the Hon. Charles H. Bell, a Corresponding Member, which took place at Exeter, New Hampshire, on November 11. He had been Governor of his native State, besides filling many other public positions, and was the author of several historical works, including a History of Exeter. He was chosen a member of this Society on August 10, 1871, and at the time of his death had nearly finished a work on the Bench and Bar of New Hampshire.

Mr. James Ford Rhodes, of Cambridge, was elected a Resident Member.

Brief remarks were also made during the meeting by the PRESIDENT and by Mr. GAMALIEL BRADFORD, who suggested that the avenue leading across the city to the new Harvard bridge, and now known by various designations, might be appropriately called Parkman Avenue, in memory of the historian.

JANUARY MEETING, 1894.

THE stated meeting was held on Thursday, the 11th instant, at three o'clock, P. M. In the absence of the President, the chair was taken by the surviving Vice-President, Mr. CHARLES FRANCIS ADAMS.

After the reading of the record of the last meeting, and of the list of donors to the Library during the last month, the VICE-PRESIDENT said : —

Since the last meeting of the Society, a vacancy has occurred both in the roll of its Resident and in that of its Honorary Members. I have to announce the death of Henry Warren Torrey, one of our senior Resident Members. Elected in 1859, Mr. Torrey's name stood, when the last published volume of the Proceedings of the Society was prepared, eighth upon our list. The Very Reverend Charles Merivale, chosen an Honorary Member at the October meeting, 1886, died at his home in England on the 27th of December.

The President of the Society has placed in my hands a characteristic tribute to our associate, Mr. Torrey. As the Secretary will presently read this to you, I shall content myself with saying that Professor Torrey, though, as his middle name indicates, of original Pilgrim and Plymouth stock, was born in Roxbury, November 11, 1814, and accordingly, at the time of his death, was in his eightieth year. After graduating at Harvard in the Class of 1833, feeling, like so many others, no strong call to any particular vocation, he applied himself to the study of the law, and was admitted to the bar in 1840. To those who have seen him here and known him long, it is hardly necessary to say that Mr. Torrey had small natural aptitude and less inclination for the active practice of the law. Possibly, perhaps not improbably, he might, as time went on, have developed into a successful professor at the Law School; but more probably, had he followed the profession, he would have passed his life in the preparation of treatises rather than in court-room work and legal contests. But, instead of devoting

himself to that calling, he early drifted away from it to that for which he had a greater inclination, the profession of teaching. In 1856 he was chosen McLean Professor of Ancient and Modern History in Harvard University, which position he filled for thirty years. Having rounded out that long period of active professorial service, during which the degree of LL.D. was in 1879 conferred upon him by the University, he retired in 1886, becoming then Emeritus Professor.

As a member of this Society, Mr. Torrey did his share of work. He was on the Standing Committee from April, 1867, to April, 1871, and he also was upon the Committee to publish the Sewall Diary, and another later Committee appointed to advise with Mr. Winsor in the preparation of his "Narrative and Critical History of America." The last contribution he made to the Proceedings of the Society was a feeling tribute to his intimate and life-long friend, Francis E. Parker, delivered in this room on the announcement of Mr. Parker's death, at the February meeting of 1886. Of late years, owing to declining health, Mr. Torrey's face has been less often seen here than those who knew him well, and respected him for what he was really worth, would have desired.

The Very Reverend Charles Merivale, Dean of Ely, was one of the last great scholarly English deans, of whom Milman and Stanley were the most familiar types. And speaking of Milman as one of those great deans, and, like Charles Merivale, a dean only, I am led aside to repeat an anecdote not without interest, which I remember hearing nearly thirty years ago at a London dinner-table. I forget who my informant was, possibly Lord Houghton, possibly Mr. Charles Howard, but certainly one whose authority in such matters could not be questioned. The anecdote illustrates curiously the great advance in critical research and liberal theology during the last forty years. The name of Dean Milman was more than once mentioned in connection with a bishopric. Finally, his advancement to a see was officially proposed to the Queen, though by what minister or in connection with what particular diocese I am unable now to say. Some one not friendly to the appointment called her Majesty's attention to the fact that in one of his histories Milman had referred to Abraham as "the Sheikh Abraham." The phrase struck harshly on the somewhat Orthodox royal ear. That the Prophet and

Patriarch of sacred history, he with whom Jehovah had communed face to face, should be referred to by the title given customarily to the leader of an Arab horde, was then considered what would now be called very "advanced theology." Accordingly, Milman's name was passed over, and another name upon the list selected. I remember my informant then added, in a somewhat earnest and impressive manner, that this was the reason, and the only reason, Milman died a dean, and not a bishop.

Returning, however, to Dean Merivale, born in 1808, and a member of a distinguished family, his active literary career may be said to have extended from his first publication, a volume of sermons, in 1838, to his poetical translation of the *Iliad* in 1869, — a period of over thirty years. During that time his mental activity covered a wide field, including volumes of discourses and lectures, the well-known *History of the Romans under the Empire*, which appeared between 1850 and 1862, and finally the translation of the *Iliad*, to which I have already referred, in 1869.

I do not remember to have ever had the good fortune of meeting Dean Merivale. Neither do I possess that familiarity with his works which would enable me to pass judgment upon them. But it is sufficient to say that those better qualified than I have thought his *History* not unworthy to be mentioned in the same breath with the results of the labors of Arnold and Gibbon. This is praise enough.

Through the death of Mr. Torrey, the list of Resident Members of the Society has been reduced to ninety-five, and through the death of the Hon. Charles H. Bell, announced at our December meeting, the list of Corresponding Members has been reduced to forty-eight. About two years ago the election of Corresponding Members became matter for consideration in the Council of this Society. A report of a committee was then presented, in which it was recommended, as a general policy to be pursued, that "the number of Corresponding Members should be kept strictly within such limits as would cause an election to be looked upon as a valued recognition." The list of Corresponding Members of the Society then contained the names of fifty-five living persons; and the Committee expressed the opinion that it would be desirable to allow this number to drop to fifty before any further additions were made, unless

in very exceptional cases. Finally, it was pronounced the proper policy of the Society to keep the number of Corresponding Members within that limit. This was two years ago, and the recommendation thus made was concurred in by the Council. Mr. Bell's death is the seventh which has since occurred among the fifty-five persons then upon the list. I now mention this fact, as both indicating to the Society at large the general policy on this subject which the Council has adopted, and also to call attention to the fact that the way is now open to additions to the list of Corresponding membership.

Passing on from this subject, I am reminded by the absence of the President, and the circumstance of my to-day occupying for the first time his chair, of another thing which seems to me by no means without interest. Those present will doubtless remember a pleasant incident which recently occurred in the House of Commons, when Mr. Gladstone celebrated his eighty-fourth birthday. Laying aside for the moment all feelings of party strife and personal like or dislike, the House of Commons, under the lead of Mr. Balfour, the head of her Majesty's Opposition, resolved itself for the occasion into a social meeting, at which tribute irrespective of party was paid to the great Premier, and cordial felicitations fitting the occasion extended. Doubtless many of you present will also recall the parallel occasion eleven years before, when Mr. Gladstone and the House of Commons observed in a similar spirit the celebration of the fiftieth anniversary of his membership of that body.

The absence of our President reminds me of the fact that there are three names now at the head of the list of our Resident membership, two of which represent a connection with the Society exceeding fifty years, while the other hovers upon the verge of that period. It is a thing for which I take some blame to myself that when Mr. Winthrop passed the limit in October, 1889, now more than four years ago, and when Mr. Ellis passed it in October, 1891, no notice was taken by the Society of events of such interest to us. I hope this will not be the case when the third name on our list shall touch the golden period in the coming month of May. Nor need the Society apprehend that, if the practice should be introduced of noticing an event of this sort whenever the time for so doing may arrive, the thing would become of such ordinary occurrence as to sink into a conventional usage.

After our friend Dr. Paige shall have passed his fiftieth year of service in the coming May, an examination of the list shows that no similar event is likely to occur until our friend Dr. Green shall arrive, in the year 1910, at his eightieth year, should he, as we all hope he may, attain that age. Unless, therefore, Dr. Holmes should reach the truly Nestorian limit of ninety-eight, or Mr. Saltonstall the more modest and only patriarchal period of eighty-three, sixteen years must elapse before the Society can again celebrate a membership of a duration equal to that of Dr. Paige, much less those of Mr. Winthrop or Dr. Ellis. An examination of the rolls of the Society shows also that connections lasting fifty years have been of rare occurrence, and that the coincidence of three names standing at the head of the list together, each representing that term, is unprecedented. During the one hundred and three years of the Society's life but five only of the whole number of members have fully rounded out the half century, of whom two are still with us. The others were John Davis (1791-1841), Josiah Quincy (1796-1846), and James Savage (1813-1863), a distinguished trio, in honoring any one of whom by a special commemoration all will agree the Society would have honored itself. Its failure so to do must always remain matter of regret.

Under these circumstances, and taking advantage of the temporary indisposition which causes the absence of our President, — and from which I am glad to add he is rapidly recovering, — the Society will, I am sure, concur with me in the propriety of extending to him in his absence an expression of our affectionate memory of the deep and active interest he has ever evinced in its welfare and prosperity, and the earnest hope we entertain that we may long continue to welcome him here in occupation of the chair he has to-day vacated.

I will ask Judge Chamberlain to move that the Secretary be instructed to forward to the President, in the name of the Society, a copy of the last portion of these remarks.

The motion of Judge CHAMBERLAIN was adopted, all the members standing.

The Recording Secretary then read the following tribute by Dr. ELLIS to his friend and classmate, Professor Torrey: —

The life of our late honored and distinguished associate, Prof.

Henry Warren Torrey, was closed by a brief illness on the day of our last meeting in this hall. That life, continued through a full term of years, was devoted to the highest form of intellectual training and discipline for a long succession of pupils and scholars. His own course in preparatory and academic studies was at once continued in intelligent and faithful work in teaching, and mental discipline in the higher ranges of education.

Having graduated at Harvard in 1833, he began his academic services there as tutor in several departments fifty years ago. For a brief interval he engaged in private instruction. In 1856 he was appointed McLean Professor of History, and on resigning the office held the title of Emeritus in 1886. Having in mind the many able and devoted officers Harvard, especially during the last half-century, has had as its guides and helpers in its steady advance and development, there is a host of contemporary witnesses to the fact that Professor Torrey was signally distinguished and appreciated for the ability and the entire devotion of his attainments in exact and varied scholarship, and especially for the scrupulous and conscientious devotion which engaged him wholly in the work for the College.

He won and held the hearty confidence, the high respect, and the affectionate attachment of the members of his classes, who found in him a wise and efficient helper in quickening their own industry and in adding to their knowledge.

To all who have been in intimacy with Mr. Torrey through the whole or the later periods of his life, his elevated traits of character, his modest and gentle bearing, his delicate refinement, and his strict conscientiousness in the estimate and performance of his duties, expressed, as did his features, marked and engaging qualities.

He valued his connection with this Society, and heartily sympathized with its work. He came of the pure original Plymouth Pilgrim stock, and the blood of many of those Forefathers mingled in his veins. I recall, as illustrative of the modesty and conscientiousness to which I have alluded, the fact that when he was elected to membership here, he expressed to me with much diffidence and earnestness his misgiving whether he would find membership consistent with his prior duties to the College.

Having been already three years in his professorship of history there, the College could hardly grudge us the honor of his name on our rolls. He was one of the Committee for annotating and publishing the journal of Judge Sewall. He rendered valuable aid in this work by researches in the college library.

Mr. ADAMS, having called the Corresponding Secretary, Mr. Justin Winsor, to the chair, then read the following paper:

Those present at the last meeting of the Society will remember that our associate Mr. R. C. Winthrop, Jr., then read an interesting paper on certain original manuscripts relating to early New England history, which had recently come to light; and in his paper took occasion to refer at some length to a recent publication of mine entitled "Massachusetts: its Historians and its History." It is, of course, needless for me to call attention to the fact that the publication in question was one brought out in the ordinary process of historical investigation, and in no way connected with this Society.

At the time I called attention to the fact that Mr. Winthrop's course in this matter, and his quite outspoken utterances, though, as between him and me, perhaps made allowable by that give-and-take understanding which naturally results from a close and kindly personal acquaintance originating in the boyish freedom of college intercourse, and continued through forty years of maturer life, yet, on the record and in cold print, constituted somewhat of an innovation upon the traditions of this Society.¹ The next day, when, in consequence of this remark of mine, I received a note from him offering at once to withdraw and suppress all he had said in his paper on the subject of my book if it gave me the slightest annoyance, I took occasion in my reply, while altogether deprecating any suppression, to observe that none the less his paper had, so far as I was concerned, "smacked rather of the floor of the House of Commons than of the Chamber of the Academy."

For myself, I will say at the outset, I have more than a regard, I have a profound respect, for the traditions of this Society. In this country, with its tendency to excessive free-

¹ See Proceedings, vol. iii. pp. 257, 258.

dom of speech and a disregard of the recognized conventionalities of what is sometimes termed a more effete civilization, we all, I am confident, feel that there is something refreshing and, so to speak, restful in the well-ordered quiet and decorum, the old-time courtesy and mutual consideration, characteristic of this room. All this may sometimes be referred to in other and less respectful language; but no one has any disposition to disturb, much less violate it.

Thus thinking and feeling, I am altogether unwilling to be drawn into a discussion which could possibly leave upon the record of the proceedings of the Society any word of mine personal to myself or my writings. Such, in my judgment, would be unworthy of a place there. Nor, in thus speaking, do I confine the remark to myself or the products of my own pen.

Ignoring, therefore, whatever in Mr. Winthrop's paper was individual to myself or my methods of expression, I propose to discuss in as impersonal a spirit as I can those points of historical fact upon which Mr. Winthrop seems disposed to take issue with me.

A somewhat careful examination of Mr. Winthrop's paper in its printed form fails to show any important matter relating to fact upon which he thus takes issue, except as respects the feeling with which the friends of the Massachusetts Colony in England regarded in the earlier period the policy of compelled conformity here adopted. Dealing with this subject in detail, our associate endeavors to show that the documentary evidence adduced by me in support of my statements is at best irrelevant, and more than intimates that a harsher term might well be applied to my use of that evidence; for he says I "omit to mention" the dates of the letters, etc., from which I quote,—and he then goes on to point out that these letters, etc., in all cases bore date long subsequent to the Antinomian contest of 1636-1638,—in one case at least seven years and in another nearly forty. Finally he adds, referring to an assertion of mine that the letters referred to "constitute nothing less than an indictment of the early polity of Massachusetts at the bar of history," that he knows not what signification I apply to the word "early." He then proceeds to confine the word "early" to the events of 1637, and seemingly convicts me of manipulation of evidence. But I will quote his own words: "If I were asked for evidence of the

state of feeling among friends of the Colony in England during the period of the Antinomian Controversy, I should not wish to appear to seek it in what was written many years afterward in relation to a wholly different condition of things"; and elsewhere he says of me, "the date he omits to mention."

I believe I have stated Mr. Winthrop's point with accuracy and scrupulous fairness. I shall now proceed to deal with it. If Mr. Winthrop does not, as he asserts, know what signification I attached to the word "early" in my reference to the early polity of Massachusetts, it is, I submit, no fault of mine. I certainly defined it clearly and repeatedly enough. It is on the thirty-eighth page of the book he was criticising that the expression he refers to occurs. Only six pages before (p. 32), while entering on this part of the discussion, I had defined the expression as including the "forty years which immediately followed the Synod of 1637." On the same page I had expressly said, "After 1680 a certain degree of formal toleration existed"; and from the beginning almost to the end of the book under discussion, the controversy of 1637 is referred to simply as the date at which the polity thenceforth continued was first entered upon. It was of this continuing policy, unbroken in any way until the arrival of the so-called King's missive in November, 1661, that the letters I referred to constituted a contemporaneous indictment. As such they were, I now confidently submit, germane, strictly to the point, and, moreover, conclusive.

It so chances that I have recently, in connection with a forthcoming volume of the publications of the Prince Society, entitled "Antinomianism in the Colony of Massachusetts Bay," been engaged in what I fancy may prove to be the most careful study yet made of this very point of the contemporaneous state of feeling among the friends of the Colony in England during the period of the Antinomian Controversy; and, as a result of that investigation, — made, let me add, as part of the study which led to my writing the "Massachusetts," — as a result of that investigation, I thought I saw cause to believe that at the time the troubles in Massachusetts of 1637 attracted almost no notice at all in England. Englishmen then were intent on other things. So far as I could learn, the manuscript of what has since been known as Thomas Welde's "Short Story" — the book to which we owe nearly all the

information we possess of those occurrences — lay undisturbed and unnoticed somewhere in London from the summer of 1638, when it arrived there, until 1644, when at last it was printed. Then exhumed, it was published as one of the pamphlet missiles hurled to and fro by those engaged in the first fierce British battle over religious toleration at that time raging in the Westminster Assembly. Brought out apparently under the approving auspices of the rigid Scot Presbyterians, it was intended to discredit and put to rout the radicals of religious freedom, a contemptible minority fighting under the leadership of the younger Vane.

But all this I have gone into at length in the introductory matter to the Prince Society volume referred to, and it would be mere waste of time and space to repeat it here. I refer to it only in connection with that part of Mr. Winthrop's paper in which he quotes from Emmanuel Downing's letter of November, 1637, printed thirty years ago by this Society, and adduces what he thus quotes as evidence of what the "best and worthiest men" then thought in England. Emmanuel Downing! A few years ago a member of this Society, probably now present, published a memoir of his father, the Rev. Rufus Ellis; and in it, mercifully, but, as I think, wrongly, suppressing the name of the writer, he inserted a letter¹ written by a smug, conservative Boston professional or business man, of a type common enough in that day, but now in their descendants craving oblivion only. The letter has a true historical significance, — it is eloquent in its insolence; so I quote it in full, in order that for all time it may enjoy such further vogue as an insertion in the Proceedings of this Society will certainly give to it. The date was October, 1856.

DEAR SIR, — I am sorry you should have thought fit to introduce the subject of slavery into your morning's sermon. The discussion of this subject from the pulpit, in our community, will not tend to promote pure religion or good morality; on the contrary, it may engender feelings leading to strife and bitterness. Hereafter, when you propose to preach on slavery, I should deem it a favor to be informed, so that I may absent myself from the meeting, and be saved the painful necessity of quitting my pew during the service.

I am your friend and servant,

Rev. R. ELLIS, Exeter Place.

¹ A. B. Ellis's Memoir of Rufus Ellis, p. 159.

The writer of that precious epistle is in his grave. Nine years later the great fight had been fought out, and slavery had vanished forever from the land; President Lincoln had delivered his immortal second inaugural, and truly "every drop of blood drawn with the lash" had been "paid by another drawn with the sword." Some of us here now remember well enough what a large portion of those deemed "best and worthiest" in Boston and this land of ours then thought on the subject of slavery, and the agitation against it. The Boston gentleman who that October evening wrote to his pastor the letter I have read voiced their feelings only too well. But would we now quote that letter, or the evidence of its writer, to show what the really "best and worthiest men" of the time felt in 1856 on the great religious and moral issues involved in African slavery?

It was much the same with Emmanuel Downing as respects the equally great issues of two centuries and a half ago. Mr. Winthrop has referred to the volume of the Collections of the Society in which the letter he quotes from was published.¹ It was through that volume I first made the acquaintance of Emmanuel Downing; and I was, I remember, introduced to him by no less a person than our late distinguished colleague, James Russell Lowell. Downing was in company with Hugh Peter; and Mr. Lowell referred to the pair, not unjustly as on fuller knowledge it has since seemed to me, as two men who "leave a positively unpleasant savor in the nostrils. Each is selfish in his own way, — Downing with the shrewdness of an attorney, Peter with that clerical unction which in a vulgar nature so easily degenerates into greasiness. Neither of them was the man for a forlorn hope, and both returned to England when the civil war opened prospect of preferment there. Both, we suspect, were inclined to value their Puritanism for its rewards in this world rather than the next. Downing's son, Sir George, was basely prosperous, making the good cause pay him so long as it was solvent, and then selling out in season to betray his old commander, Colonel Okey, to the shambles at Charing Cross."²

To modify slightly Mr. Winthrop's language, if I were asked for evidence of the state of feeling as respects persecution for

¹ 4 Mass. Hist. Coll. vol. vi. p. 48.

² Among my Books: New England Two Centuries Ago, p. 247.

conscience' sake among England's "best and worthiest" between the years 1637 and 1645, I should not "wish to appear to seek it" in the correspondence of a self-seeking London attorney; on the contrary, I should look for it, as I did look for it, in that portion of the book which Mr. Winthrop criticises,—in the recorded utterances of those great historic characters of the time, whose faces were turned steadily to the morning, and reflected the strong light of the breaking dawn,—the Miltons, the Cromwells, and the Vanes. These I quoted,—they are my witnesses, their voices are with me; but Mr. Winthrop, ruling them out of court, calls in their place to the stand—Emmanuel Downing!

But on this issue I have not done yet. Our associate intimates that the course of the Massachusetts magistrates and clergy in the Antinomian controversy was looked upon with approval by the best English opinion of the time. That it was looked upon with approval is certain; whether by the "best and worthiest" depends wholly on whom you see fit to classify as such. If the most extreme and intolerant Scotch Presbyterians are accepted before the bar of history as the "best and worthiest," they certainly regarded this feature of the Massachusetts polity of 1637 with unqualified and outspoken commendation, and wished its adoption in England. This, as I have shown in the publication of the Prince Society already referred to, is apparent in the controversial pamphlets of the day, and was voiced by one known in history by the appellation Thomas Carlyle bestowed upon him of "Baillie the Covenantaner." Referring probably to Governor Winthrop's "Apologie,"¹ then fresh from the press, Baillie remarked: "Only they in New England are more strict and rigid than we, or any church, to suppress, by the power of the magistrate, all who are not of their way, to banishment ordinarily and presently even to death lately, or perpetual slavery."²

¹ Antinomianism in the Colony of Massachusetts Bay, 1636-38. Prince Society Publications, pp. 191-233.

² Baillie's Letters and Journals, vol. ii. pp. 17, 18. No. 59, May 17, 1644. "In the mean time [the Independents] over all the land, are making up a faction to their own way, the far most part whereof is fallen off to Anabaptism and Antinomianism. Sundry also worse, if worse needs be: the mortality of the soul, the denial of angels and devils, and cast off all sacraments, and many blasphemous things. All these are from New England, where divers are in irons for their blasphemies, condemned to perpetual slavery, and well near by a few votes it went for the life. . . . Whoever there, were they angels for life and doctrine, will

And to me, as a descendant of those thus commended, the bitterest thing about this utterance is its truth; yet what worse or more, except in degree, could have been said of Spain, or that renowned institution with which the name of Torquemada is familiarly associated?

In the course of his remarks Mr. Winthrop referred also to my allusions to his ancestor Governor Winthrop, and bore a to me pleasant testimony to the courtesy with which in my writings I have always referred to the first Governor of Massachusetts, — for such in verity John Winthrop was; and he added that he considered it no derogation to his ancestor that I intimated he was not so strong or so great a man as William the Silent. A word now on that comparison. In the first place I meant it, — if Mr. Winthrop will pardon so direct a form of speech, possibly open to the charge of brusqueness. There are three men, and, so far as I know, only three, who by common acceptance, at least among us Americans, really occupy the position which Clarendon tells us was at the time of the Long Parliament popularly assigned to John Hampden, — the position of *Pater Patriæ*. Those three are William of Nassau, John Winthrop, and George Washington. No other men in the history of any country, unless we go back to Scripture story and the legend of the Sheikh Abraham, occupy a position similar to that of each and all of those three. A triumvirate in history, they are unique.

I now propose to institute no comparison between John Winthrop and William of Nassau or George Washington. But I will say that the older I have grown and the more I have studied and seen, the greater in my esteem, as an element of strength in a people, has character become, and the less in the conduct of human affairs have I thought of mere capacity or even genius. With character a race will become great, even though they be as stupid and unassimilating as the Romans; without character, any race will in the long run prove a failure, though it may number in it individuals having all the brilliancy of the Jews, crowned with the genius of Napoleon. The French and the Germans are even now illustrating the truth of my proposition. In that book to which Mr. Winthrop has called your attention, I say of John

essay to set up a different way from them, shall be sure of present banishment.”
— BAILLIE'S *Letters and Journals*, vol. ii. pp. 3, 4.

Winthrop that "his force lay in character"; and when I said that, I paid, and meant to pay, the highest tribute which in my judgment can be paid to a race or to its individual typical men. John Winthrop, like William of Nassau a century before and George Washington a century after, conferred on a nascent community the greatest boon possible, — the example of lofty character in public life; as such, he was and still remains a guiding star. "The virtues of a superior man are like the wind; the virtues of a common man are like the grass; the grass, when the wind passes over it, bends."

And now, having said thus much, I almost regret being forced to add one further controversial word; but it is essential to my argument. Once for all I want to enter my protest against the assumption, only too common, and so far as I know unchallenged, that in some mysterious way the intensity of conviction and sternness of purpose, so noticeable in the Puritan character, implied, of necessity, narrowness and intolerance; and that we must be satisfied to take the Puritan character, and see it and accept it as a whole. Without their narrowness the Puritans, we are told, could not have had their intensity and strength. I utterly deny that the best and highest type of Puritan character was either narrow or intolerant. That the baser and more earthy and conventional type was, and that, as the thing ran to seed and began to cumber the earth, the baser and more earthy type predominated and obtained the mastery, until swept away as a nuisance and a nightmare, — a portion of the worthless worn-out clothes of a dead past, — all that I admit, and believe history proves. But who will deny that John Hampden, John Milton, Oliver Cromwell, and Sir Harry Vane were typical Puritans? Who will assert that they were, as men, narrow and intolerant? That John Winthrop, the father, and John Winthrop, the son, that Richard Saltonstall and John Cotton, were typical Puritans will be conceded; that by nature they were men neither narrow nor intolerant, I have asserted, and the record proves. That the type degenerated as the Endicotts, the Dudleys, the John Wilsons, and the John Nortons more and more assumed control, I have endeavored to show. I confess to feeling small respect for the latter-day New England Puritan of the accepted, conventional pattern. The more I have studied him and the closer I have got to him, the less edifying and admirable has

he seemed. It was a second edition, from plates very much worn; and the world derived, so far as I have been able to see, no benefit from it. Consequently, that what is known as Puritanism became in Massachusetts at last, and that too at a quite early day, a mere empty formula, and then a worthless obstruction, I fully believe, and have tried, by quoting its utterances, to prove. But that Emmanuel Downing or Hugh Peter was a better type of the early Puritan than John Milton or John Hampden, or Thomas Dudley and John Endicott than John Winthrop and Richard Saltonstall, I utterly deny, and of it demand evidence. As yet I have seen none.

In the matter of religious toleration, also, it is urged by Mr. Winthrop, as it time out of mind has been urged by those composing the school of Massachusetts investigators with which he declares himself in sympathy, that, in the words of President Quincy, — himself, by the way, an example of high civic character, — “had our early ancestors adopted the course we at this day are apt to deem so easy and obvious, and placed their government on the basis of liberty for all sorts of consciences, it would have been, in that age, a certain introduction of anarchy.”

On this point I ask why, if this was so with Massachusetts and John Winthrop in 1637, it was otherwise with William of Nassau and Holland nearly a century before? Holland as a country was not rich or blessed by nature. Reclaimed from the sea, Massachusetts was almost a paradise to it. A simple, industrious, unwarlike race, the Hollanders stood through forty years face to face with the foremost power of the world, with the gold of all America behind it, engaged in one long death-grapple. I speak within strict limits when I say the worst trials and greatest dangers our ancestors ever had to apprehend were as nothing compared with those actually encountered and overcome by the Dutch. Yet at the outset William the Silent established for his people, and for all time among them, the policy of religious toleration.¹ It

¹ “One measure [William, from as early as 1572] always insisted on, and it forms the key-note of all his policy. Although the feeling against the Catholics was bitter, and it had been intensified by a partisan struggle in which the reformers had now become the victors, he proclaimed and enforced full religious toleration, requiring an oath from all officers and magistrates that they would ‘offer no let or hindrance to the Roman churches.’”

“The people about him [William] had been the victims of a persecution

did not there prove the "introduction of anarchy"; yet it was done at a time earlier, much earlier, and under conditions of infinitely greater public danger, than the time in which and the conditions under which the policy of repression was established for Massachusetts. If full religious toleration worked well in Holland in the sixteenth century and during interne-cine strife, as history shows and all admit, why must it necessarily in the seventeenth century have proved the "certain introduction of anarchy" in peaceful Massachusetts? Roger Williams asked that same question of John Cotton just two

which had furrowed the soil with graves and filled the land with widows and orphans. When they came into power, by driving out the Spaniards, it was but human to think of retaliation. More than this, they had every other motive that ever bred intolerance in other lands, and all intensified in degree. The Catholics among them not only professed a creed which they believed born of hell, but, in addition, were largely public enemies or lukewarm friends. They were men whom they had fought in street broils, who had advised the surrender of their towns, and whom they suspected of plotting against their liberties. Under such conditions, loud were the cries for the extirpation or banishment of the hated papists; still louder were those for the suppression of their form of worship. Against all this William of Orange stood like a wall of adamant. Open or known civil enemies could be banished or suppressed, he said, but no man must be molested on account of his religious faith. Of course he was denounced. Ministers from the pulpit declared that he cared nothing either for God or for religion. Even his brother, John of Nassau, protested against toleration of the Catholics. But he carried the day; and when the union was formed between Holland and Zealand, it was provided that no inquisition should be made into any man's belief or conscience, nor should any man by cause thereof suffer injury or hindrance. The Reformed Evangelical Church was established for the state, but no other form of religion was to be suppressed unless contrary to the Gospel. Toleration thus became the corner-stone of the republic, and under this liberal doctrine all sects thrived and were protected, even the Jews, who denied the Gospel, never being disturbed on that account."

In 1577 an attempt was made in Holland to exclude the Anabaptists from citizenship. Sainte Aldegonde, the accomplished scholar and friend of the Prince of Orange, was in favor of the project. How he was met is told in one of his letters:—

"The affair of the Anabaptists has been renewed. The prince objects to exclude them from citizenship. He answered me sharply that their yea was equal to our oath, and that we should not press this matter unless we were willing to confess that it was just for the Papists to compel us to a divine service which was against our conscience. In short, I don't see how we can accomplish our wish in this matter. The prince has uttered reproaches to me that our clergy are striving to obtain a mastery over conscience."

"This was in 1577. In the next year the authorities of Middelburg, in Zealand, attempted a persecution of the Anabaptists in their midst. This the prince at once arrested. He wrote to the magistrates reminding them that these peaceful burghers were always perfectly willing to bear their share of the common burdens, that their word was as good as an oath, and that as to the matter of military service, although their principles forbade them to bear arms, they had

centuries and a half ago,¹ as I ask it now. It was not answered then; it remains unanswered yet.

Dr. SAMUEL A. GREEN said:—

In Professor Goldwin Smith's recently published work entitled "The United States, An Outline of Political History 1492-1871," the writer, on the authority of the Baroness de Riedesel, makes a statement concerning an affair said to have happened in Boston during the Revolutionary period, which the circumstances of the case do not warrant. While it is always hard to prove a negative in any disputed question, the details of this occurrence are so monstrous and improbable that they bear on the face full evidence of their falsity. In speaking of the chivalrous treatment which Burgoyne and his army received from General Gates after their surrender, the writer goes on to say:—

When they got to Boston there was a change. Madame de Riedesel, the wife of the German General, complains that she was cruelly insulted by the Boston women. In her memoir we are told that the wife and young daughter of Captain Fenton, a royalist absentee, were stripped naked, tarred and feathered, and paraded through the city. (Page 99.)

The inference is here left that Mrs. Fenton and her daughter were thus outraged after Madame de Riedesel's arrival in Boston, though this is not stated in so many words. If the affair ever happened at all, judging from the memoir, it probably occurred before her arrival there in the autumn of 1777,

ever been ready to provide and pay for substitutes. 'We declare to you, therefore,' said he, 'that you have no right to trouble yourselves with any man's conscience so long as nothing is done to cause private harm or public scandal. We therefore expressly ordain that you desist from molesting these Baptists, from offering hindrance to their handicraft and daily trade by which they can earn bread for their wives and children, and that you permit them henceforth to open their shops and to do their work according to the custom of former days. Beware, therefore, of disobedience and of resistance to the ordinance which we now establish.'" — DOUGLAS CAMPBELL'S *The Puritan in Holland, England, and America*, vol. i. pp. 197, 243, 244, 247, 248.

The language employed by William in the closing sentences of the last extract is in singular and refreshing contrast with the language of both the magistrates and the General Court of the Colony of Massachusetts Bay, not only as respects the Quakers, but also as respects the same sect, known as Anabaptists, which had appeared at Middelburg two whole generations before.

¹ The Bloudy Tenent (1644), p. 160.

but in the quotations, given below, the date of the assault is left very obscure. The extracts taken from the latest translation of her "Letters and Journals relating to the War of the American Revolution" (Albany, 1867), and the fullest in English, are as follows:—

In the house in which I lived at Bristol, there was a Captain Fenton whose wife had remained in Boston with a daughter of fourteen. He loved them both dearly, and begged me to take charge of letters when I should embark for America. Upon my arrival there, I learned that as her husband had not returned they had been imprisoned, and afterwards greatly ill used. I will narrate this, however, in its proper place. (Pages 48, 49.)

During my sojourn at Bristol, in England, I had made the acquaintance of a Captain Fenton, from Boston, to whom the Americans, upon the breaking out of the war, had sent a summons, but which, true to his king, he would not obey. Upon this, the women of the exasperated rabble seized his wife—a woman deserving of all esteem—and his very beautiful daughter of fifteen years, and without regard to their goodness, beauty or modesty, stripped them naked, besmeared them with tar, rolled them in feathers, and, in this condition, led them through the city as a show. What might not be expected from such people, inspired with the most bitter hatred! (Pages 140, 141.)

These references are undoubtedly to John Fenton, who had been a captain in the British army, but afterward settled at Plymouth, New Hampshire, where he was commissioned colonel in the militia. He was a noted tory, and at the beginning of the Revolution was a member of the House of Representatives in that State, from which body he was expelled on account of his political proclivities. At a later period he was arrested by order of the Provincial Congress, and placed on his parole; and on September 19, 1775, General Washington was instructed by the Continental Congress to discharge him from custody, "on his giving his parole of honour to proceed to *New-York*, and from thence to *Great-Britain or Ireland*, and not to take up arms against the good people of this Continent."

One of the sisters of the well-known Sir John Temple, the grandfather of the Hon. Robert C. Winthrop, married in New England, long before the Revolution, a Captain Fenton, formerly of the British army, and subsequently a Loyalist refugee,

whose daughters received small pensions from the English government. There can hardly be a doubt that she was the person referred to by the Baroness de Riedesel; but among her collateral kindred in Boston there is no tradition that she was ever maltreated by a mob, and no reference to such an occurrence has been found among the numerous family letters of that period still extant.

While the town of Boston was held by the English, and the streets were bristling with soldiers, it seems impossible that such an outrage against decency could have been committed by any mob. If it occurred at all, then, it must have been after the Evacuation of the town, — which took place on March 17, 1776, — and probably before the beginning of the year 1778. A careful and critical examination of all the Boston newspapers, however, printed between April 1, 1775, and January 1, 1778, has failed to reveal the slightest allusion to such an event, which surely in some way would have been noticed in their columns, if it had ever happened. The papers, thus examined, are: —

“The Massachusetts Gazette: and the Boston Weekly News-Letter,” of which the latest number in this Library, was published on February 22, 1776; “The Boston-Gazette, and Country Journal”; “The Continental Journal, and Weekly Advertiser,” of which the first number appeared on May 30, 1776; and “The New-England Chronicle: or, the Essex Gazette” (Cambridge) from May 12, 1775, to April 4, 1776, “The New-England Chronicle” (the same newspaper, then published in Boston) from April 25 to September 12, “The Independent Chronicle” (still the same) from September 19 to October 31, 1776, and after that date called “The Independent Chronicle. And the Universal Advertiser.”

Owing to the exigencies of the Revolutionary War, “The Essex Gazette,” originally published at Salem, was removed to Cambridge, and shortly afterward to Boston; and owing to various causes, not now understood, the title of the newspaper was often changed.

Without doubt the patriots felt a very bitter animosity against the tories of that period, but in all their actions, of which many, perhaps, would have been accounted lawless at other times, they respected decency. They were men of families, and, true to their English instincts, always defended the dignity of womanhood; and they never would

have allowed an exasperated rabble thus grossly to insult defenceless women.

Lord Mahon, in his "History of England from the Peace of Utrecht to the Peace of Versailles. 1713-1783" (fifth edition, London, VI. 194), mentions the same shocking story; and he, too, gives Madame de Riedesel as his authority for the statement, but he leaves it to be inferred that the occurrence took place after her arrival in Boston.

More than ten years ago, at a meeting of the Historical Society on March 9, 1882, Mr. Henry Cabot Lodge referred to the same subject, and said that his attention had been called to it by Mr. Edward J. Lowell, who was then in Germany. As no corroborative testimony has ever been found elsewhere, Mr. Lodge did not hesitate to pronounce the whole story a falsehood.

This German baroness was a guileless woman, unused to the ways of the world, — as crops out in her "Letters and Journals," etc., — and too readily believed improbable tales. She had never seen the seamy side of life, and her credulity was equalled only by her inexperience. Without doubt the story was told to her, and she jotted it down; but her authority in the matter is entitled to no more weight than specks of dust floating in the air.

Dr. GREEN also said: —

For several years it has been known that it was the intention of our late associate and senior Vice-President, Francis Parkman, to bequeath his valuable collection of manuscripts to the Historical Society. For the most part, they are copies made from the original documents found among the Public Archives in Paris, Quebec, and elsewhere; and they have formed the basis of his historical works. As an earnest of this intention on his part, at five different times, he has given a large part of the collection, which has already been noticed by the Society. (See Proceedings, 2d series, I. 360-362, III. 152, 153, VI. 165, 391, 392, VII. 348, 349, VIII. 171.) I now desire to report that the remaining portion of the manuscripts was delivered last Thursday (January 4), and that as Librarian I signed the receipt furnished by the executors of his estate. They are contained in two trunks, and have been placed in the Parkman Cabinet with a view to a careful examination and arrangement.

Among the books received on December 9, 1886, is a thin volume containing copies of seven letters from General Pero Menendez de Aviles to the King of Spain. They are in Spanish, and a translation by the late Mr. Henry Ware is bound up in the same volume. During the latter part of his life Mr. Parkman had in mind to edit and print these letters, presumably for the Proceedings of the Society. As this plan was never carried out by him, I herewith submit a copy for the consideration of the Publishing Committee : —

Florida.

Years 1565 and 1566.

F. 14. D. N° 40.

Seven letters written to the King by the General Pero Menendez de Aviles, from the 13th of August 1565, to the 30th of the next January, giving a report to him of the success of his expedition, and of the cruises made by him from the time that he left Spain to undertake the conquest, settlement and pacification of Florida, and of the victory gained by him at the fort which the French had erected, with various important suggestions concerning what ought to be done for the security of that coast, and the navigation of the Channel of Bahama.

I.

Your Royal Catholic Majesty. I sailed from the smooth seas of the Grand Canaries, on the eighth of the last month, and the same night a strong breeze struck me, two leagues from land, although the vessels that were going out with me were becalmed, so that, although I endeavored to wait for them, doing everything possible, in the morning I was eight leagues from land, out of sight of the ships, save one which started with me; and finding myself alone, and that it was impossible to go back to land to seek them, I pursued my voyage with fine weather, until at 350 leagues from Florida, a hurricane struck me, and it was a miracle that it did not sink us, seeing that we carried so much artillery and equipments above what is usual, being equipped for service.

Hoping to fall in with the French fleet, it was a bad thing to put back into port, and the wind was so great and the sea so rough, that we were compelled to throw many guns overboard, (although none of Your Majesty's were thrown over,) while the force of the storm and wind was so great that it carried away all our masts and sails, except only the mainmast, with the loss of the topmast.* It lasted two days and one night, but as the ship was so staunch and strong, and such a good sailor, our Lord was pleased to permit us to escape. The storm abating, I set to work to repair damages the best I could, from certain spare spars and canvass, of which I made yards and sails, and on account of the light-

ness of the ship she sailed moderately, so that I was obliged to make sail hither to Puerto Rico, where I arrived on the eighth of this month, having seen no land from the Canaries here; and not finding here any supply of masts or of cordage, and on account of the loss of time there would be in waiting and sending elsewhere for them, from which great trouble might result, inasmuch as, if the French should arrive in Florida, they could land and fortify themselves securely; so, for these reasons, I resolved, within three days, to depart hence and go to Havana or Matanzas, and so I advise the Audiencia de Santo Domingo of the proposed voyage, which is short and the safest we can make, for they tell me in this place, that at Santo Domingo they are very much afraid of sailing to Florida, in the season of hurricanes. By the orders that I shall give, by the help of God, there will not be much to fear; I also sent them a skilful pilot, so that with the charts in his hands, they will soon perceive that I am confident that, so soon as they understand the good and very safe course that we shall be able to make, the troops, both land and sea, will be more zealous to make the voyage, which, it is certain by the help of God, will be both short and safe, and time will be gained and the ships that sail from this port and from Santo Domingo at Your Majesty's charge, will not be put to so great cost, and by these orders, and the help of our Lord, I hope to be in Florida, (if they sail speedily from Santo Domingo,) in the course of this month of August, up to the 10th of September, and I trust in Our Lord that the voyage will be short and safe.

When I left Seville, Pedro de las Roclas had been gone twenty-two days with his fleet and squadron, and when I arrived at the Canaries, he had been gone a week from Gomera. Two of the ships of his fleet sailed for this port, but neither of them has arrived. If the same weather comes to him that came to me, his fleet must have had trouble. May God bring him out in safety. I greatly fear I shall not be able to avail myself of his flag ship, as it will reach Havana so late, but I assure Your Majesty, that though neither the troops nor the horses should come in time, I shall not fail to land in Florida with such force as I shall have with me; for, if it should be before the French arrive there, it seems to me that we shall be strong enough to take the mouth of the harbor from them and fortify ourselves there, so as to intercept the succor that they are looking for, for it seems to me that, to end this war speedily, it is chiefly important that I shall arrive in Florida before the French, and in all reason, judging from the speed with which I have come thus far, and shall go from here to Florida, I shall arrive before them, and although in doing this, we incur some risk, and undertake great labors, yet it seems to me that we ought not, for these reasons to fail to venture; for, if the French shall arrive first in Florida, all the force that I have, although it go altogether, is too small to attack them.

It is a month since a French vessel went to San Germain which was going to Florida and had captured a vessel with the despatches that Your Majesty sent to these parts. I believe it carried supplies to those who were in Florida, advising them of the aid that was to be sent them, and that I was marching upon them, and that they should fortify themselves and hold out till they arrived; at which I am very sorry, but shall not for that fail to go to seek them with all despatch, with such force as I may find.

From this city I take a good ship with 50 men, soldiers and sailors, and twenty horses; and Your Majesty's Governor and officers have showed me every favor, and given me all aid for my speedy despatch and departure hence. They have also fitted out this ship for me to take with me, and give me moreover two very good barks, of which one shall go with the despatches to Santo Domingo and Havana, and the other I take with me to the coast of Florida, to discharge the ship with, so as to send her back within two or three days to this fort, so that she need not be making expense, and as she runs great risk at the entrance of the harbor, on account of the great depth of water that she requires, and as the barks will answer to discharge the troops, artillery ammunition and stores that are in the galleon.

Juan Ponce de Leon, Your Majesty's auditor in this island, and Alcayde of the fortress, is one of the chief gentlemen here. I have spoken to him of the great consequence that it is to Your Majesty's service that I go on with this enterprise and that my intent is to spend my whole life and substance in it, for the service of Our Lord God, and I requested him that he would take upon him my authority and act as my Lieutenant in this city and port, inasmuch as all the vessels and troops that are to go to Florida must come here to load horses and cattle. We need for this purpose a man of substance, and who has some part in the country. He has accepted this offer, for Your Majesty's service, as well as to do me a favor, and to him Your Majesty may send any despatches that are to go to me, so that he may forward them to me in Florida. I pray that Your Majesty will do me the favor to write to him, to keep him in your service, as it will be a reason for his doing with more zeal and good will all the things that will be necessary to be done for me in relation to Florida, which will be of use in Your Majesty's service.

May Our Lord prosper and preserve the Royal Catholic person of Your Majesty, giving increase of great realms and kingdoms, as we Your Majesty's servants desire, and as Christendom demands.

Dated at Puerto Rico, on the 13th of August, in the year 1565. Your Majesty's humble servant kisses your royal hands.

PERO MENENDEZ.

II.

Your Royal Catholic Majesty. I sailed from Puerto Rico on the 15th of August, for the Havana with the ship that I found with me, to join there the reinforcements from Santo Domingo, and proceed to this province of Florida, and continued to prosecute my voyage, the appearance of the sun and moon seeming to indicate fair weather. Thinking that, if I could succeed in reaching this harbor where the Frenchmen were, before the French fleet should arrive, I had sufficient force to take and hold it until the reinforcements from Santo Domingo and the troops that I required shall reach me, for the reason that they had built their fort five leagues up the river inland, and that there is an island at the mouth of the river of about a league long within, and alongside of the harbor, which they must necessarily enter, and which, whoever holds, is master of the sea, and can easily hold it, so that no ship can enter or go out of that harbor, without leave of the Alcayde who may command there. Hearing this secret from the two Frenchmen with me, (whom Your Majesty ordered to be handed over to me,) and who were the first who had been there, who also told me that, if the Frenchmen should arrive there before me, they would fortify this island so that they should be masters of the sea, it seemed to me the best plan, as I found myself with 800 persons, 500 of them soldiers, who could be landed, with 200 seamen, the other hundred being useless people, married men, women and children and officials, to sail for this port, and take and fortify this island. And having held a council concerning this with all the captains and officers, both naval and military, and they being unanimously of the same opinion, thinking that, if the French fleet should arrive first, the war was at an end, and that, when the cavalry from Santo Domingo should reach us, we should be masters of the campaign, both by land and by sea, and should have them surrounded, however strong they might be, and be able to destroy them, without their being able to receive help, either by land or sea; and so, being of this mind, we pursued our course to this place, and on the 25th of August, being Sunday at noon, we made this land at Cape Cañaveral, in latitude of 28 degrees, at the mouth of the Bahama Channel. We sailed along the coast, seeking this harbor, as far as the 29th degree, (for such was the account that I had, that the Frenchmen were between the 28th and 29th degrees.) Not finding it, we went on as far as twenty-nine and a half degrees, and then, seeing fires on the coast, on the second of September I sent ashore a Captain with 20 soldiers, to endeavor to get speech of the Indians, that they might give us news of this harbor; and so this Captain came up with them and spoke with them, and they told him, by signs, that the harbor was further on, in higher latitude, towards the North; and having returned the same day

with this answer, I determined to go ashore myself the next day in the morning to see these Indians, who seemed to be a noble race, and I took some things for barter with them. They were well pleased with me, assuring me that the harbor was further on, and so we went on our way to seek it, sailing thence on our search on the 4th of September, and the same day at two in the afternoon we discovered it, and four ships anchored there, showing the flags of Captain and Admiral. Being thus certain that the succor had come to them, and that by falling suddenly on these four ships we should be able to take them, I decided to attack, and being yet half a league away from them, there came up great thunder and lightning and rain, and then the wind left us becalmed. But about ten at night, it came on to blow again, and, it appearing to me that, in the morning, the ships that might be in the harbor would come out with reinforcements for these four, I resolved to anchor alongside of them, with the intention of attacking them at daybreak. So, I anchored between the Captain and Admiral with my flag ship, and having spoken them, asking, what they were doing there? And who was their Captain? They answered that they had Juan Ribas [Jean Ribault] for Captain General, and that they had come to this country by command of the King of France, and asked what ships were ours, and who was our General? I answered them, that I, Pero Menendez, by command of Your Majesty, had come to this coast to burn and hang the French Lutherans whom I should find there, and that, in the morning I should board their vessels to see if any of that people were on them, and that, if there were any, I should not fail to execute upon them the justice that Your Majesty commanded. They answered that it was no use, and that I might come on and not wait till morning. As it appeared to me that this opportunity was not to be lost, although it was night, turning my ship from stem to stern, I ordered cable to be paid out, so as to come alongside of her, but they cut their cables, and hoisted their sails, and all four of them took to flight. We were able to fire five heavy guns at the Admiral, and we suspect that we sank her, for many people abandoned her, getting into a large boat, a sort of pinnace, of twenty oars and put themselves on board another ship, leaving the boat. I chased the three ships that night, but as my galleon was dismasted by the storm, they sailed faster than I, and so, at dawn finding them five or six leagues distant from me, I returned to the harbor to land 500 soldiers on the island. Being yet half a league off from it, we perceived three ships anchored there with flags and banners flying, and on shore two more flags, and it appearing to me that there was no reason for wasting time there, as my flag ship could not go in there, and the little ones could enter only with great risk, I decided to turn back to the Bahama Channel to look for a harbor where I could land near them, and eight leagues from that

harbor by sea and six by land, I found one which I had reconnoitered before, on St. Augustine's Day, being in about twenty nine and a half degrees. There, on the sixth, I landed 200 soldiers, and on the 7th, three small vessels went in with the other 300, and the married men with their wives and children, and I discharged most of the artillery and ammunition, and, it being eight o'clock on Our Lady's Day, while we were engaged landing the other hundred persons who were to go on shore, with some guns and ammunition, and much store of provisions, the flag ship of the French Captain and Admiral came down within a half league of us, sailing round and round us; we, anchored as we were, making signals to them to come alongside, and, at three in the afternoon, they made sail and went to their harbor, and I went ashore and took possession, in the name of Your Majesty, and took the oaths, before the captains and officers as Captain General and Admiral of this land and coast, in conformity with Your Majesty's instructions.

Many Indians were present, many of them chiefs, who showed themselves to be very friendly to us, and appear to us to be hostile to the French. They told us that, inside this harbor, and without going to sea, we could come to the river where the Frenchmen were, in front of their fort, by going up the river seven or eight leagues, which would be a very good thing, on account of being able to carry up the artillery and camp stores and cavalry, if we should wish to land near their fort, without being hindered by their island, although they have fortified it; moreover, we can go by land with horses and artillery. I decided to fortify myself as well as I can till reinforcements shall come, and within three days, I shall send to Havana, by a short route, and with God's help I hope they will be able to start within eight or ten days, and I shall send pilots so that the reinforcements can come with all despatch to this port, and when they arrive, I shall so manage, by the help of Our Lord, that I shall take from them the island of this harbor, and plant my guns upon their fort, so that with the cavalry, I shall hold it securely, and be master of the campaign. The Indians of this harbor, tell us that ten ships came to them here in one month and that many caciques are friendly to them, and so we are sure that they will come upon us with such Indians as are friendly, and also upon this galleon, which, as it is loaded with much stores, artillery and ammunition, it would be our total destruction if they should capture from us. If they attack her, having but a small crew, she is in great danger, as I have been sailing her for fifteen days along this coast, among shoals and currents, so as to get inside the harbor to reconnoitre them, and to discharge what I have discharged. She is on such a coast, that, if any side winds or bad weather should come, she will be lost. We need at least another fifteen days to finish unloading and to take in ballast, in which time it would be a mystery, in case of a storm, or attack from

the enemy, if she could escape with all she contains, so that I have finished landing all the artillery and ammunition that was on board her, and I send her to Hispaniola or Monte Cristo or Port Royal, that she may be laid up there with a quantity of biscuit and some wine which I cannot unload. I shall also send there the provisions that have come for the month of January, as we have biscuit on hand for the whole month of December, and with the prudent regulations that we shall establish we shall make it last through the whole of January; and, if it shall be advisable, the galleon may come out armed to this coast in the spring, so that I shall be master of the sea, while in the meantime I make myself stronger on land, and also so as to intercept the supplies that may come to the French, it should be arranged that the Audiencia of St. Domingo shall pay the charges necessary for fitting her up, and pay the crew and provision her, for without this she cannot sail, as there will be no means otherwise of paying her.

It seems to me that what I have most need of is horses, for of those that sailed from Puerto Rico, only one came alive and every soldier should be mounted, to be master of the campaign, and to prevent the Indians from treating with the Frenchmen, and the Frenchmen from sallying out from their fort, for, when the Indians see this and that the Frenchmen fear us, and that we are stronger than they, they will all be our friends, which I shall endeavor to bring about with all possible diligence, on account of the great importance of gaining reputation with them, and that they should fear us, while, in order that they shall love us, I shall make them all the presents possible. I find myself with two shallops of between 70 and 80 tons each, good vessels, drawing very little water, which I am sending to Havana that each may bring back forty horses, and if orders should be given there to this effect it would be a great thing. I am writing about it to the Governor and I send him a bond, in case Your Majesty shall not give orders for these payments, that I will pay them myself, and when the vessels have come back with the horses, (or if they come without them,) I shall send them to Puerto de Plata, or Monte Christo, to load horses, and shall write to the Audiencia of St. Domingo to pay for them and hold them in readiness; and, if they will not, I will send them a bond to pay for them myself. The chief cost of the horses will be for the vessels and crews, for, as each vessel can carry 40 horses, they will cost, one with another, one thousand ducats; for they must be good field horses, large boned and able to do work; also for drivers; and a vessel that is to carry them will need carpenter work to be done, the crews must be paid, there must be money and stores, and the vessels must be prepared and strengthened, so they can be careened, and fitted for this coast as they should be with cables, double anchors and tackle, so that each bark must cost in the whole, at least two thousand ducats. As to myself, Your Majesty can

be assured, that if it were a million more or less, I would lay out and expend the whole in this enterprise so great in the service of God Our Lord, for the increase of our Holy Catholic Faith, and for the service and authority of Your Majesty, and thus have I offered to Our Lord all that he may give me in this world, all that I may acquire and possess, in order to plant the gospel in this land and enlighten the nations thereof, and so do I promise Your Majesty.

It will be well that Your Majesty should write immediately to the Governor of Puerto Rico, to the Audiencia of St. Domingo, and to the Governor of the Havana, that, whenever my ships shall come into port there, they shall give them all aid and comfort. As to the horses that I shall send to look up there, with the food and water alone, there will not be a horse that will cost less than 25 or 30 ducats, and they shall be the best for the price that there are in the land. As to the saddles and bridles, which will cost more, I do not wish them to furnish them, for I will send to Spain for them, and in this way, even if it be at the cost of my whole substance, I will soon have a supply of horses in these parts, and Your Majesty will be pleased to do me the favor to direct that I shall be paid for the expenses that may be incurred, as may be required in Your Majesty's service. And inasmuch as I shall write to Your Majesty in a few days, I have no more to say in this letter, except that the people who have come with me are laboring with great zeal and good-will, and that it appears to me that Our Lord visibly strengthens and encourages them in their work, at which I am greatly contented.

I sent on shore with the first two hundred soldiers, two captains, Juan de San Vicente a brother of the Captain San Vicente, and Andres Lopez Patiño, both old soldiers, in order to throw up a trench in the place most fit to fortify themselves in, and to collect there the troops that were landed so as to protect them from the enemy, if he should come upon them. They did this so well, that when I landed on Our Lady's Day to take possession of the country in Your Majesty's name, it seemed as if they had had a month's time, and if they had had shovels and other iron tools, they could not have done it better; for we have none of these things, the ship laden with them not having yet arrived. I have smiths and iron so that I can make them with despatch, as I shall. When I shall go on shore, we shall look out a more suitable place to fortify ourselves in, as it is not fit where we now are. This we must do with all speed, before the enemy can attack us, and if they give us eight days more time, we think we shall do it.

I have appointed as my Lieutenant and Master of the Camp, Pedro Menendez de Valdés (with whom I have contracted to marry my daughter) and on whom Your Majesty was pleased to confer the Order of Santiago, who embarked secretly and against my will at Cadiz. He

is a soldier of Italy, of five or six years' service, experienced in vessels, a man of good understanding and of brains, with whom every body is well pleased. I have appointed as Sergeant Major Gonzalo de Villaroel, a good soldier, of good family and a man of brains. I have appointed ten Captains, all men of good family and trustworthy, most of them men of experience; to those who have not so much I have given for sergeants and ensigns, soldiers of Italy, skilled in war, and each company is of fifty soldiers and no more. When more troops arrive, I shall reform these companies of infantry and cavalry as it is expedient that there should be few men in each company, so as to have good discipline among the soldiers, and that they may be well drilled in arms in a short time; also that the Indians may be well treated, and that the Captains shall arm themselves with the strong armor of patience to endure labors, humility, and obedience to their General, and whoever does not do this, and understand how to bring it about, I shall take away his office, but shall not, for that reason cease to honor him, and so, not being adapted to these labors, he can henceforth eat and stretch out his legs and sleep at his ease; and so I think I shall manage while I am in these parts.

The Captains whom I have appointed, are the following, Bartolomé Menendez, my brother, one of Your Majesty's regular naval captains, Juan de San Vicente, Andres Lopez Patiño, Diego de Alvarado, Alonso de Medrano, Francisco de Recaldi, Martin Ochoa, Francisco de Moxica. Diego Flores de Valdés I have brought as Admiral of this fleet, and I shall send him back to Havana within three days, with the two shallops, so that he may bring back the fleet that is there, and when he returns, if he brings the ships from Asturias, I shall have a reasonable supply of naval officers, especially, as among them will be Diego Flores de Valdés, Estevan de las Alas, and Pedro Menendez Marques, my cousin, either one of whom is able to command the fleet; while, in my company, I have Diego de Amaya, to whom I have given a company of infantry, being a most skilful man, a general in every respect, and a great seaman. I brought him out from Spain as Chief Pilot, and he has done good service. I shall always take him with me in the field with his company, for the crossing of the arms of rivers, and the navigation of the brigantines and boats that we must have in order to navigate the river, and take our artillery over, in which he will aid me greatly. There are also among these people, and those who are to come from Biscay many gentlemen who have not seen service with others, good soldiers, who come with great zeal and love to serve Your Majesty. It would be well if Your Majesty would write, thanking them for undertaking the voyage, and promising them every favor and reward, for this will animate them to endure with the more zeal all sorts of toils and dangers, and as this land is very great,

it would be best, in time, to apportion it out among those who may deserve it, to the end that they may bring out here their kindred and relatives, and that the Gospel shall be planted upon the sure foundation of a noble race.

It will be well that Your Majesty shall order that, with every horse that I shall ship for these provinces, they send me a supply of maize for the first year, for although the whole supply cannot come with the horses, I shall send for it every four months, and for the future, after this year, I shall give orders for the planting of grain and maize, so that they shall have something to eat here, for in no manner, will it be well to take it from the Indians, that they shall not take up enmity against us. It will be better even that we shall give to eat to those who have not got it, to the end that they shall have love and firm friendship to us.

Seven or eight leagues from this place, when I went on shore on the 2^d of September, to speak with those Indians who gave us information that the harbor of the French was farther north, we found great traces of gold, both ordinary and fine, which the Indians wore on them, on their ears, lips and arms. I did not allow any to be taken from them, that they should not suppose that we coveted it, although they did give to one soldier a small piece of more than 22 carats.

May Our Lord protect and increase the Royal Catholic Person of Your Majesty, giving increase of greater kingdoms and realms as Christendom demands and as we Your Majesty's servants desire.

In this Province of Florida, the 11th of September, in the year 1565, Your Majesty's faithful servant, who kisses your Royal hands.

PERO MENENDEZ.

III.

Royal Catholic Majesty, I wrote to Your Majesty, by the Galleon San Salvador, on the 10th of September, being the day she left this harbor, a duplicate of the letter which accompanies this; and immediately, within that very hour, I being on the bar, in a shallop, with two boats loaded with artillery and ammunition, the four French galleons which we had put to flight, came down on us, together with two or three pinnaces astern, in order to prevent us from landing here, and to capture our artillery and stores. Although the weather was bad for the bar, I was obliged to attempt it, even at the risk of being lost myself and the 150 who were with me, with the brass pieces and the demi-culverins, rather than see myself in their power, or see them fortify themselves. Our Lord was pleased to deliver us miraculously at this low tide, for there was only a scant fathom and a half of water on the bar, and the ship required a full fathom and a half. They,

seeing that I had escaped them, for that reason came to speech with me, wishing me to surrender and not be afraid, and kept away some distance so as to look for the galleon which I have heard they supposed could not escape them; and, within two days, a hurricane and terrible storm came upon them, and as it appeared to me that they could not have returned to their fort, and ran risk of being lost, and that in order for them to come and attack me, as they had done, they must bring a larger and better force than they did, that their fort must have been left weak and that now was the time to go and attack it, I conferred with the captains as to the splendid enterprise we might engage in, and they were of the same opinion. I immediately ordered 500 men to be got ready, 300 of them arquebusiers, and the remainder armed with pikes and bucklers (although few of these,) and we packed our knapsacks so that every man carried six pounds of biscuit on his back, with his canteen of a measure and a half or two of wine, together with his arms, which every captain and soldier and I myself among the first for example's sake, carried with this provision and drink, on my shoulder. As we did not know the way, we thought that we should arrive in two days and that it was only six or eight leagues distant, for so the Indians who went with us had indicated to us. So we left this fort of St. Augustine in this manner and with this intention. On the 18th of September we found the rivers greatly swollen with the much rain that had fallen, so that we advanced but little until the 19th at night, when we came to sleep a league more or less from the Fort; then for more than 15 leagues, through morasses and desert paths never yet trod, so as to be able to get round the streams, and on the 20th, on the eve of the day of the Blessed Apostle and Evangelist St. Matthew, in the morning when it began to dawn, having prayed to God Our Lord and to his Blessed Mother that they would give us the victory over these Lutherans, for we had already determined to attack it openly with twenty scaling ladders that we had brought with us, and the Divine Majesty showed us such favor and so directed us that, without losing a man killed, nor wounded, save one, who is well already, we gained the fort and all that it contained. One hundred and thirty men were put to death, and the next day, ten more, who were taken in the mountain, among them many gentlemen; and he who had been Governor and Alcayde, who called himself Monsieur Ludunier [Laudonière] a relative of the Admiral of France, who had been his Major domo, fled to the woods, and a soldier pursuing him gave him a blow with a pike. We could not see what became of him. About 50 or 60 persons escaped by swimming to the mountain, and also in two boats from the three ships that they had in front of the fort. I immediately sent a trumpet to the ships to demand that they should surrender, and give up their arms and their ships, but they refused. We sent one ship to the

bottom with the guns that were in the Fort, and the other took in her crew, and went down the river where, a league distant were two other ships with much provisions, being some of the seven that had come from France, and had not yet been unloaded. As it seemed to me that I ought not to lose this prize, I forthwith left this fort to get ready three barges there were there, in order to go and seek them, but they were warned by the Indians, and because their force was small they took the two best of the three ships that they had, and sunk the other, and within three days they took to flight, and I, being advised of this gave up going there. They wrote to me from the Fort that after these ships had gone, about twenty Frenchmen in their shirts, appeared in the mountain, many of whom were wounded, among them, it is believed was Monsieur Ludunier. I gave orders that they should use all diligence to take them and execute justice upon them. There were, between women, infants, and boys of 15 years and under, some 50 persons, whom it gives me the greater pain to see in the company of my men, by reason of their wicked sect, and I have feared that Our Lord would chastise me if I shall deal cruelly with them, for the eight or ten children were born here. These Frenchmen had many Indians for friends who have shown much feeling for their loss; and especially for two or three Masters of their bad sect, who were teaching the caciques and Indians, who followed round after them as the Apostles followed Our Lord, so that it is a wonderful thing to see how these Lutherans have bewitched this poor savage people. I shall do everything possible to gain the good will of these Indians who were friendly to these Frenchmen, and to see that there is no occasion given for my breaking with them for if they are not effectually resisted they are such traitors thieves and such malignants that it is impossible to live well with them. The caciques and Indians who are their enemies all show me friendship, which I shall preserve and maintain with them, even though it be not agreeable to them, and it shall be only from their own evil dispositions if I do otherwise.

On the 28th of September, two Indians came to inform me that there were many Frenchmen about six leagues from here, at the sea-shore, who had lost their ships, and had escaped by swimming; so I took 50 soldiers in a barge and we reached them the next day and keeping my men concealed, I went, with one companion down to the shore of a river where they were on the opposite bank, and I, being on this side, spoke to them and told them I was a Spaniard; and they answered me that they were Frenchmen. They asked that, either with or without my companion, I should swim across the stream where they were, for it was narrow. I told them that we did not know how to swim, but that one of them should come over confidently. They determined to do this, and to send over a man of good understanding, the

master of a ship. He related to me particularly that they sailed from the fort with four galleons and eight pinnaces each of 24 oars, with 400 picked soldiers and 200 seamen, with Juan de Rivao for General and Monsieur Lagrange, who was General of Infantry, and other good captains, soldiers and gentlemen, with the intention of seeking for and engaging me at sea; and, if I had already landed, to land their troops in the pinnaces and attack me, and that, if they had decided to land, they might well have done so, but that they did not venture to; that intending to return to their fort, a storm and hurricane had struck them so that, about 20 or 25 leagues from here, three of them had gone to the bottom, which had on board upwards of 400 persons, of whom only 140 had reached this place alive; as for the rest, some of them were drowned, others had been killed by the Indians, and about 50 of them had been taken by the Indians and carried away; that Juan de Rivao, with his flag-ship was five leagues away from them, anchored in three fathoms, near some shoals, dismasted, for he had cut away his masts and that the ship had about 200 persons more or less on board, and they think she is lost; that all the brass guns, of which there were many and very good ones, with the ammunition, were lost in these three ships, part of them being in the ship of Juan Rivao, which they thought was certainly lost. He also told me that his companions, the officers and soldiers who had been saved, prayed me to allow them safe passage to their fort, as they were not at war with the Spaniards. I replied that we held their fort, having taken and put to death those who were in it, for having erected it there without the leave of Your Majesty, and because they were planting their wicked Lutheran sect in these, Your Majesty's provinces, and that I made war with fire and blood as Governor and Captain General of these Provinces upon all who might have come to these parts to settle and to plant this evil Lutheran sect, seeing that I had come by Your Majesty's command to bring the gospel into these parts, to enlighten the natives thereof with that which is told and believed by the Holy Mother Church of Rome, for the salvation of their souls; that, therefore I should not give them passage, but on the contrary should pursue them by sea and by land, until I had their lives. He begged me that he might go back with this message, and said that he would return at night, by swimming, and prayed that I would grant him his life. Which I did, seeing that he was dealing truly with me, and that he was able to inform me concerning many things. And, as soon as he was returned to his companions, there came across to this side, a gentleman, the Lieutenant of Monsieur Ludunier, very crafty, to tempt me; who having discussed some time with me, offered that they would lay down their arms and give themselves up if I would spare their lives. I answered that they might give up their arms and place themselves at my mercy; that I should

deal with them as Our Lord should command me, and that he had not moved me from this nor could move me, unless God Our Lord should inspire in me something different. And so he departed with this reply, and they came over and laid down their arms, and I caused their hands to be tied behind them, and put them to the knife. Only 16 were left, of whom 12 were Breton seamen whom they had kidnapped, the other 4 being carpenters and caulkers of whom I had great need. It seemed to me that to chastise them in this way would serve God Our Lord, as well as Your Majesty, and that we should thus be left more free from this wicked sect to plant the Gospel in these parts and to enlighten the natives, and bring them to allegiance to Your Majesty; and forasmuch as this land is very great, it may well take 50 years to do this, but a good beginning gives hope of a good ending, and so, I hope in Our Lord, that he will in everything give me good success, that I and my descendants may give these kingdoms over to Your Majesty cleared of them, and that their people may become Christians; this is what particularly interests me, as I have written Your Majesty. We shall gain much reputation with the Indians, and shall be feared by them, although we also make them gifts.

Considering that Juan de Rivao had made a halt, that within ten leagues of where he was anchored with his ship, the three other ships of his company had been lost and that, if he should be lost and abandon his ship, he would land his forces and entrench himself, landing what provisions he could from his ship, and would occupy himself in getting out what brass guns he might be able to from the three ships, and also, if he was not lost, from the masts and rigging of the other three ships, he would repair damages as he best could, and would come back to the fort, thinking it still his. If the ship were lost, getting all the force he could, he would march along the shore, and, if he does this I am waiting for him, so that, with God's help, he will be destroyed; yet he may go inland to a cacique who is friendly to him and very powerful, who is about 30 leagues distant. If this is the case I shall go there to seek him, for it must not be that he or his companions remain alive, and if he comes with his ship to the fort, I have ordered that two cannon and two demi-culverins shall be planted at the entrance of the bar, to sink him after he shall have entered, and have a brigantine in readiness to take his crew there and I shall do everything possible that he may not escape me.

The articles that were found in the fort were only the four brass pieces, of from 10 to 15 quintals; for the rest of the cannon that they brought from France, they carried dismounted, and were in the ballast in the galleons when they went to look for me, with all the rest of the ammunition. They also found 25 brass muskets, of about two quintals,

with about twenty quintals of powder and all the ammunition for these pieces; also 170 pipes of flour, of three to a ton. They found also about 20 pipes of wine, and the rest of the stores had not been landed, they being in doubt whether they should fortify themselves so strongly in this harbor, on account of their fear that I might disembark there. They might have done it, but they spent all the days after they came here in carousing for joy at their arrival, and because they had news that, a hundred leagues North north east of Saint Helena they possess the mountain chain that comes down from Zacatecas and that there is much silver there, and Indians have come to them with many pieces, and they found of these pieces of silver (which the Indians of those parts had brought to them) a quantity of some five or six thousand ducats in value. There was found a quantity of three thousand ducats worth, more or less, of cloth and all kinds of goods for barter; hogs male and female; also sheep and asses. All this the soldiers sacked, nothing escaping save the artillery, the ammunition and the flour. There were also in the harbor, not reckoning the two ships that were there and the two near the bar, two others that they had captured near Yaguana, laden with hides and sugar; the crews they had thrown overboard, and the cargoes they had given to some English vessels, that they might take them to France or England to be sold. There remained with them two Englishmen as hostages, for the French had no seamen to send these ships with. Those two Englishmen were killed at the taking of the fort. The English vessels to which they gave this cargo, had arrived at the harbor where they were, which is where they held this fort that we took from them, in the beginning of August in this year, and were, a galleon of a thousand tons, which belonged to the Queen of England, with three tiers of guns, very heavy; certainly those who saw them say they never saw a ship so armed, yet it drew very little water. The other three vessels were smaller. It had been agreed between these English and the French, as the French were looking for succor from France, that Monsieur Ludunier, (who was Governor) should wait here through September, and, if it did not come, that he should go to France to look for it; and that, in the next April, they would come and bring a great fleet to await and capture the convoy for New Spain or Nombre de Dios, which must of necessity pass this way; and if the succor should arrive, he would have abundant force for this, for so he had already written to France. That the English vessels would come, as has been said, in April to this coast; that they had for this purpose therefore, at the fort, a great galliot and seven ships, five of their own and two captured ones. The four galleons they were to send out to France, to be laden with troops and provisions, and if these should come back so as to unite with those that remained in April, together with the English who would also be there by that time,

Juan Rivao with the 800 men who remained with him, intended to go in January to Martires, over against Havana, about 25 leagues off, and build a fort there, for which they say he had surveyed a very fine harbor, and thence in the spring when he would have his whole fleet there together watching for the convoys, he intended to take Havana. Your Majesty may be certain that this matter was discussed, treated of and agreed upon between them; and before Juan Rivao left France he received orders to fortify at Martires over against Havana and about 25 or 30 leagues distant, so that no vessel could sail out of the Channel nor could come out without being seen by him, and to keep their six gallies, (for it is the best sea in the world for them) and from that point to take Havana and to set at liberty all the negroes, and to send thence to offer the same to all those at Hispaniola, Porto Rico and all Terra Firma, for I have informed myself of this very sufficiently from the intelligent Frenchman whose life I spared. They brought with them six Portuguese for pilots, of whom two were put to death, two were killed by the Indians, and Juan Rivao has the other two with him.

The river which is near the Fort San Matteo which we took from the French, runs sixty leagues through the country, and does not extend quite to the turning at the Southeast, so that it comes out almost into the Bay of Juan Ponce, and thence one can go to New Spain, and to the harbor of San Juan de Lua there is not above 200 leagues. There they intended in the coming year to build a fort in that Bay of Juan Ponce, on account of its being so near to New Spain, and about 150 leagues from Honduras, and the same from Yucatan, and from which point the six gallies that they had could sail easily. On this river are large settlements of Indians, all very friendly to the French, for the Frenchmen had been there three times to seek maize; for they landed here very short of provisions, so that, within eight days they had nothing to eat. There is very little maize on this coast and they took it by force from the Indians, being greatly disposed to take without giving being very poor but very valiant. All these Indians did not have so perfect friendship with them but that they may have it even more firmly with us, for I shall not consent that one kernel of maize shall be taken from them, but will rather give them what I may have, for this is the best plan.

Considering that this land is so great and of such good climate, and considering the danger and inconvenience that the enemy and corsairs may commit in it every day, and that they may possess themselves of those that lie to the North and near to Tierra Nova, where they are tyrannically masters, and that they could easily hold them, I am of opinion that the following things should absolutely be done. Your Majesty may disabuse yourself of the idea that it will not be done at the smallest possible cost to Your Majesty, for, if any loss occurs, it will

be at my cost. Your Majesty can increase this amount, as much as you may be pleased, which will be expedient for your royal service, and for the increase of your realms.

This harbor is in twenty nine and a half degrees; that of the fort of San Matteo which we took, in thirty and a quarter degrees, for the Frenchmen and their pilots were in error, and I have had them take the sun on shore, in order to verify this. From here to Cape Cañaveral is 50 leagues, and there are three rivers and harbors on the way. From there to Havana is a hundred leagues more or less, which can be navigated in barges coasting along the Island of Cañaveral, and of the Martires, crossing from there to Havana which is 25 or 30 leagues and no more. I propose to take two very good pinnaces which I took from the French, with a hundred men, and go along the coast, the barges going along by sea, and making fast to the shore at night. Being inside of Cape Cañaveral, where the sea is like the river with the barges, I shall, by going along the coast, reconnoitre the island of Cañaveral and all the Martires for the best harbor and situation in which to build a fort, which will be stronger with the one at Havana, as the Havana one will be for this, so as to assure ourselves that, at no time the enemy will be able to attack in the 150 leagues there are between here and Havana; either fortify themselves, or lie in wait for convoys or ships from the Indias, since, with the force from St. Domingo, which is now at Havana, and that of Pedro de las Roclas, I shall have enough to do during the whole of March, when I shall go across in these pinnaces to Havana, to seek these people, after I shall have found a place for this fort. When Pedro de las Roclas shall arrive at Havana he will find his ship there, for I do not propose to take her out of that harbor, and he will find his men, so that he can go to Spain as strong as he was before, for I shall put 150 men there now, as it will be necessary for them to protect themselves from the Indians, who are very warlike, until they shall have gained their good will; and by the beginning of April I shall be back in these forts, whither I can come in seven or eight days, along the shore.

In May it will be best for me to leave these two forts with the best force possible of 300 soldiers to each, to go, in vessels that draw very little water, and most of which I shall have ready here, which will be this galley and the French brigantine and as many of mine as I can, with 500 soldiers and 100 seamen to settle at St. Helena which is 50 leagues from here, and has, in a space of three leagues, three harbors and rivers, the largest of which has six fathoms of water and the other four, admirable harbors; and the one which we call St. Helena, being the third place where the French were, is very small; all three can be navigated inland, from one to the other, so that, whoever is master of one of them will be also of all three. There, in the best place, I shall

build a fort, and have in it 300 soldiers who will complete it and then go on further to the Bay of St. Mary, which is in 37 degrees, 130 leagues beyond St. Helena, (which is the land of the Indians who are in Mexico) and build another fort, leaving in it the other 200 soldiers. This must be the key to all the fortifications in this land since, beyond here, as far as Tierra Nova, there is no place to settle in, because to the north of this harbor, in the country within 80 leagues is a range of mountains and at the foot of them is an arm of the sea which goes up to Tierra Nova and is navigable for 600 leagues. This arm of the sea runs up into Tierra Nova and ends there. Eighty leagues within this land of the Indian is this Bay of St. Mary, in 37 degrees; and within half a league there is another arm of salt water, running east north east, which, it is suspected, goes to the South Sea. The Indians slaughter there many cattle of New Spain, which Francisco Vazquez Coronado found there, and carry their hides in canoes to Tierra Nova, to sell and barter them with the Frenchmen, by means of this arm of the sea, and from this place, for two years, the fishing vessels have taken to Rochelle more than six thousand of these hides, and through this arm of the sea the Frenchmen can go in their ships' boats, from which they fish, to these lands of the Indians, and so they will come to the foot of the mountains 400 leagues from the Mines of St. Martin and New Galicia and in order for them to command these places at their pleasure, they will have to establish their out-posts here and gain the Bahama Channel; and afterwards from this point by entering there, to command the mines of New Spain. This key and power it is absolutely necessary that Your Majesty should hold and be master of, and thus you will be lord of Tierra Nova since with our gallees, by this arm of the sea you can refuse consent to any ship to take fish unless they shall pay tribute and recognize this land to be Your Majesty's, and so you will secure all the Indies. And if this arm of the sea, as is certainly believed, does go to the South Sea, it is near China, which is a very important thing as respects the enlightenment of that region and the trade with Molucca.

As to the 500 Soldiers and 100 seamen which I must have this May in order to go and fortify St. Helena and this Bay of St. Mary, I have written to Pedro de Castillo that he has my authority to send me, at my cost 300 soldiers, and one year's provisions for them as well as provisions for the 800 persons whom I have here and in Havana, partly soldiers and partly useless people not counting the 300 soldiers who are on Your Majesty's account.

Your Majesty, by the order of Your Council of War and State, provided that I should be furnished with 500 soldiers paid and equipped for the necessary time, and I, fearing delay, which it was important that I should not experience, as it seemed to me that it was impossible

to get them together and to fit out the ships to carry them and the provisions, they ordered me to take 200, and as many more as I could; and contrive, as I could, to find the 500, all good men, and at the time of sailing from Cadiz, Francisco Duarte, who was there as Purveyor, was only willing to pay 300 and very low pay too, (being only 4 ducats, to each, for two payments and for his arquebus), with no more to captains, sergeants or ensigns. Moreover, he would not give provisions for the whole year for the 300 soldiers and 100 seamen, as will be seen by his accounts. On the other hand much of this provision and biscuit was lost, being thrown overboard when we experienced the hurricane, so that these stores were not sufficient to last five months, and as so little provision was furnished me in Spain I loaded much more than I was obliged to, and I gave account of it to Your Majesty, praying that Your Majesty would be pleased to pay the 200 soldiers, over and above the 500, and the stores, since Your Majesty had given the order that they should be supplied me, and since I have done it with such despatch and at so little cost, there is no ground or reason that I should not be paid. I do not know what Your Majesty may have ordered in respect to this, but I pray Your Majesty, if you have not commanded that I should be paid, that you will so order and that I be paid forthwith, so that I may provide myself with the things requisite and necessary to come out right with this enterprise; and that Your Majesty will be pleased to order that these people shall be provided with the provisions necessary for them, over and above what has been issued to them for one year, for we are suffering for want of food, and the labors and dangers that we undergo are great, the fort that we erect here being built by the labor of every man, of whatever rank, of six hours every day, three hours before noon, and three hours after, and if the men do not endure it well, many of us will be sick and die, and moreover will be discouraged, which is a very bad thing; Your Majesty will also order 200 soldiers to be sent out to make up those whom Your Majesty had provided for this enterprise, so that Your Majesty shall not pay more than 500 of those who are here and who are to come, and, as to the 100 seamen who went in the galleon to Hispaniola that she might lie there in some harbor ready for active service with all the provisions on board; for if the bread should be unloaded and exposed to the air, it would all be spoiled, while it would be kept in good condition on board, with much ammunition which we were unable to take out by reason of the enemy. It will be well that these hundred seamen and the Lombard gunners on board be ready for service, so that, if the enemy should seek them, they may defend themselves, and I shall send vessels, so that in the course of January, she may be unloaded.

I shall send orders to pay off the ship and crew from the first of

February, so that, after the first of February, Your Majesty can take other vessels there of the same capacity, and these hundred seamen and Lombard gunners, that they may bring the stores that are to come, with the artillery and ammunition, according to the memorial that goes herewith, which is a convenient and necessary thing. With these 200 soldiers who are to come at Your Majesty's cost, and the 300 who are to come in other ships at my charge I shall carry out my plan for May, at St. Helena and the Bay of St. Mary, unless the French anticipate me, for it is a thing of the greatest importance.

Your Majesty will certainly find that instead of the 500 men whom I was bound to place here, I have put a thousand, including those whom I have in Havana. I now ask that 300 may be here in the course of April, and it would be well that 200 more should be sent in the month of October, for the settling of the Bay of Juan Ponce, for the river of the fort of St. Matthew which we took from the enemy goes 60 leagues inland within this Bay, and by means of this river we shall easily communicate from one sea to the other. The multitude of Indians there are there will be thus sooner brought to the knowledge of our Holy Catholic Faith, for, in this Bay of Juan Ponce, is the province of Apalache an indomitable people, with whom the Spaniards have never been able to effect anything and as this province is level, we can easily pass over as far as New Galicia, which may be about 300 leagues distant, about as far to Vera Cruz, and about as much farther to Honduras and to Yucatan. From Yucatan this settlement may be provided with maize, of which there is much in great quantity. One hundred and fifty leagues inland, to the north, is the Province of Coza, friendly to us in 38 or 39 degrees, at the foot of the mountains that begin near the mines Zacatecas and St. Martin, and that province must be about 150 leagues from these settlements and forts of ours, and from the river of St. Helena, and the country of the Indians. After the year '65 we may go over to settle at Coza and we may build there a fine city, and there will be no more to do but to settle in Florida, and the way to New Spain will be easily kept open for trade and passage, and we shall get the benefit of the many silver mines there are in that land which are the mines of Zacatecas, and even within a few years the silver that will be obtained from those mines and the mountains of St. Martin, will come to these harbors and to St. Helena and the Bay of St. Mary, because, from the mines of St. Martin and Zacatecas to the harbor of San Juan de Lua is more than 200 leagues, and the navigation thence is very bad and dangerous, and from here and from St. Helena to the Bay of St. Mary it is an easy and short voyage to Spain, ordinarily of forty or fifty days, and as for the hundred leagues more of distance by land that there will be from the mines of Zacatecas and St. Martin to these harbors they will prefer to bring it here, on account of the short and safe voyage,

rather than to San Juan de Lua. From this Bay of Juan Ponce to where we should settle in the Province of Apalache, there would not be from these forts by land more than fifty leagues where we could not very easily correspond, help, and succor any one of these harbors from another. As to myself, Your Majesty may be assured, moreover, that, besides all that I am bound for, which I can get among my relatives and friends, I shall expend all I have in this undertaking, that I may be able to go on with it and succeed in it, that the Gospel may be preached to these natives, and that they may come into Your Majesty's allegiance, and to do this I watch and shall watch by day and by night with mind and soul, so that I may best accomplish it.

And, inasmuch as these lands are great, of many good rivers and harbors, and the population of this country is great, such great results cannot be effected with few Spaniards, it is not expedient in any way that it should be done by degrees, but that we should hasten, so that what might be expended in ten years, should be spent in five, for so will Your Majesty be lord of these great provinces, will enlighten the natives thereof, and greatly increase your kingdoms, for there will be great and very excellent gains to be made in this country, for there will be much wine, many sugar plantations, a great number of cattle, since there are extensive pasture grounds, much hemp, tar, pitch and planking, such as Your Majesty has not in all your realms. Many ships can be built here and much salt made. As to grain on these rivers, we have seen none. There must be all kinds of fruits, there is most excellent water and a fine temperature to the country. There will be much rice, and many pearls in the river of St. Helena, where we have news that there are some, and entering further inland into this land, there must be places where much grain can be gathered and much silk made.

For the things that I send to ask for in Spain for these parts, being absolutely necessary for provisions and equipping ships and for clothes and shoes for the men, I must have 3,000 ducats and I have not a single one. Your Majesty will be pleased to command that the pay for the whole month of January for the galleon shall be paid me, as well as that of the hundred men who came in her with the supplies that are due them, because seamen were not willing to come to these parts for such small pay, and I bound myself to Francesco Duarte to bring them, so that I made the best bargain I could with them, and it is certain that they cost me three thousand ducats over and above what Your Majesty pays them, and Your Majesty commanded me to despatch a vessel from Florida with the news of my arrival, which being my own, I required no freight money. I paid the master, pilot and seamen for wages and provisions one thousand ducats, and this I have need of, confiding in Pedro del Castillo, that he will look for it and will engage to provide me with everything that I sent him to seek ; for having no children and being a

good Christian, he has taken it upon him, as his principal undertaking, to aid me in this enterprise with all his substance, that I may succeed in it, and without his having any other interest in it but that of being my friend and desiring to do me a favor in a time of so great necessity. I supplicate Your Majesty for the love of Our Lord that you will direct that what is due to me be paid with the greatest despatch, and that Your Majesty will order that such stores as are at Your Majesty's charge shall be provided, also the pay of the men as well as the pay to be given to the 200 soldiers, so that all may be here by the end of April, and that in the first part of May, I may go to St. Helena, and to the Bay of St. Mary which is the outpost and frontier which Your Majesty must hold to be Lord of these parts, for without this is done we have done nothing, and if the French once set foot there, we shall have to spend a great sum of money, and pass a long time before we can get them out again from there, and this business must not be lightly esteemed.

Diego Flores de Valdés, who goes with this despatch and is to come back with this reinforcement, is a gentleman who, for fifteen years has served Your Majesty in all the fleets under my command as a captain of armed ships, and sometimes as my Lieutenant, and he has always served well and with all intelligence, and he has also done the same in this expedition, so that I have taken him as Admiral of the fleet and my Lieutenant, and to this day, Your Majesty has shown him no favor, nor given him any aid toward his expenses, although Ruy Gomez offered it to him in Your Majesty's name, (as also did Eraso, when he made the voyages to Flanders in the vessels that he took out to him as my Lieutenant,) yet nothing was ever given him. He has gone on spending and has sold and mortgaged the larger part of his patrimony that he inherited from his ancestors, with the hope which he always had that Your Majesty will show him some favor. I have done him but little good on account of my necessities, but I have great need of him that he may serve Your Majesty in matters on the sea in these parts, for he well understands how to do it. I pray your Majesty that you will confer an order of knighthood upon him, and grant him some aid toward his expenses. It will all be for Your Majesty's better service, and, in order that he may go in the fleet on the seas of this coast, he should have all absolute authority both with friends and enemies, in which this Order will aid him much. He carries with him two pilots, that they may come with the ships which shall bring this reinforcement, for he is one of the best sailors in the whole kingdom, and is very fit, so that with him, and with them, everything will be well directed and come to a good issue.

While writing this, on the tenth of this month, news came to me that the fort which we had taken from the Frenchmen had been burned one night, together with everything that had been taken in it and the provisions. I set out to succor it immediately, departing with the men

who were there, together with such provisions and ammunition as there was there. Within an hour of this news came another message to me, that Juan Rivao with 200 soldiers was five or six leagues from here at the place where I had done justice to the Frenchmen out of the three ships under his charge that had been lost; and fearing that the Indians who were friendly to them might unite with him and that so he might give me trouble, I immediately went with 150 soldiers to seek him, and the next day at dawn, on the eleventh of this month, I came up to him, there being a river between us which he could not pass, save by swimming. We made on both sides a demonstration of our force with two colors displayed, and with our drums and fifes, and, on assurance of safety, he sent across his Sergeant-major to speak with me, who delivered me a message from Juan Rivao that I should allow his whole force safe passage to their fort. I answered, as I had to the others, that I was his enemy and waged war against them with fire and blood, for that they were Lutherans, and because they had come to plant in these lands of Your Majesty their evil sect, and to instruct the Indians in it; that he might undeceive himself as to his fort, for that we had taken it; that they might surrender their flags and arms to me, and place themselves at my mercy, that I might do with their persons as I should please, and that they could not do or agree otherwise with me. And the sergeant-major having gone back with this message, the same day in the evening, under assurance of safety, Juan Rivao came over to speak with me and to treat with me, of some course more safe for him; but, as I was not willing to accede to it, he said that the next morning he would return with his reply, and so he did, with about 70 companions, many principal men among them, three or four captains, among them Captain Cerceto, who was a long time captain of arquebusiers in Lombardy; Captain Lagrange, who was a captain of land infantry, was already dead. There also came with Juan Rivao among these men, four others, Germans and relatives of the Prince de Porance, great Lutherans. I wished to make sure whether there were any Catholic among them, but found none. I spared the lives of two young gentlemen of about 18 years old, and three others, drummer, fifer and trumpeter, but Juan Rivao and all the others I caused to be put to the knife, understanding this to be necessary for the service of God Our Lord, and of Your Majesty. I hold it our chief good fortune that he is dead, for with him the King of France could do more with 500 ducats, than with any others with 5,000, and he would do more in one year than any other in ten, for he was the most skilful sailor and corsair that was known, very experienced in this navigation of the Indies and of the coast of Florida and so much a friend to England that he had so great reputation in that kingdom that he was nominated as Captain General of all the English fleet against the Catholics of France, in those past years when there was war between

France and England. The rest of the people whom Juan Rivao had with him, who may be 70 or 80 persons, fled to the mountains, and refused to surrender unless their lives were spared. These with 20 others, who escaped from the fort and 50 others who were taken by the Indians from the ships that were lost, who may be in all 150 people, less, rather than more, are all the Frenchmen now alive in Florida, separated from each other, fleeing in the mountains, and others captives among the Indians, and because they are Lutherans, and that so wicked a sect shall not remain alive in these parts, I shall do everything on my part, and shall induce the friendly Indians on theirs, so that, within five or six months, no one of them shall remain alive; and of the thousand Frenchmen who had landed, when I arrived in these provinces, and their fleet of twelve sail, but two vessels alone have escaped, in very bad condition, with 40 or 50 persons on board, who, as they go so ill provided and equipped, may never arrive in France, and if they should arrive, would not carry the news of the death and destruction of Juan Rivao and his fleet, and the later that they come to know this in France, the better it will be, for they will be at ease, thinking they have still a good force here, so that now it is more than ever necessary that, with great secrecy and diligence, everything be provided that I have asked, and be here in the course of April, so that, in the coming spring, I shall be master of this coast of Florida, and so Your Majesty will remain Lord of it without opposition or uneasiness; being master of Florida You will secure the Indies and the navigation to it; and I assure Your Majesty that henceforth Florida will make very little cost, but will bring in much money to Your Majesty and will be worth more to Spain than New Spain or even Peru; and it may be said that this land is a suburb of Spain, for in truth, the voyage from there is not above 40 days to come here, and as many more ordinarily, to return to that kingdom.

From the burning of the Fort we suffer very great hunger, and the biscuit that we landed here is spoiling and being used up, and unless we are speedily succored, we shall suffer, and many will pass out of this world from starvation. So, trusting that Your Majesty is assured that I am serving you with all fidelity and love, and that in everything I am dealing and always shall deal truly, I shall say no more, but shall advise Your Majesty, in every way that I can, of all that may occur.

May Our Lord preserve and prosper Your Majesty's Royal Catholic Person, with increase of greater realms and kingdoms, as Christianity requires, and as we, Your Majesty's servants desire.

From this Province of Florida, and the river of San Pelayo and Fort of St. Augustine, this fifteenth of October, in the year 1565, Your Majesty's humble servant kisses Your Royal hands.

PEDRO MENENDEZ.

IV.

Royal Catholic Majesty. I wrote to Your Majesty from Florida in October, by the Captain Diego Flores de Valdés, giving a detailed account of all the good success that Our Lord had given me, up to that date, as well in the taking of the Fort of the French Lutherans who were in it, as in the destruction of their fleet and the annihilation and execution of all or the greater part of them; among whom was Juan Rivao who was Viceroy of these Provinces and all the principal captains, no one of them surviving. I also forwarded this despatch to Your Majesty, by way of St. Domingo; so that I am assured that Your Majesty, by this time will have received that despatch, as the Captain Diego Flores must have arrived.

On the very day after he left these provinces of the Fort of St. Augustine, I received information from the Indians, that 70 or 80 Frenchmen were collected together, building a fort at Cape Cañaveral and a vessel to send to France to ask for succor, and that they had much artillery and ammunition that they had taken out of the flag ship of Juan Rivao that had been lost there, and that, about thirty leagues from the place where they were, is the beginning of the Cape of the Bahama Channel. So I took three light barks for oars and sails, and put a hundred men on board of them, going myself by land with 150, and left the Fort of St. Augustine on the 2^d of November, and on All Saints' Day in the morning we came upon them, the barks by sea, and I by land. We were discovered before we attacked them; and the Frenchmen seeing us, were afraid of us, and abandoning the fort, took to flight to the mountain. We put in a place of safety six pieces of artillery that they had and the powder and ammunition with which they were moderately provided, and burned and razed the fort, and also burned the bark which was nearly finished. Seeing that the mountain was so thickly wooded that we could not catch any of them, and that it would not be proper that so wicked a sect should remain in the land, I sent a French trumpeter who had been with Juan Rivao, whom I had brought along with me, into the mountain to tell them to surrender, and give up their arms and that, if they would come to me, I would spare their lives. So they all came, save he whom they had chosen for captain, and three or four others men from Navarre and servants of the Prince of Conde.

Having done this we departed, the boats by sea and I by land, down the Bahama Channel. Having gone 15 leagues we found a harbor, although not a very good one, but which has a fine river of more than fifty leagues in length, so that it is navigable for galliots, brigantines, frigates, and ships drawing one fathom of water; and there we found a

principal cacique, who has many people on that river, with whom I made great friendship, giving him many articles of clothing, as well as to his wives and kindred; and, in the eight days I was there, I so gained their good will that they told me they should rejoice to have me remain in their land, which was what I desired and strove to do. So I left a Captain with 200 men and one of the barks, that they should fortify there; also provisions for 15 days, as our need of provisions is very great. With the other 80 men and two barks I went along down the Bahama Channel to seek provisions in Havana, to supply the forts and these people; arriving there in three days. I discovered, on my way, two good harbors, and it is a wonderful thing that we can sail with such facility down the Bahama Channel. I always have held it certain that we could so navigate, for all along the shore, there is water on the back side, inland; this I have formerly seen; and, separated from the land it runs out to the open sea. It is a very great thing to have discovered this navigation and these harbors for the ships from the Indies that sail through the channel, for as they are often damaged in their rigging there, and have no harbor they dismantle their ships taking the money out into barges; others go to the bottom; others still, arriving at Havana all broken to pieces. Now, when any storm strikes them, they can go along the shore, which is very clear and with good bottom, and put into the harbors that I have discovered, or come to this harbor of Matanzas, or to Havana. That is where the French desired to come and settle in the coming spring, on account of their having galleys, (for it is very good for them,) and they have many harbors, as they enter at once on the Martires and the Tortugas, and sailing along their coast, could be masters of Havana and the whole island of Cuba, and there set at liberty all the negroes in all the Indies, for so they thought to become Lords of this land without making war, without labor or cost.

I found at Havana the flag ship of Pedro de las Roclas with 130 men, seamen and land troops, and also Pedro Menendez Marquez, my cousin, with three ships that carried a quantity of ammunition, and two hundred men, and I received certain information that many French and English corsairs were going about at Porto Rico and Hispaniola, and at this island of Cuba, to plunder and to trade in negroes and linen goods, bartering them for gold and pearls, sugars and hides; and that many Portuguese ships were doing the same thing. Thinking this to be great damage to Your Majesty's service, and fearing that Jaques Rivao, the eldest son of Juan Rivao, having the two ships from the fleet with which he fled, the day we took the fort, with 70 or 80 men on board, when he had seen all the French who were in the fort put to death, and knowing that his father was then at sea with the greater part of the fleet, went out to seek him at this island of Hispaniola, so

as to join him and the other corsairs who might be there, and tell them what had happened at the fort, and that the French had been put to death, meeting with the corsairs, might be able to make descents on various settlements in these parts, burning and sacking them, and committing cruelties upon the people whom they should find in them, as well as upon the ships and crews of Your Majesty's vessels, which they might take. I fitted up the flag ship and the three pataches, (small vessels) which Pero Menendez Marques, my cousin had brought with three hundred and fifty seamen, in these four vessels all good arquebusiers and good men; and to serve Your Majesty at my own cost, I provisioned and supplied them, and sailed out of the port of Havana in the last of November, to find, pursue and chastise them, wherever they might be, and to spend the three months of December, January and February in doing this, and, in the beginning of March, to return the flag ship to Pedro de las Roclas, with all his crew, at Havana, I, with my ships, to go back to Florida to await the succor which I sent to ask from Your Majesty, to carry out the plans of which I wrote for the settlement of St. Helena and in the Bay of St. Mary, which are essential and necessary, in order that Your Majesty shall be Lord of these provinces in quiet. And the day that I left Havana with this fleet, which, as I have said was in the last part of November, we discovered a sail and I ordered the tenders to give chase to her, but she took to flight up the Bahama Channel, fearing that she must certainly be a corsair, or some prize that they had taken. They could not overhaul her that day, but the next day, in the morning, being at the mouth of the Channel, we saw her quite near us, and she fled towards this port of Matanzas, and we came up with her within the harbor, where her crew abandoned the vessel and fled in the boats to the shore. I sent a crew on board the ship to visit her and they found her to be Your Majesty's despatch ship; so I sent to look up her crew, who, thinking us to be corsairs, had taken to flight. The master of the ship told us that, by Your Majesty's orders, the officers of the Casa de la Contratacion had despatched him to St. Domingo and to Havana with Your Majesty's instructions to the President, the Audiencia and the Governor, that they should get ready immediately beef and fish for eighteen hundred men for nine months, for that so many men were coming to Florida; but gave no letter to me from Your Majesty, or from any private individual of your kingdom. He gave me a letter from the President and Auditors of the Audiencia of St. Domingo, in which they tell me the same that the master had told me.

Considering that, as Your Majesty sends these troops, it must be for the reason that the King of France is sending some fleet to Florida, it is therefore not expedient that I shall be absent from Florida, although I have left there very excellent captains, very well informed

as to what may possibly happen, I abandon the fine plan that I had against the corsairs, and return to Havana with the fleet, where I shall do every thing in my power to send on provisions to Florida for the people there up to March; the men whom I have here I shall detain here till that time, for they have nothing there to eat, and I shall manage, when I go to Florida in the month of March, to take food sufficient to last until supplies shall arrive from your kingdom; but, unless they are succored, or unless God sustains them, one of two things cannot fail to happen, either they will perish with hunger, or will break with the Indians, on account of taking food from them, and in order that neither one nor the other may happen, I shall do everything to the extent of my power, to supply them.

The fleet of St. Domingo up to this day has not arrived at Havana; but a frigate that went in company with it arrived at Havana a week ago, whose captain says that, in a storm he separated from a store ship that was conveying the men from St. Domingo, of whom Gonzalo de Peñalosa was captain, that with him came Esteban de las Alas, with four others of my tenders that sailed from Asturias and Biscay; that likewise Pero Menendez Marques, who came as Admiral with Esteban de las Alas, had parted company two months before. The captain of the frigate also says that 30 horses that Gonzalo de Peñalosa, was carrying to Florida died on his hands, and were thrown into the sea, the third day after he sailed from St. Domingo, (except one), so that not one single horse has arrived in Florida from St. Domingo, Porto Rico or anywhere else. I paid off the crew and the frigate that they should not make cost to Your Majesty, (and so, that all the men who would not go with me to Florida, might return to Hispaniola, whence they came, and that they should not go to Peru without Your Majesty's license,) as Your Majesty will understand, by the vouchers that go herewith.

As to the armed ship with 50 soldiers and 20 horses which Your Majesty ordered the Governor of Havana to provide, paid and supplied for four months, I did not ask for them, so that I might not make cost for Your Majesty, and because I thought them not necessary at present, the Frenchmen in Florida being dead.

When Esteban de las Alas and Pero Menendez Marques were coming on their voyage from your kingdom to Florida, they discovered two sails to the north of the island of Hispaniola, off Porto Rico, and thinking them to be corsairs or prizes, they gave chase to them, when Pero Menendez took one of them and Esteban de las Alas the other finding, when they came up with them, that they were two Portuguese caravels, and the whole of their crews Portuguese, who, contrary to the orders, regulations and Royal Ordinances of Your Majesty and without registers, had come to trade in these parts. The one which Pero

Menendez took was of small value; but he instituted process against them and took them into Havana as prizes. When I arrived there he gave them up to me with the other caravel and the goods, which were sold at public auction; the money from the proceeds thereof I took and with it bought provisions which I sent in two barks to Florida, one of them a tender of seventy tons, in charge of the Captain Diego de Maya, for the people in the two forts of St. Matthew and St. Augustine; the other, in command of Gonzalo Gallego, for the two hundred Spaniards whom I left in the channel, this side of Cape Cañaveral, in the harbor of which I have spoken, which I have since named Puerto del Socorro, because, for four days there were 150 soldiers in it with nothing to eat or drink, except palmettos and water and herbs. Diego de Maya, with the three barges and the hundred men whom he carried, arrived with the provisions with which he succored us, so that we gave the place for this reason the name of Puerto del Socorro. With this provision that they carried, there will be enough for all January, though on very short rations. The testimony and the proceedings against the Portuguese accompany this, as well as the prize proceedings. The Portuguese I take in the barges, at the oar, until Your Majesty shall otherwise command, although certainly they show no such courtesy to the Castilians whom they take in Mina, or Molucca, lands of Your Majesty, which they hold in pledge, for all of Your Majesty's vassals whom they take, they sew up in sails and throw overboard alive. As to the other caravel which Estevan de las Alas took, I do not know what became of it in the storm, nor even of him, nor whether they are dead or alive, for nothing appears of him or of either of these ships. Our Lord may have been pleased to bring them into port in safety. I am told that his caravel had on board four thousand or more hides, and nothing else, for the two caravels had sent on shore, by some of their crews, in barges, what money they had, and these could not be captured. They also tell me that this prize which Estevan de las Alas took will be worth near six thousand ducats, more or less. If he has not lost it, I shall receive it and order it to be sold, and from the proceeds supply the people whom I have in Florida.

At the time the Purveyor Francisco Duarte despatched me from Cadiz, I could not take on board all the provisions which he gave me for the 300 soldiers and 100 seamen whom Your Majesty paid to go to Florida, because I had laden in the galleon some provisions, and he caused them to be laden on board a large caravel of 120 tons which I chartered; and inasmuch as her crew was nearly dead from the heat, I put on board of her 80 soldiers, and Francesco Duarte made the master of the galleon give him a bill of lading for the provisions which he loaded on the caravel, as Your Majesty paid the freight on the galleon; and, in order not to have any difficulty with him, I acquiesced, as I saw

clearly that the supplies for 400 men could not be carried in the galleon. When I left the Canary Islands, this caravel was separated from me, came into port at St. Domingo and left St. Domingo in company with another shallop of mine and a brigantine, and off the Cape of Tiburon they met four French corsairs, and took a part of the crew on board the brigantine, and the rest fled in the boat, for the caravel carried no guns. There remained on board the caravel about 40 persons, most of whom were sick, and the corsairs took her and carried them off. A month after, this caravel was lost, with all her cargo, in a storm near the port of Matanzas; the crew escaped being twelve Frenchmen and about 20 very sick men of the 40 whom they captured on board of her, for the other twenty had been thrown overboard, having died. The Governor of Havana had the Frenchmen put on trial and hung them. I lost the provisions of this caravel, which was fully loaded, and was worth about four thousand ducats, in addition to the other three thousand that had been paid to the men and in wages to the master and seamen of the caravel, all the stores that came in her being Your Majesty's, and not mine, I giving from that which was laden in the galleas, at the time Your Majesty ordered me to take it, as much more for the 300 soldiers and 100 seamen, who went to Florida on Your Majesty's account. I pray Your Majesty, that, considering all this and that in order to sail against the corsairs, as I did at my own cost, having paid out, in order to supply myself and equip myself fully to go, as I did, with the 350 men whom I took in my ships more than four thousand ducats, Your Majesty will do me the favor to allow me the proceeds of these two caravels, if the one taken by Estevan de las Alas shall appear, provided they were not worth, with their cargoes, more than I have hereinbefore said; for I need and require it all desperately, in order to supply that part of my force which I have in Florida; for, so doing, Your Majesty will do me a great favor, especially as the greater part of this goes to the men and to the ships, as the greater part of right belongs to them.

For the ship of Pedro de las Roclas which he sent to me from the Cape of St. Antony, he appointed as captain Juan de la Parra, an old soldier who has served Your Majesty many years by sea and by land, who pursuing his voyage towards Havana, was cast by the weather upon Matanzas; and, about the time he was going into the harbor, he saw a caravel lying there, and ordered Antonio Gomez who is Captain of Artillery of the same ship to go and reconnoitre her; who, having gone, found it to be a Portuguese caravel laden with hides, which had also some pearls and gold, having come without a Spanish register to trade in negroes and other merchandise on Terra Firma or the coast of Venezuela, and at the Island of Hispaniola; and he brought her alongside of the captain ship. And the Captain Juan de la Parra, who was

captain of the ship and crew, having inspected the prize and her crew, commenced proceedings against her, and was going to Havana with her and with his ship. Garcia Osorio, who was Governor of that island at the time that the Captain's ship and the caravel entered that harbor, sent to take the caravel which was anchored at a distance from the ship, but he who was in charge of her, by command of Captain Juan de la Parra, would not give her up, saying that his Captain had commanded him to remain in her and hold her with all she had on board, and that, without his permission, he should not allow any one to come on board. So, because he made this reply to the Alguazil who went for the caravel, and would not suffer him to come on board, the Governor sent men from the town, armed, in two boats, to take the caravel, and, in order that the soldiers who were on board guarding her, might not defend her and be killed, the Captain, Juan de la Parra, ordered the men on board not to defend her, but that they should abandon her, and so they did. By the Governor's order, they took the caravel with all there was in her, also him who was charged to keep her by command of the said Parra, Gonzalo Gallego by name, a pilot well skilled in the navigation of the Indies, and chief pilot of the Captain ship, and, without making any charge, or obtaining any confession from him, nor commencing any process against him, the Governor commanded him to be maimed because he had not given up the caravel to him the first time that he had sent to ask for it, and he, from fear of his Captain, who had placed him there to guard her, could not give her up without his leave. And the said Captain Juan de la Parra showing some resentment at the violence which the Governor had done him in taking the caravel and maiming his pilot, (though he was able to prevent both the one and the other, for he had his ship with one hundred and fifty men, and was captain of them all by command of Pedro de las Roclas, until he should give the ship and the crew over to me,) in his passion at the injury that the Governor had done him, said words at which the Governor took offence, although certainly without reason, for they were entirely without prejudice to his honor; yet he took occasion to give them another meaning, although, even if they were as he would understand them, he would have no cause to hold him for an hour. The Governor therefore came himself to the Captain ship with five, or six men only, with irons and an Alguazil and told the Captain that he had come to take him prisoner and carry him ashore. And the Captain, answering him that he was not strong enough to do it unless he pleased, but begging him not to do it, and that he should not take him, for that it would be an ill service to Your Majesty, and that the crew of his ship would be scandalized by it, so that, even if he should give himself up a prisoner, they would not consent to it. And the Governor, having sworn by God and by the life of Your Majesty,

very many times that he would take him prisoner, and the Captain Parra, seeing his determination, commanded all in the ship to remain quiet, without moving, and making his protest against the Governor, gave himself up prisoner. And immediately the Governor, in the very cabin of the Captain where he was, put him in irons, and took him out of the ship with them, and from there took him prisoner to the prison where it is now going on three months that he has kept him in this manner, changing him from one part to another. When I came to Havana, he carried him to the house of a brother of Juan de Roxas, where he keeps him in irons and with a chain that passes into the wall, with the doors and windows stopped up, having put in guard over him this brother of Juan de Roxas, who is named Gomez de Roxas, without consenting that anyone shall see him or speak with him nor give evidence concerning him, or present any petition, and without any complaint filed against him; and so, justice is lost for this Captain, and every body in the town says that a notorious wrong is done him. And, by the truth which I shall speak before God our Lord, and to Your Majesty, I have so understood that the charges which it is said that he alleges, are so trivial that they are all contained in this, that he did not dip his colors to the Governor, at Cape St. Antonio, when he came in another ship, and because he said to him that it would be better to defend his caravel, and that they should not mutilate his pilot, if the whole town should be destroyed, since they did him so great violence without justice, not being his judge. And, as I understand, Juan de la Parra endured these injuries in patience, understanding that he permitted his pilot and himself to be put into prison, when he saw that, in fact, the Governor did it, that he was doing Your Majesty service in suffering it; and that, when I should arrive, the Governor would give him up to me, with such charges as there might be against him; as being a person under my orders, having the largest crew and ship, as Your Majesty had commanded by your Royal orders, after Pedro de las Roclas had left here. When I arrived in Havana, I would not speak to the Governor concerning this business in the first two days, and on the third, desiring to do it by petition and with all courtesy, he, hearing of it sent to tell me by Juan de Yñistora, Your Majesty's Treasurer in this Island, that no one should speak to him concerning the Captain Juan de la Parra, for that in no manner should he be spoken with nor seen, nor would he give him up to me. I hearing this, and that they were treating him as no Christian ought to be treated, nor as I am bound that they should treat one on his way to report to me as Captain of a ship and crew to serve Your Majesty in my company in whatever I should command and order him; so with all patience and in courteous terms I asked, as earnestly as I could, of the Governor, that he should permit me to see and speak with him, and

that he would give him up to me with the proceedings against him. He would do neither the one nor the other, and on the other hand was offended, that, having sent word to me that I should not speak to him concerning this matter, I should not have complied. And although I very easily and without any trouble could have taken Juan de la Parra out from where he was to his ship so that he could return to duty, inasmuch as there was no complaint nor charge against him, or if there were and the proceedings were given over to me, I might have proceeded against him, according to justice, yet I was unwilling to do it for fear of Your Majesty's displeasure. And by a requisition I prayed the Governor that he would give him up to me, a copy of which, with his reply accompanies this. After Parra heard what was going on, and that I was about to sail against the corsairs and that he was to remain, he shouted like a madman in the prison and darkness where he was, and it is feared he will lose his senses and is publicly stated that the Governor is afraid that when he gets out from there, he will demand justice against him. I did not know Parra and never saw him or spoke to him, but, if he had been taken, even for some treason, and I had given my word, as I did, to the Governor that I would not attempt to free him nor take him from him against his will, and asked him to permit me to see and speak with him, even in the presence of a notary and he would not do it. I do not know what will be the end of a thing like this, but I am sure that it will end the life of Captain Juan de la Parra, before his complaint can come to Your Majesty's knowledge; for this reason I have thought proper to notify Your Majesty of it, that you may order that he shall be given over to me, with the proceedings, or that he send him bound or free to Your court with the proceedings.

Moreover, the crew of the ship came to me requesting that I should procure that their caravel which had been taken from them, should be restored with what was in it, and I spoke to the Governor to that effect, praying him in all friendship that he would do it, or that he would assist me, or favor me with a portion of the money proceeds of the caravel, in order to supply the people who were in Florida on Your Majesty's account, who were 300 soldiers, and I said that I would give him bonds to repay all that should be given me, so soon as Your Majesty should so order, and I represented my great necessities; and if he would not do this, that he would lend me some money to buy some stores with, and that I would bind myself to pay it, but he would do neither one nor the other. So I made my protest against him, a copy of which, and of his reply accompanies this.

I found myself with very little artillery to go against the corsairs, and the Captain-ship of Pedro de las Roclas had very few and very small guns, because he carried out to Havana four large guns of Your Majesty for the fort that is building there, so that with these he came

very strong, and as he had no great present need of them, and there was much artillery in the town, the brass guns of the two ships which were there, yet he would lend me none of them. So, I drew up a protest against him, a copy of which with his reply accompanies this.

The stores which I was able to pay for at Havana were given me at the same prices at which they are sold to merchant ships coming and going there, without showing me any favor, although the inhabitants desired to do so, but, as the people are, for the most part, poor, they could not although they desired to do so. Other things also the Governor did to me, not treating me with the hospitality and respect to my person which were reasonably due to my office and the confidence that Your Majesty has always shown and still shows to me. And I surely tell the truth to Your Majesty when I say that I consider it a greater victory that I had the patience to endure and dissimulate under the bad treatment that he gave me, than even the victory that I gained over the Frenchmen in Florida. And as I have every day an absolute necessity to go and come to this Island, and to Hispaniola and to Porto Rico, and also my ships to be provided and equipped with every thing necessary, and to get cattle and beef for Florida, these things cannot be suffered to pass, for, if he does this with me, he will do it so much the more with the Captains and officers of the fleet under my charge, and with the shallops and zabras which may come into port in this island. If I had understood the necessity there is that I should have some authority in these islands, before the agreement I made, I would not have accepted it, unless Your Majesty had given me some right to be supplied and succored from here, so as to do every thing and endure all those dangers and toils with the greater content. As this is expedient for Your Majesty's service I shall do what seems most proper for it, for I say the whole truth to Your Majesty, as I am bound to do, and which every faithful servant should tell to his prince; that, if I had the government of this island, I could do more in Florida in four years than I shall do in ten, and at much less cost to Your Majesty's royal treasury.

Considering that Your Majesty sends me 1800 men to Florida, troops and seamen, I suspect that the King of France or his vassals are about to send out some great fleet; and if this is the case, Your Majesty should understand, unless you are already informed, that, although I may resist them in Florida, as I hope in God that I shall, so that they shall do me little harm in the parts where I may be, yet that they hold many other ports in Florida, to which they may go, very good country, and I cannot prevent them with the force I have, and they may be able to turn back upon some of the fleets from the Indies, for this is their whole design, and then fall upon these islands of Porto Rico, San

Domingo and Cuba, and will be able to take and plunder the settlements in them and burn them and commit cruelties upon the inhabitants, if they set themselves to do this, according to what I know of the small force of either of them, and I assure Your Majesty that, unless God shall miraculously defend them, they will succeed in doing this. I have written to the Governor of Porto Rico that he should keep that town on the lookout, for, although he may think that it is very strong, having a good fortress and plenty of guns, and a round tower with eight very good pieces, which are at the entrance, a hundred arquebusiers would be enough to take the town and sack it, by landing, at the round tower in boats, as they can very easily do, for there is not a single man or soldier in it who sleeps there; thence they can go to the town, which is only a quarter of a league distant, and burn and sack it, without the fort doing them any damage. I have also written to St. Domingo to the President and Auditors that they should be prepared and should notify all the harbors within their jurisdiction that they also be ready. I shall also tell it to the Governor of this Island, for I fear very much for Havana, being so good a harbor and on account of the preparations they have made, that they may come and take the fort and put it into a condition for defence, and, considering the armament it has, it would be hard to take it back again. I shall exceedingly desire to know if they come, and what force they will bring, and what Your Majesty sends to me, that we may make an end, once for all, with these Frenchmen who come to the Indies in time of peace, and that they shall lose the desire of going there again, for it would be very important to know this, and it might be that Our Lord would be pleased to give me victory over them; and in order that I may certainly know it, I despatch this tender express to Your Majesty that you may be pleased to advise me concerning the whole matter.

As to the fleet and succor that is coming to me for Florida, after they have passed the Canary Islands, they have no occasion to go to any one of these islands, but can go straight to Florida in 29 and a half or 30 degrees, which is where the two forts of St. Augustine and St. Matthew are, for there is a very good pilot who will know how to bring them there, Domingo Fernandez, who is in the despatch-tender; for so they will make a shorter course and come in less than half the time; but, if they come by St. Domingo, and the Cape of San Antonio, Your Majesty should understand that the voyage is very long and that they will arrive very late in Florida. I shall have two frigates like galleys, each of 20 oars in a side, that will carry two guns amidships, each of twenty hundred weight, which are very light both for sails and oars, and with these and the fleet that Your Majesty will send me, if it comes in time, I shall put myself into St. Helena and into the Bay of St. Mary, and shall engage the French fleet, if it comes, so that, neither in

Florida nor in the Indies, can they do any damage, neither to the merchant fleets; but, as I tell Your Majesty, it is very necessary that the succor that shall be sent to me shall sail direct for Florida, which is a voyage of forty or fifty days, and to a very healthy place, where the men will not be sick, and even if it should start by the beginning of March, it will arrive in sufficient time; but, if it comes by way of St. Domingo, besides that many will die there, it cannot arrive in Florida for three or four months, and the French, arriving first, will be able to make themselves strong in St. Helena, on which they have fixed their eyes, and where I am advised that there is a harbor and river of six fathoms of water at low tide; that the river runs up a hundred leagues inland to the mountains, and that from there to Zacatecas it is not two hundred and fifty leagues. They have called this harbor, being so good, Port Royal.

I have also learned, from a Frenchman whom I took in the last fort, that Jaques de Soria, he who took Havana and burned the fort, was to come out there in the beginning of the spring with a great fleet and afterwards fall upon some merchant fleet. Your Majesty will know this better than I can, for it may be that this man lied to me. I shall have these two frigates launched in the beginning of March, for I shall give the bevels and lines to the owners who are to build them, so that they will be better for these parts than gallies; and as for security that I shall be able to pay for them, and for the wages, I shall deposit jewels and clothes, and shall find friends who will be sureties for the pay, and when they are bought they will not cost above six thousand ducats, fitted out as they should be with their oars and swift rowers and provisions for the first six months and seamen, and there are few ships that can keep up with them without wind and in calm.

If Your Majesty shall send me a commission of Captain General of these parts of the Indies, Terra Firma, and the Ocean Islands, with power to pursue corsairs, and to take ships that come to barter and trade in these parts against Your Majesty's will, and contrary to your royal Provisions and Ordinances, and without registers, I will have the galley slaves which these frigates will need, and with two others to be built like them, Your Majesty holds the Indies and Florida secure, so that no corsair will come to these parts, and if they do come, they will be destroyed, neither will ships come to trade without license; for it is told for certain that what the Portuguese, English and French have carried away and stolen in this year, is worth more than a million; also by trading and bartering with Your Majesty's vassals in these parts, under permits and royal patents with which they were provided, but without having registers; the cost of these four ships will be very small; and this land being thus subject to Your Majesty, you will be pleased to give orders that I shall be repaid the outlay that I shall

make in them, and that all that I shall take shall be for myself; and if nothing is given me to reward me in the service of Your Majesty, I have the hope that you will favor me for such signal service by sending me the commission, either perpetual in form or for such time as shall be Your Majesty's pleasure. I shall have two of these vessels ready in March, and in March of the next year, I shall have the other two, which shall be four in all. I only ask that Your Majesty will grant me licenses for a thousand slaves, that I may sell them, in order to buy slaves for these vessels, for my wish is in everything to serve Your Majesty, with fidelity and truth as is due to Your Royal service and to my profession as a mariner. I inform Your Majesty of all this, for it seems to me due to Your Royal service, that you may provide everything that you may think fit.

I have ordered this tender to touch at Hispaniola and deliver a letter of mine at Puerta de Plata, or Monte Christo, or wherever else they may land on the island, that it may be forwarded with all despatch to the Audiencia, in which I write that they shall not prepare any beef, and that, if they have already done so, they shall sell it; for, when the fleet shall arrive there, it will not do for it to take on board a quantity of prepared beef, for it decays in the heat, and the crews will get sick with it, and it makes a bad smell in the ships, and at much less cost I will provide the crews fresh meat while they are cruising, also fresh meat on shore, with the two barks that may come and go, and much better than what they can prepare at San Domingo; and for this Your Majesty shall pay me whatever you may be pleased to allow, and as to fish, as three or four fishing smacks are coming, and as I have two barks engaged in fishing from the smacks, I can give any quantity of very good and fresh fish to all the men, better than can be got from St. Domingo or any other place, for that will spoil, just like the beef, and give out a bad smell that cannot be endured; so I write to the Audiencia not to get ready any fish; and I tell the same thing to the Governor of Havana, not to get ready any beef or any fish. And if Your Majesty shall be pleased to pay me, through the Governor, the proceeds of the caravel, I shall be able to provide everything that may be necessary here, and will render good and true account.

I promised Diego de Miranda, who is one of the principal gentlemen of the Asturia, the eldest son of an eldest son, the heir of his house, to appoint him principal Notary of Florida, and Secretary of the Government, and gave him his commission accordingly, for he has served Your Majesty many years in the fleets under my command, and is a man worthy of all confidence, and who assisted me in my undertaking to bring a quantity of men into Florida, I pray Your Majesty to show him this favor, for it is very necessary.

I also promised Estevan de las Alas, and Pero Menendez Marquez,

and Hernando de Miranda the offices of Auditor, Purveyor and Treasurer, for all three are persons of trust, and all among the principal men who have served Your Majesty many years in my company, all having married noble women, and who, through their desire of these offices, and their attachment to myself, may bring out their wives and families, and for their sakes other married people will come out, which will make a great beginning in the settling these Provinces of Florida with a noble race. I pray Your Majesty to look favorably on this, and do me the favor to grant these commissions. I agreed to give to the crew of this tender for wages and provisions, for carrying my letter to Hispaniola and this one to Your Majesty, one thousand ducats, for it being December, in winter time and dangerous, I could not make any better bargain with the pilot and master. I pray Your Majesty to direct that the amount be given to Pedro del Castillo, prefect of Cadiz, that he may pay them. And if Your Majesty will reply to me you will be able to do it immediately, for this vessel is to return at once to Florida with some ammunition that I have sent for, and a thousand half gallon bottles, a thousand pair of sandals, and some matters of fish hooks and trinkets for barter with the Indians, for these are very necessary.

At the time I made my agreement with Your Majesty I was still to furnish six shallops of 50 tons each; these should have been of one hundred tons, but, by error, it was set down 50, and that Your Majesty may understand that all these shallops are of one hundred and twenty tons each, more or less, you will direct it to be examined in Your Majesty's pay books for they are all measured in this manner, and are of these contents; and, as I saw that the agreement said 50 tons, which is small so that they are dangerous for the voyage from this Kingdom to Florida, and the provisions that they can carry are hardly sufficient for the crew that sail them for the outward and return voyage, beside that they cannot carry any guns to go against the corsairs, except very small and insufficient ones. I pray Your Majesty to cause the pay books to be examined for the contents of these shallops, and finding that they are of a hundred and twenty tons, more or less, as it will appear, that you will order your certificate to be given me setting forth that they are of this tonnage, in order that I may sell the little ones, and take them of this tonnage, for with them to come and go in, I can do great damage to the corsairs, and supply provisions and cattle to Florida with great facility.

May Our Lord protect and prosper Your Majesty's Royal Catholic Person with increase of greater kingdoms and realms as we, Your Majesty's servants desire, and Christendom needs. Amen. From Matanzas, on the 5th of Dec.^{ember} 1565. Your Majesty's humble servant kisses your Royal hands.

PEDRO MENEDEZ.

V.

Royal Catholic Majesty. On the fifth of this month I sent to Your Majesty a despatch-tender from the port of Matanzas, and by it wrote at length concerning all that had happened to me in these Provinces of Florida up to that date; also of what appeared to me to be of importance to Your Majesty's service in relation to this enterprise the tender sailing for the said voyage from Matanzas, and with it two others from the fleet which were under the command of Pero Menendez Marquez, my cousin, who was going to Yaguana to learn news of Estevano de las Alas, and to load provisions for Florida, on account of their being cheaper there than here, and because I thought that the President and Auditors of St. Domingo would lend me the money to buy them, as the Governor of this Island would not do so. They discovered a sail off the Bahama Channel and thinking it to be a corsair they gave chase, and she led them into Matanzas, where they reconnoitered and found that she was that caravel which Estevano de las Alas had captured from the Portuguese, laden with hides; and they told them how the store-ship which they had armed at St. Domingo had been lost, and that Estevano de las Alas was coming there with this caravel and one of my shallows with men and ammunition that had come from Asturias and Biscay; that all the men and Your Majesty's brass guns were saved; but that all the stores and ammunition were lost, nothing escaping, and that a sloop of mine was also lost, all her crew likewise escaping, and that as Estevano de las Alas found himself without sufficient provisions for so many people, he consulted with Gonzalo de Peñalosa who came as Captain of these troops from St. Domingo, in order to disembark the men there, at the place where they were lost, which was to the north of this Island one hundred and fifty leagues, and 25 or 30 from Bayamo, and they decided to go by land with the men to Bayamo, or to Puerto del Principe, so that they could find food there; and that they had put the sick men into the caravel from the store ship, who had sailed in very poor condition, being about 40 persons, and that the shallop remained loading the artillery that was saved, with her barge taking off the men from a little island where the shallop was lost, to the main land. Pero Menendez Marquez, when he heard this and had informed himself particularly of all that had taken place, came quickly from Matanzas to Havana, to report it to me; and he brought with him the same master of the caravel who was present; and I being of the opinion that when the Captain Peñalosa should arrive at Bayamo or Santiago de Cuba, at Your Majesty's expense, he would return to supply these men and look for a vessel and take them to this port, which would make a great expense and occasion delay, and, as Your

Majesty had commanded me that, when the French were expelled from Florida, I should pay off these men, I fearing that, since they are already expelled, unless I did this, Your Majesty would be displeased with me, ordered them to be immediately discharged, as Your Majesty will perceive by the copy of the order which is transmitted herewith: I also wrote to Estevan de las Alas, that he should come, with the men under his command, in company with Captain Peñalosa, who was bringing the men from St. Domingo, and, having discharged Captain Peñalosa's men, as I had commanded him in the order I sent, that those of them who chose to go with me to Florida, he should receive and provide and keep in his company, with the others whom he was bringing; and that, with both of them, he should remain quiet at Bayamo, or at Puerto del Principe, with all the force he had got together, providing them with food out of my monies, because stores are twice, or three times as cheap there as here, and I sent him letters of credit, that they should furnish him with all the provisions that he had need of, for Juan de Yñistora, Your Majesty's Treasurer in this island, has favored me in all this, and in every way that he can, to aid my necessities and my men, for he understands, that, by so doing he is serving Your Majesty. I pray Your Majesty to write to him, acknowledging this service. I also wrote him that, if it were necessary, I would send vessels for him and for the men, to take them to Florida, for it being now near winter, having no food there, there is no reason why they should go. And to Captain Peñalosa I wrote that, as to the discharged men who were not willing to agree to go to Florida, he should order them to go back to Hispaniola, because, if they remained in this Island, they would go to Peru and to other parts of the Indies, without Your Majesty's license; and if the corsairs should come this spring to Hispaniola, it would be very well that these men be in that island, to defend it. I made both these provisions because it seemed expedient for Your Majesty's service, and would diminish the cost to Your Majesty's treasury.

The master of this caravel says that Estevan de las Alas sold at Yaguana two thousand hides out of her, in order to supply provisions for the men; and that the others are on board the caravel, many of them wet and in bad condition, because the caravel made a great deal of water in a storm that they experienced. And in the great necessity in which I am and in order to give food to the troops I have here, and to support and supply with provisions those who are in Florida, and to enable me to pay a part of what I owe here, I have arranged to sell these hides and the caravel; they would not trade without seeing them and seeing the ship, and the bargain was made with one Francisco de Reynoso, who came with me here to serve Your Majesty, to whom I owed the sum of two thousand ducats, and he bought the caravel and the twenty-five hundred hides on board her for four thousand ducats,

of which he is to pay one thousand to the mariners who go in the caravel for food and wages, which is due them, and he gave me the other thousand ducats in cash. Therefore the favor which I had prayed Your Majesty to grant me, of allowing me this caravel and these hides, which may be worth six thousand ducats, comes to a value of five thousand, the three thousand which I received here, and the two thousand for the two thousand hides that Estevan de las Alas sold out of the caravel at Yaguana; and, as to the other thousand ducats that Your Majesty was to pay for the charter of the despatch-tender that went with my despatches, Your Majesty need not pay any part of it, since, of the four thousand ducats for which the caravel and the hides were sold, one thousand remain for the crew who carry this despatch for food and pay, for it being December and winter time, by paying them this, I make them go by force; and understanding that Pero Menendez Marques goes immediately to Matanzas, at the charge of the owner of the caravel, he can get her ready with great speed and can take the despatch for Your Majesty, which I had given to the tender that carried it, and without touching at Hispaniola or at any other place, may go directly to your kingdom, and wherever he may land, may go to deliver this despatch to Your Majesty with the one of which I wrote by the tender; and that he may particularly tell Your Majesty of what great importance it is that the fleet which is to come out with 1800 seamen and soldiers, should not come to Dominica, nor to St. Domingo, nor to this Island; for if they should arrive late at Florida, the French would have arrived here first, and would land in safety at the Point of St. Helena, where there is a harbor, which is said to be the best in all Florida, having a river that goes up a hundred leagues inland as far as the mountains, whence it may be about 250 leagues to Zacatecas, and it is understood that it is not 300; or they may go to the Bay of St. Mary which is 100 leagues north of St. Helena, where is the Indian Velasco, who is in New Spain, and 80 leagues inland are the mountains and beyond them there is an arm of the sea, that is navigated by canoes and extends to Tierra Nova, a distance of 500 leagues and ends there, in a bay which makes up beyond this mountain, which is 80 leagues inland from the Bay of St. Mary, as I have stated; and close to this bay, a quarter or half a league distant, there is another arm of the sea, which goes in the direction of China and this is considered certain, although no one has entered the South Sea, but they have gone up more than 500 leagues in an east north west direction, for they started in 42 degrees, and went up as far as 48, and were 500 leagues from Mexico, in a line North and South from it, and so in reason were not 100 leagues from the South Sea, or that same land of China. These results which the French can very safely effect, unless we get the advantage of them, are of very great importance to them, as well for honor as for profit; and what I may have done in Your Majesty's service in Florida, will be very little, in com-

parison with what the French will be able to do if they go there in the service of their king. If hitherto they have omitted to fortify themselves there, it has been in order that they may go to the Indies and hold their outposts on the Bahama Channel, where they had a fort, in order to be masters of the ships and fleets that sail through it; and, holding that securely, that they might settle in St. Helena, and the Bay of St. Mary which they have carefully surveyed, and can fortify themselves on a strait of land that there is, a quarter or half a league beyond the mountains, to the North of the Bay of St. Mary as I have said, in order to command that arm of the sea that goes up to Tierra Nova and the one that goes to the South Sea in the direction of China; and get the benefit of the mines that are found in the mountains, and even easily go thence to the mines of St. Martin and Zacatecas, the voyage to which will be much shorter and easier than ours is; for from France to Tierra Nova, where the arm of the sea begins to enter the land of the mines, is a voyage of from 20 to 25 days, and from there, in boats, they can go inland, by that arm, till they get near the mountains, where they can get the benefit of the mines, and the money that is brought from Zacatecas to San Juan de Lua, comes at very great cost. Your Majesty cannot doubt that the French have perceived all this, and if they do not in the coming spring, they will in the next, and, if once they plant themselves there, they will be hard to expel for they can be succored with great ease, and at very little cost from Tierra Nova where they are entirely masters and maintain every year many ships and people. If the fleet and the troops that Your Majesty will send me shall come direct to Florida, it may be that they will arrive in time, for me to anticipate the enemy, preventing them from settling in either place and taking the two frigates which I shall take and which will be very sufficient and light for sails or oars, each of 40 oars as I have said, Your Majesty granting me the favor of one thousand licenses for slaves, as I have requested, I trust in God that I shall disable the French fleet. And if Your Majesty has advices that it is coming, you should order the Governors in these parts and the Generals of the fleets, that they should be and keep themselves very circumspect, for if the French fleet should come, even if it produce no effect in Florida, it may on the settlements in the Indies, and they will proceed with all cruelty to do every kind of damage and injury to the people and property in them, and the same to the ships and fleets that sail there. I have thought fit to give to Your Majesty a particular account of all this and to send with this despatch Pero Menendez Marques, my cousin, that, if it is necessary with the chart in hand he may more particularly explain this, so that Your Majesty may provide, as to both, what is expedient for your Royal service; for, as regards myself, I shall do my duty with all fidelity, care and diligence, and according to Your Majesty's trust in me.

I pray Your Majesty to do me the favor to dismiss Pero Menendez as early as possible that he may carry my order to Pedro del Castillo, that he may despatch him immediately in a tender or light caravel, and that he shall load in it a thousand bottles, of from a measure and a half to two measures, and two thousand pairs of sandals for the men who may be employed in exploring, with certain articles for barter with the Indians and some iron tools for cultivating the ground and saddles and horse equipments, together with some laborers and their wives, and that he shall come with it all here to Havana, to divide the cargo from this place among the three forts that I have, and the one which I shall build in this month of February and March, in the Bay of Juan Ponce, for this will be about 50 leagues by land from the others and from Campeachy and New Spain I shall be able to supply myself and provide many things; and thus, in a short time, they will trade with each other and multiply, and leaving them this supply, with people to cultivate the land, and priests, who may instruct the Spaniards and the natives, I shall be able to proceed to St. Helena and the Bay of St. Mary, to do there whatever may be expedient, and make the best provision that may be possible there, so that what has been gained and discovered there be not lost. To accomplish this, it will be necessary that Your Majesty order that Pero Menendez be despatched forthwith, for whom I shall leave orders and instructions in this port, that he shall make a division of whatever he may bring, among the men who shall come here, conformably to the distribution of the lands, and the necessities of the settlements. From the Bay of St. Mary, I shall go by land to the Forts of St. Augustine and St. Matthew, which are not more than 50 leagues distant, exploring and opening the route, and in every way endeavoring to gain the good will of the Indians; for this purpose I shall take one hundred and fifty men and twenty horses, and shall leave another hundred men in the settlement which I shall make in the Bay of St. Mary; and by the middle of April at the farthest, I shall, by the help of Our Lord, be in the Forts of St. Augustine and St. Matthew, waiting for the reinforcements which I have sent to ask of Your Majesty by the Captain Diego Flores de Valdés, and as many as Your Majesty may be pleased to send, so that, as soon as they shall have arrived, leaving those forts in the best condition and state that I can, I may go to the point of St. Helena, and the Bay of St. Mary, to fortify myself there and await the enemy, if they should come.

I notified Francisco Osorio, the Governor of this Island, the moment that I decided to send out the tender, to Your Majesty's kingdom, and to send Pedro Menendez Marques with the despatches; in order that, if he desired to write to Your Majesty, or to any other person in your kingdom, he might do so, and that his despatch would be forwarded with all diligence. He answered me that he did not desire to write by

any ship that I might despatch, and that he intended to send back the caravel that came from your kingdom with Your Majesty's orders to provide beef and fish in this island and in Hispaniola for nine months for the 1800 soldiers and seamen, as Your Majesty had commanded to be done. And when I came across this caravel at Matanzas as it seemed to me a light vessel both for oars and sails, and sufficient for the exploration of Florida and its rivers, I spoke with her Pilot, Master, and mariners, and asked if they would go to Florida with me in the Spring? They answered that they would be very glad to do so, and under this promise they ceased taking Your Majesty's despatch to the Governor of Matanzas here by land and came with it by sea. And although I told the Governor all this and of the great need that I had for her, and that, having lost my sloop from St. Domingo, which was very light for oars and sails, and for the purpose of reconnoitering any vessel at sea, or the rivers and bays on the coast, and that no vessel was more fit for this purpose than this caravel, and that it would make no cost to Your Majesty if he sent the despatches in the ship that I send, besides that it is a better vessel for the winter season and this caravel is small. For all this he was not willing to do it and, although I might have bought it and taken it, being at the disposal of the owner, yet fearing that he might attempt to resist, although he was not able to, I left it to him, notwithstanding I have very great need of it. I advise Your Majesty of all this that you may understand what happens here and may know how little I am favored and aided in these matters of such great importance to my good success; and if Your Majesty does not remedy this by writing to him concerning this, I and my officers must suffer every time that we are obliged to repair here, or anywhere in the whole Island with my ships to supply and equip ourselves, and as I serve Your Majesty with all the zeal with which I am bound to serve, I have no more to say, save that Our Lord may guard and increase Your Majesty's Royal Catholic Person, with increase of new kingdoms and realms as Christianity requires and as we, the servants of Your Majesty desire.

From Havana, December 12th in the year 1565, Your Majesty's faithful servant kisses your royal hands.

PERO MENENDEZ.

The King's Order.

It will be well to write immediately to this Governor and to Pero Menendez, that it will be well that he shall put those whom he has taken alive to the oar, if he can, and it seems to him to be safe; or else send them here to go to the gallies. This as regards those to whom he offered their lives; as to the rest he does very well in executing justice upon them.

(All this passage underscored [or italicized] in the original is in the handwriting of Philip II.)

VI.

Royal Catholic Majesty.

At this moment a particular friend of mine has arrived from Campeachy, a man of character and veracity, and he tells me as a certain fact, that Pedro de las Roclas arrived at Puebla de los Angeles in the month of October last; and that, one month before, of the four ships of Your Majesty's fleet that went to China two had returned to the port of la Navidad, whence they sailed, and that their return voyage was of seventy days' sailing; that they carried a great quantity of gold dust; it is said that they certainly had a million; and that the crews of the Captain-ship and of the other ships had built a fort on an island near China, and that they had planted guns on it and put in a garrison and they say that it is the richest land that, up to this day has been discovered; and that, in order to return to the port of la Navidad, whence they took their departure, they made their course to the north as far as 50 degrees, back of Florida. I have thought fit to advise Your Majesty of this, because I hold it to be very certain news; and also to warn Your Majesty that, if there is intelligence that the French are arming for these parts, there may be some danger to the fleet of New Spain, which will bring much money and have but a small force, and it will be well that Estevano de las Alas embark here with some armed vessels of the fleet, which can very easily be done, and Estevano de las Alas is a very good man who has served Your Majesty on the seas for many years, and will know how to serve you well, whom all who sail in this trade with the Indians, love, fear and respect; for, although he who came as Admiral of the fleet is a very excellent gentleman, he is young, and has had very little experience at sea, nor any of fighting at sea, and has never sailed, except one other time to New Spain with Pedro de las Roclas his uncle. Finding myself here it seemed to me well to notify Your Majesty of this, that you may make such provision as you may see fit.

May Our Lord protect and increase Your Majesty's Royal Catholic Person with increase of greater kingdoms and realms as Christianity requires, and as we, Your Majesty's servants desire. From Havana 16th of December, in the year 1565. Your Majesty's humble servant kisses Your Royal hands.

PERO MENENDEZ.

VII.

Royal Catholic Majesty.

By my cousin the Captain Pedro Menendez Marques, who sailed from Havana on the 19th of the last month, with a despatch-tender, I wrote to Your Majesty at length and very particularly of the good

success which Our Lord had given me in Florida against the French Lutherans who had occupied it; how they were all destroyed and put to death; and how on the 2^d of November, with 250 men, and three barges for oars, I went from the Forts of St. Matthew and St. Augustine to the Cape Cañaveral, where I was informed that seventy or eighty Frenchmen were building a fort and a bark to send out and ask for succor. I also wrote how, one morning I came upon them with 150 men by land and with the barges by sea; how we were discovered, they being afraid of us, and betaking themselves to the mountains; how we took their fort and what provisions they had, and burned their bark; and how, that this evil Lutheran sect might not remain in the land, I sent a trumpet to the Frenchmen, offering them their lives, if they would surrender and lay down their arms and their colors; how all this was done accordingly; and that, from there I went 15 leagues further down the Bahama Channel, to a very beautiful river, where was one of the principal caciques whose name was Ays, who received us with great friendship, and how, being there, we had no sort of food, nor did this cacique give us any, saying that he had not got it, for that they ate shell fish and fish and the roots of herbs, and that if we went into the fort, we could have nothing to eat there nor where to get it from, even ever so little; so that for our relief I had determined to go down the Bahama Channel, to explore its navigation and harbors, as far as this harbor of Havana, and I did so accordingly, with 70 men in two barges, leaving the rest of the men and the other barge. I also wrote Your Majesty that arriving here I should send back to them the two barges, laden with provisions; also of the small aid and favor that was given me by Garcia Osorio, the Governor of this Island, and of the great necessity there was that Your Majesty should order this to be remedied henceforth. I also wrote that, this month I should go to explore the Bay of Juan Ponce, in order, if there was any good harbor, to settle it, because the river of St. Matthew empties on that coast, or near it, and our people will be easily able to communicate with each other; also to see if it be navigable between the Tortugas and Florida, and if there be any good harbor at the head of the Martires, which is very important for short voyages and safety to the ships and fleets that sail to the Indies. I also sent a duplicate of this letter subsequently to Your Majesty by a despatch caravel sent out to Your Majesty by the Governor of this Island. I trust that Our Lord will have been pleased to bring these ships in safety with these letters that Your Majesty may understand in detail all that has happened; although, only two days after the Captain Pedro Menendez Marques sailed, there was a very great storm here. What there is new to advise Your Majesty to-day of is this; that within 15 days after the barge laden with provisions for the Spaniards who remained in the Channel of the settlement of Ays

sailed from here, she returned to this port with news that she arrived in safety, and found the soldiers whom I left there, all scattered and divided into little companies without leave of their Captain, for they were perishing with hunger where they were; that the cacique with his people had gone away and got together a number of men in order to make war upon them; and that they had come 20 leagues this way where they had found better land and some food of palmettos and other fruits called icacos, (cocoa plum) and many mulberries and fish, and there they all collected together in a fort which they had thrown up as well as they could in the time, and many peaceful Indians had come to them showing themselves friends, with some display of gold and silver, and they advised me of all this by Captain Juan Velez de Medrano who is there in command of all these men. Two days ago arrived Captain Diego de Amaya, who sailed in the other barge of 70 tons, laden with provisions for the two forts of St. Augustine and St. Matthew, and he brought me news that he arrived in safety at fort St. Augustine and there discharged the stores that were to remain there, of 150 sows with young that he took out, 50 had died, and he landed 80 of them there, and that, within six days he would have departed with the ship and the provisions that he was carrying to Fort St. Matthew; but being in December the weather changed so one night that at dawn there was a great storm and very heavy sea, so that he was obliged to attempt the bar of St. Matthew, and he ran aground in such a manner, although the vessel required but little water, she thumped and was stranded near the land, where all the crew went ashore, and the vessel went to pieces, and a part of the provisions was saved although very little. They say that the men in the forts are well and very resigned; that, in the cold of winter, being ill clothed, more than a hundred persons died, and that they were in a very great necessity of food, and still are; the Commandant and the Captains who were there had agreed that as one of the two brigantines was finished which I had left orders that they should build for me wherewith to explore the coast in the spring, and go to St. Helena and the Bay of St. Mary. Captain Diego de Amaya should return to inform me of the strait they were in for want of food, shoes and clothing, that I might provide them without delay; and how the ship which was going to them had been lost with part of the provisions; for, when Captain Diego de Amaya left here, I ordered him, after having landed his provisions at the two forts, to proceed, with all despatch to the Island of Porto Rico or Hispaniola to look for the galleon San Pelayo which had on board two thousand quintals of biscuit and much wine, vinegar and other stores; that he should load his ship with all of these and go back to Florida with it. The Commandant and the Captains also wrote me that the two French ships which escaped when we took the

fort of St. Matthew in which Juan Rivao's eldest son escaped the day that he was in the fort by swimming to one of these ships, had gone five and twenty leagues beyond, towards the north to a very good harbor called Guale, the Indians there being their friends, and that there are, within a space of three or four leagues, forty villages of the Indians of two brothers, one of whom is called Causin, and the other Guale, and these two brothers are great friends of the General Ludunier who was in Florida before the coming of Juan Rivao. The day that we took the fort, he jumped over the wall in his shirt, and fled to the mountain, wounded by a pike, and we never heard any further news of him, save that it was said that the Indians, his enemies, had killed him. It seemed to me that he reached the shore before the son of Juan Rivao got over the bar, that he took him in and, as he knew of the harbor of Guale and the two caciques were his friends, that he went there with the two ships, and that, in great haste, he threw up a fort, and that he had in it seventy or eighty men; that he had sent one of the ships to France and kept the other there. They must have much artillery and ammunition and stores, for these two ships had not yet discharged what they brought from France, and one of them carried four heavy brass guns on her broadside. If they are succored through the friendship that they have with the Indians, having there plenty of food of maize, beans, pumpkins, and much fish and game, it will be a bad thing, and it will be afterwards very hard to eject them, having so good a harbor. Some Frenchmen whom I have here assure me, that when I arrived in Florida, Juan Rivao was about to send there a Captain with 200 men to settle that harbor, which he had very well surveyed, and the Indians desired him to do so, and that this spring with the people who were to come from France, he intended to settle in St. Helena, which is admirably good, for these Frenchmen say it is the best harbor that they have discovered in Florida and that they would also this spring have settled in the Bay of St. Mary. Even if I had men enough, I could not go to Guale, where these Frenchmen are, before the end of March, or the beginning of April, for this coast is stormy, and we must go along the coast with great care to make the harbor; but I have resolved with the help of Our Lord, to go within eight days to the Bay of Juan Ponce, and to explore the entire coast from Philippina and the bays of San Jusepe as far as the Martires, and between the Tortugas and Florida, to see if there is any navigable channel for the fleets from New Spain for, if there is, they can sail much more easily from New Spain to Havana; and if I find any good port on that coast and Bay of Juan Ponce, I shall settle there and fortify, for the river of St. Matthew empties on that coast, or cannot be above 15 or 20 leagues from it and by land the forts of St. Matthew and St. Augustine are not above 50 leagues distant and they can easily

communicate with each other, and bring the Indians into friendship with us, and the priests can instruct them with less risk. And by that coast and Bay of Juan Ponce I shall be able to get supplies easily, from New Spain and Campeachy, and from this Island of Cuba, and from that harbor I shall be able to supply the forts of St. Matthew and St. Augustine, and reinforce them whenever it may be necessary, and when my galleons are going to New Spain, they can land men and provisions there without going out of their course and the same when they are returning from New Spain to Spain; and thence they can settle, with the people who may come from Spain, the river bank of San Pelayo that goes toward the fort of St. Matthew, which they say is inhabited by Indians and has plenty of food. These two forts of St. Matthew and St. Augustine, and in case of finding a harbor in the Bay of Juan Ponce, the one which I settle there together with the shore of San Pelayo being near each other, will be under the command of a Captain and there will also be an Alcayde in each fort, and this office I propose to confide to Estevano de las Alas, being a gentleman and a good Christian and of good deportment, while I shall go to the coast of Philippina, as far as the Martires and Tortugas, until the middle of March, exploring it by land and sea, in order to settle in the best harbor and land location that I shall find, for I have four brigantines and two galleys, very sufficient for that purpose, either for oars or sails, and two very good tenders for the accommodation of the troops and to carry provisions for them, I having been engaged all this time in equipping and careening them. I shall leave Estevano de las Alas the best supply possible, with 100 men, in the settlement that I shall make on that coast and at the Bay of Juan Ponce, so that the men who may come to me from Havana in my tenders may be all taken there, so as to be divided between the two forts of St. Matthew and St. Augustine and the place where he shall be; and if priests come, they will have plenty to occupy themselves with. From Havana to the place where I shall leave him they can easily come in two days more, especially if I shall discover a navigable channel between the Tortugas and Florida, for the prevailing wind there is northeast, and this is favorable both for going and returning. From the middle of March onward, leaving to Estevano de las Alas one of the brigantines, so that he may go and come to Havana for provisions for his men, I shall go directly to where the Captain Juan Velez de Medrano is, and take him off with what men he may have for the Captain Diego de Amaya, who came from there, reported to me that many of them are dead from hunger, and that the Indians who have risen against them and are very warlike and treacherous, have killed others; and I shall take these men with me to the forts of St. Augustine and St. Matthew, where, in each fort I shall leave a Captain with 150 soldiers, and then,

with the largest force I can get together, which shall be, if possible, not less than three hundred men, for this is little enough, I shall go to Guale, where Ludunier and Juan Rivao's son are, and endeavor to take their fort and expel them from the land before they can be succored from France; and, if Our Lord gives me the victory, I shall leave there a captain with a hundred soldiers, and go on to St. Helena with the other one hundred and fifty; and if meanwhile, the reinforcements of Your Majesty shall arrive at this port of Havana I shall leave my order here with the Treasurer, Juan de Yñistora, (and also leave one of my servants) that they shall immediately succor Estevano de las Alas with two or three hundred men and provisions for them; and that, with the rest they shall go to the forts of St. Augustine and St. Matthew, and I shall leave a pilot to take them there, that he may leave them men and provisions as I have ordered, and with the rest and the whole fleet they shall pass on to Guale, for I shall leave pilots to take them there; so that, if the French fleet comes, it shall find us in a state to defend ourselves and that we may hold the forts we have taken which they had explored. And if they shall proceed to the Islands, with the intent of committing robbery and cruelties, or shall attempt to lie in wait for any fleet from New Spain, I may be able to spy them and give such favors as I may be able, on the one side or the other; but if the French should come before Your Majesty shall reinforce me, we shall all be in great trouble and danger. I shall do all that is possible for a man, and I shall do it to the end, and I am certain that, much and well as I desire to serve Your Majesty and to give you these Provinces of Florida cleared so that the Holy Gospel may be preached in them, and the natives brought to Your Majesty's allegiance, so that neither the French nor any other nation shall have any part in them, what is possible for me does not equal my zeal and desire; but Your Majesty may be certain that all I have and all I can get from relatives and friends, I shall devote and expend in this undertaking, and as so great sums are needed to support the one and the other, if Your Majesty should do it at your cost, you would incur very great expense, and in order that I may support the one and the other, it will be well that Your Majesty should pay out from your treasury to assist me, for in no other way can I obtain credit to incur such great expenses as I do, which are all absolutely necessary in order to expel the enemy from the land, and to prevent them from returning into it.

The Governor of this Island as I have written Your Majesty, has not helped me with a single real, although I had two orders from Your Majesty that he should give me an armed ship, with fifty armed men, provisions for four months, that this should cost above twenty thousand ducats; and although now he sees my strait, and the need I have of provisions to take with me, to supply the forts, and to take to Guale to

eject the French, and to St. Helena, and the great scarcity there is of them in this place, and the amount that I have expended for the troops that I had and still have here, and the large sum that the two vessels cost me which I sent with provisions to Florida; that Your Majesty has three hundred men at your charge in Florida, that they have nothing to eat and are perishing with hunger, and that he is bound to supply them, yet he has not found means to aid me with one single real, nor a load of cassavi, nor an arroba of beef, nor any thing worth a single maravedis. Even if he had no money of Your Majesty's, for this purpose, it is enough that he has fourteen or fifteen thousand ducats from the caravel that he took in my name and with them or a portion of them, he might assist me, since I bound myself to repay it, whenever Your Majesty shall so order. He also obstructs and hinders me, publicly and in secret, as much as he can, giving opportunity to my men to mutiny and desert, and that not a man who leaves me shall return; also the physician and surgeon whom I was to carry have left me eight days ago, as soon as they knew the voyage I was going, and they are in a house here and he knows it, yet gives no orders to search for and take them, though knowing that I cannot go on my voyage without them. Evidence of all these things accompanies this, that Your Majesty may be satisfied of the truth of what has occurred. I suffer all, and shall suffer, as I have written Your Majesty, understanding that this is expedient for Your Majesty's service; but if in future Your Majesty does not remedy this, it will be impossible to do what should be done for Your Majesty's service in the exploration of Florida, except with great danger, cost and delay, none of which ought to be incurred or endured.

More than forty men of the company of the Captain-ship of Pedro de las Roclas, (may he be in Heaven) have deserted, in order not to go to Florida, and are waiting until I shall have departed to return to the town, for the Governor says that he has need of them to guard the place. I shall take about eighty persons from the ship; these will be with Estevano de las Alas until the fleet from New Spain shall arrive at this port, and will then immediately return here, as I do not want to take a single man or gun from this ship, for it seems to me that it will be necessary for the safety of the fleet.

I conversed with Padre Fr. Andres de Urdaneta, who has arrived here from China, concerning the strait which it is certainly supposed there is in Florida, going in the direction of China, concerning which he has had a full account for many years, and the way in which we must proceed to learn this secret is that which I have communicated to Your Majesty in a memorial some years ago, for thus it can be done most speedily, best, at the least cost, and the truth of that secret will be best known and quickest, and being a matter of such importance to the service of God Our Lord and to the increase of Your Majesty's kingdom

and Royal treasury, I shall contrive in every possible way to be this coming winter in Your Majesty's kingdom. If I can, I shall send Captain

with the Indian to the Bay of St. Mary, in order that with his own eyes he may see this arm of the sea, so that Your Majesty may make such provisions in relation thereto, as shall be expedient to Your Majesty's service, and I shall make report of the things that I may have discovered and seen on the coast and in the land of Florida, and of the necessity there will be to people them and to support them, without Your Majesty expending upon this anything out of your Royal treasury, except, it may be some small amount, during the first two or three years, although it will be proper that my going shall be kept very secret, that it may not come to the knowledge of the enemy on account of the danger to which my person would be exposed from them, for I shall leave the land of Florida, and the forts and settlements that remain in very good condition, and the winter so defends that coast that they will be very secure from enemies.

It will be well that Your Majesty should make an order so that my tenders and small vessels which I am to bring, according to the compact may if necessary, carry that part of the clothing which they were to take to Florida to New Spain and Campeachy, so that they may obtain thence the provisions and necessary things that we require for Florida.

I wrote to Your Majesty how the fleet of St. Domingo had been lost on this island, one hundred and fifty leagues from here, near Baracoa and how Estevano de las Alas had saved all the men in the vessel that he took for his flag-ship from Asturias and Biscay; and as Your Majesty had commanded me that when the French were driven out of Florida I should discharge the troops for St. Domingo and send them to that Island, I, seeing that the French were dead, sent it there to be paid off, where it was lost near Hispaniola. This I did to obey what Your Majesty had commanded me in this matter, and so, that more easily and at less cost they could return to St. Domingo. This errand of mine went speedily to Gonzalo de Peñalosa who came in command of these men, and he considered them as discharged, but made a contract with a greater part of the men to come to this port of Havana; others went to Santiago de Cuba and to Bayamo, in order to cross over to the New Kingdom, Peru, Honduras and New Spain, and all those who came here came with the intention of going on to Honduras & New Spain. I spoke with Peñalosa and all these soldiers, stating to them that Your Majesty would be greatly displeased, if those who did not go with me to Florida should not go back to St. Domingo, but I perceived that none of them would go to Florida with me, though I would willingly receive them all, as well as all the other men, but it appeared to them a very laborious expedition and fifteen days ago a vessel left here for Campeachy, which the Governor visited, but would not permit me

visit, and after eight days, the weather being unfavorable, she returned; and she had on board 35 of these St. Domingo soldiers and some of those of my command, and proposed to sail again in two days, it being fine weather. Seeing such irregularities and ill service of Your Majesty, and that I could not remedy it, I issued a proclamation, a copy of which goes herewith, at which the Governor and Peñalosa and his soldiers were much offended.

The Commandant and Sergeant Major write me from Florida that the trouble is insupportable that they have with the greater part of the men there, on account of their desertion from the country and speaking ill of it, and discouraging those who are not there, in order that they may be able to go over to the Indies, for many of them came with this intent; and unless Your Majesty shall take sufficient measures in all the courts of the Indies, so that they may take within their districts, or even out of them if they can, all the men who shall have come to Florida, and left there without my leave, and send them prisoners to me in Florida, so that they shall serve perpetually at the oar, and so that those who come from Spain may not deceive themselves but understand that they are to remain here; and that the Indies may not be filled up with knaves, and that I and my officers shall not have mutinies, neither with the people who shall reside in Florida, I fear that I shall have no power to prevent it.

I showed to the Padre Fr. Andres de Urdaneta samples of the gold and silver that there is in Florida; and I am told that the Captains and soldiers who are there have got by barter a quantity of above a thousand ducats, and it is said there is among them a quantity of common gold.

May Our Lord protect and prosper the Royal Catholic person of Your Majesty with increase of greater kingdoms and realms as Christianity requires, and as we Your Majesty's servants desire. From Havana, January 30th 1566. Your Majesty's humble servant kisses your Royal hands.

PERO MENEDEZ.

The original papers are found in the Archivo General de Indias at Seville among the papers taken from the Archives of Simancas. Volumes 17. 20 and 21 of letters from the Indias.

Compared March 31st 1795.

MARTIN FERN^{de} DE NAVARRETE.

From the copies in the *Deposito Hidrografico* at Madrid, September 1st 1836.

BUCKINGHAM SMITH.

Translated August 1st 1870, from copy in possession of Francis Parkman, City of Boston. H. WARE.

Mr. R. C. WINTHROP, JR., said :—

I am sometimes harassed by persistent applications from simple-minded persons who are under the firm impression that the unpublished Winthrop papers of the colonial period must necessarily contain references to their supposed ancestors, and who think it very unreasonable of me not to be willing to devote day after day to an exhaustive search through a mass of manuscripts most of which are difficult to decipher. It occasionally happens, however, that my attention is thus drawn to something possessing a certain historical interest, in letters which have either escaped close attention or which have been laid aside for further examination and then been forgotten. Not long ago I was applied to by a lady who had allowed herself to be persuaded that her family is entitled to an estate in England, and who was eager to learn something about two persons of the name of Pond who came over here at the foundation of the Massachusetts Colony.

In the postscript to a long letter from Governor Winthrop to his eldest son, written a few weeks after he landed in New England, and dated Charlestown, July 23, 1630, occurs the following passage :—

Commend me to old Pond, and tell him both his sons are well and remember their duty to him. He must needs send his son John some more provisions, for much of that he brought was spoiled by the way. You must demand money of him. His reckoning stands thus :

His passage and goods come to	£27.0.0
One cow	15.0.0
	<hr/> 42.0.0
I had of him	10.0.0
Rest due	<hr/> £32.0.0

In a similar letter, written about seven weeks later and dated September 9, 1630, occurs the sentence : "Commend me to all my good neighbors, M^r Jarrold, William Pond, and the rest."

This "William Pond" is evidently the "old Pond" of the preceding letter, who is stated to have been a well-to-do farmer and wool-stapler residing near Groton Manor, to whom Governor Winthrop had advanced money to enable him to

send two of his sons to New England to seek their fortunes. One of these sons is shown by the foregoing extract to have been named John; and our former President, Mr. Savage, in his *Genealogical Dictionary*, says that the other was not improbably a Robert Pond, afterward of Dorchester, who is known to have died in 1637, leaving a daughter Mary, and whose widow became the second wife of Edward Shepard of Cambridge.¹

Among the unpublished manuscripts to which I began by alluding, I have found and am about to communicate a long letter to William Pond from one of these two sons, who forgot to sign his name to it. On account of the information it contained it was evidently loaned to John Winthrop, Jr., who was still in Suffolk, and it thus found its way to the collection of papers which he brought with him to Boston in the autumn of the same year. It is an exceptionally hard letter to read in the original and the spelling is atrocious, but I have found it well worth deciphering because it gives so vivid an impression of the hardships and privations endured by the early settlers, the ravages made by disease among them, and the exorbitant prices they had to pay for the necessities of life. It is the simple straightforward letter of a young man who, having been by his own account a not altogether dutiful son, had crossed the Atlantic for no other motive than the hope of earning a livelihood as a farmer or in trade, but had thus far been wofully disappointed in the New World. His complaint of having nothing but water to drink is a feeling one, and he darkly intimates an intention of returning home again if his request for a hogshead of malt to make beer be disregarded. The list of prices he gives for provisions, live-stock, and apparel will interest the social statistician, and his account of the Indians, the soil, and the products of the country shows an observing mind. Indeed, I think his letter not unworthy of being collated with the well-known one from Thomas Dudley to the Countess of Lincoln, which was written less than a fortnight later.²

¹ For much valuable information concerning early settlers by the name of Pond, see "A Genealogical Record of Daniel Pond and his Descendants," published, in 1873, by our associate Edward Doubleday Harris.

² See 1 *Mass. Hist. Coll.* vol. viii. pp. 36-47.

. POND TO WILLIAM POND.

[March 15, 1631.]

*To my lovinge father William Ponde, at Etherston¹ in Suffolcke
give theis.*

MOST LOVEINGE & KINDE FATHER & MOTHER, — My humble deuty remembreid unto you, trusteing in God you are in good heillthe, & I pray rememb^r my love unto my brother Joseife & thanck him for his kindnes that I found at his hand at London, wich wase not the vallee of a fardin. I knowe, lovinge father, & do confese that I wase an undeuteyefull cheilld unto you when I liveid withe you & by you, for the wiche I am muche sorrowfull & greveid for it, trusteing in God that he will geide me that I will never offend you so aney more & I truste in God that you will forgive me for it. My wreighten unto you is to lete you understand what a cuntrey theis New Eingland is whar we live. Her ar but fewoe Eingaines [Indians], a gret parte of them deyeid theis winture, it was thought it wase of the plage. Thay ar a craftey peple & thaye will cusson [cozen] & cheat, & thay ar a suttell peple, & wharens we ded expect gret stor of bever her is littell or non to be had, & thayr Sackemor John waletse it & maney of us truck with them & it leyethe us maney tymes in 8^a a pound. Thay ar proper men & clenjointeide men & maney of them go nacked with a skein aboutt thare loines, but now sume of them get Eingellishemenes parell; & the cuntrey is verie rockey & heilley & sume champine ground & the soile is verie flete,² & her is sume good ground & marshe ground, but her is no Myckellmes.³ Springe cattell threive well here, but thay give small stor of mylck. The best cattell for proffeit is sweines & a good sweine is her at 5^l preise, a goose is worthe 2^l a good one gote. Her is teimbur good store & ackornes good stor, and her is good stor of feishe ife we had botes to goo for & leynes to serv to feishein. Her ar good stor of weield foule, but thay ar hard to come bye. It is hardur to get a shoot then it is in ould Eingland & peple her ar subjecte to deisesese, for her have deyeid of the scurveys & of the burninge fever neye too hundreid & ode; beseide as maney leyethe lame & all Sudberie men ar ded but thre & three women & sume cheildren,⁴ & proviseyones ar her at a wondurfull rat. Wheat mell [meal] is xiiij^s a bushell, &

¹ This was probably the writer's way of pronouncing and spelling Edwardstone, a village immediately adjoining Groton. There is no such place as "Etherston" in Suffolk.

² That is, a light soil superficially fruitful.

³ The writer apparently had in mind the old English custom of eating roast goose at Michaelmas (the Feast of Saint Michael), which was the 29th of September.

⁴ For other contemporary references to the mortality which had prevailed, see Johnson's "Wonder-Working Providence," and Governor Winthrop's letters to his wife.

pese x^s, & mault x^s, & Einder seid wheat is xv^s & thare other wheat is x^s. Buttr xii^d a pound & chese is 8^d a pound, & all kind of speyseis verie der & allmoste non to be got. If theis ship had not cume when it ded we had bine put to a woondurfule straughte, but thanckes be to God for sendinge of it in.¹ I reseyvied from the shipe a hogseite of mell, & the Governer tellethe me of a hundreid waight of chese the wiche I have reseyveid parte of it. I humblye thancke you for it. I ded expecte too coues, the wiche I had non, nor I do not arenestly deseyer that you should send me aney, becausee the cuntrey is not so as we ded expecte it. Tharefor, lovinge father, I wolld intret you that you woold send me a ferckene of buttr & a hogseit of mault onground, for we dreinck notheinge but walltre, & a corse clothe of fouer pound preise so it be thicke. For the fraute, if you of your love will send them I will paye the fraute, for her is notheinge to be gote witheought we had cumemodeytes to go up to the Este partes amonckest the Eingaines to truck, for her whare we live her is no bever. Her is no clothe to be had to mack no parell, & shoes are at 5^s a payer for me, & that clothe that is woorth 2^s 8^d a yard is woorth her 5^s. So I pray, father, send me fouer or five yardes of clothe to mack us sume parell, & lovinge father, thoue I be far distante from you yet I pray you remembre me as your cheield, & we do not know how longe we may subseiste, for we can not live her witheought provyseynes from ould Eingland. Therefore, I pray do not put away your shope stufe, for I theinck that in the eind, if I live, it must be my leveinge, for we do not know how longe theis plantatyon will stand, for sume of the magnautes that ded uphould it have turned off thare men & have givene it overe. Beseides, God hath tacken away the cheifeiste stud in the land, M^r Johnson & the ladye Arabella his wife, wiche wase the cheifeste man of estate in the land & one that woold a don moste good.²

Her cam over xxv passeingares & thare cume backe agayn fouer skore & od parsones, & as maney more woold a cume if thay had whare withe all to bringe them hom, for her ar maney that cam over the laste yere wiche wase woorth the too hundreid poundes afore thay cam ought of ould Eingland that betwine theis & Myckellmes wille be hardly worthe xxx^s. So her we may live if we have suppleyes everey yere from ould Eingland, otherweyse we can not subseiste. I may, as I will, worck hard, sete an ackorne of Eindey wheat, & if we do not set it withe fishe & that will coste xx^s, if we set it witheought fishe thay shall have but a

¹ For an account of the arrival of this ship (the Lion, Captain Pierce, from Bristol) on the 5th of February, 1631, see Life and Letters of John Winthrop, vol. ii. pp. 56, 57.

² Isaac Johnson, Esq., of Clipsham, co. Rutland, the richest of the leading men of the Massachusetts Bay Company, died in Charlestown, September 30, 1630, his wife, Arabella Clinton, daughter of the third Earl of Lincoln, having predeceased him by about a month. For correspondence and other papers of his, see 4 Mass. Hist. Coll. vol. vi. pp. 20-33.

por crope. So fater, I pray, consedre of my cause, for her will be but a verey por beinge, no beinge witheought, lovinge fater, your helpe withe provisseyones from ould Eingland. I had thought to a cam home in theis sheipe, for my provisseyones ware allmoste all spente, but that I humbley thanck you for your gret love & kindnes in seindinge me sume provissyones, or elles I sholld & myne a bine halef faminyshed, but now I will, if it plesse God that I have my hellthe, I will plant what corne I can, & if provisseyones be not cheper betwain theis & Myckellmes & that I do not her from you what I wase beste to do, I purpose to cume hom at Myckellmes.

My wife rememburs hur humble deutey unto you & to my mother, & my love to my brother Joseife & to Sarey[?] Myler. Thus I leve you to the protectyon of Allmytey God.

From Wallmtowne [Watertown] in New Eingland the 15 of Marche, 1630 [1631].

[No signature.]

We ware wondurfule seick as we cam at sea, withe the small poxe. No man thought that I & my leittell cheilld woold a liveid. My boye is lame & my gurell too, & thar deyeid in the sheip that I cam in xiiij persones.

Mr. CHARLES C. SMITH said that in 1882 he prepared, at the request of the Council, a short account of the Society; and as it seemed desirable to have this account reprinted, he had revised it, and had caused a new edition to be printed. Copies were on the table for distribution among the members. He also said that the new serial, comprising the October and November stated meetings and the special meeting in memory of Francis Parkman, would be sent to members on the 27th, and that he hoped to have another serial, comprising the December and January meetings, on the table at the next meeting. The new volume of Collections, being the second part of the Belcher Papers, and the new volume of Proceedings were in such a state of forwardness that they would probably be ready about the time of the Annual Meeting in April.

Rev. Dr. EDMUND F. SLAFTER communicated for publication in the Proceedings the memoir of the late Fitch Edward Oliver, M. D., which he had been appointed to write.

Rev. Octavius B. Frothingham was appointed to write a memoir of the late Francis Parkman, and Professor W. W. Goodwin a memoir of Professor Torrey.

MEMOIR
OF
FITCH EDWARD OLIVER, M.D.

BY EDMUND F. SLAFTER.

FITCH EDWARD OLIVER was born in Cambridge, Massachusetts, on the 25th day of November, 1819, and died in Boston on the 8th day of December, 1892. He was descended from a distinguished line of ancestors, who have been prominent in the annals of Massachusetts from the beginning. Thomas Oliver, the emigrant ancestor, came in the "William and Francis" from London, and settled in Boston in 1632. He was educated as a physician, and practised that profession in Boston. He also held the important office of ruling elder in the church. His son Peter and grandson Daniel were prominent merchants; and the latter was a member of the Governor's Council, and eminent for his "piety, humility, and charity." Andrew, of the fourth generation, and Andrew, Jr., of the fifth, Thomas Fitch, of the sixth, and Daniel, of the seventh, were all graduates of Harvard College, and were distinguished for the high official positions which they occupied, or for their scholarship and learning.

Dr. Daniel Oliver, the father of the subject of this sketch, was a man of ripe scholarship and wide learning. He was a Professor of Intellectual Philosophy in Dartmouth College for many years, and Lecturer on Chemistry and Materia Medica in the medical school connected with the College, and likewise in several other medical institutions. Two thirds of the work of translating the definitions of Schrevelius's Greek Lexicon, in Dr. John Pickering's first edition of that work, published in 1829, were done by Dr. Daniel Oliver. He left three sons: Peter Oliver, the author of the "Puritan Commonwealth";





John Edward Henry

the Rev. Andrew Oliver, D.D., Professor of Biblical Learning in the General Theological Seminary, New York; and the subject of this sketch.

Fitch Edward Oliver received his early education at several institutions; partly at the Franklin Academy, at North Andover, at the Moor's School at Hanover, New Hampshire, and at Kimball Union Academy at Meriden, in the same State. In the autumn of 1835, then under sixteen years of age, he entered Dartmouth College.

At that period it was customary in our New England colleges to give the undergraduates in winter a long vacation, of about eight weeks; and a great majority of them devoted this leisure to giving instruction in small schools in the rural districts. This custom was useful and salutary to the young men themselves. Besides the pecuniary advantage, the self-government and control, the dignity of bearing and propriety of conduct, which it was necessary to maintain at all times, the review of the fundamental and practical branches of education, which most of them needed, made these weeks not less improving than any other similar period of time in their whole college life. In his Sophomore year young Oliver, then seventeen years of age, was appointed master of a small school in Boxford, Massachusetts, of which he says, in a note left among his papers, "I have reason to believe that my humble efforts to improve the rustic mind were not entirely fruitless."

After his graduation, in 1839, the question of his future occupation or career presented itself for his decision. At that time most college men expected to enter one of the three learned professions, divinity, law, or medicine. By many the question was decided while they were in the early stages of their education. But young Oliver had given to the subject little thought; in fact, he had no strong predilection for either. After a too hasty decision, he entered the office of the Hon. Ira Perley, of Concord, New Hampshire, subsequently Chief Justice of the Supreme Court of that State, as a student of law. The experience of two months in office work and study made it clearly apparent to him that he had not the taste, and probably not the talent, for the legal profession. He accordingly abandoned his hastily formed purpose, and, under the direction and tuition of his father, entered upon the study of medicine. During the winter of 1839-40

he attended a course of lectures at the Harvard Medical School. In the autumn of 1840 he likewise attended a course of lectures at the Medical School at Dartmouth College. Late in the same autumn he accompanied his father, who was at that time a lecturer at the Medical College of Ohio, to Cincinnati, where he attended another course of lectures. In March, 1841, he returned to Boston, and became a student of medicine under the direction of Dr. John S. Butler, the medical superintendent of the city institutions at South Boston, where he found ample opportunity for clinical observation and the study of disease. Remaining in Boston, he took a private course of instruction for a year or more under the tuition of Dr. Oliver Wendell Holmes. He continued his studies in connection with the Harvard Medical School till the spring of 1843. With these ample sources of instruction, to which he devoted himself with unremitting assiduity, after the usual examinations, he received his medical degree from Harvard College, and was gratified to be told that he stood among the first of those who graduated that year. He was immediately elected a Fellow of the Massachusetts Medical Society, and continued in membership till his death.

Before entering upon the practical duties of his profession, he passed somewhat more than a year in Europe, giving several months to the study of the Italian language, and to certain branches of medical science for which he found better opportunities in Paris than had been offered at home. The remaining part of the year he devoted to travel. He visited the most interesting parts of France and Italy, and made himself familiar, to some extent, with the most celebrated works of art, in painting, sculpture, and architecture. He was a month among the mountains of Switzerland, spending some time at all the distinguished points of observation, gathering impressions of natural scenery which were as lasting as they were elevating and inspiring, whose memories were clear and vivid and a source of pleasure to the end of his life.

On returning to America in the autumn of 1844, he opened an office in Boston for the practice of medicine, where he continued in practice, more or less actively, for forty-eight years. Soon after he began practice he was appointed one of the Boston Dispensary physicians. This corporation was established in the later years of the last century. It is wholly an eleemosy-

nary institution, and has no connection with the city government. Its expenses are paid by charitable contributions. Physicians are appointed by the corporation, who are in daily attendance at given hours, to prescribe for the poor who are invited to come, and medicines are given them free of expense. The services of the physicians are rendered gratuitously. To this most important and useful charity, Dr. Oliver gave his time and thought, with prompt and cheerful punctuality, for the period of three years.

In 1848 Dr. Oliver, in connection with his friend Dr. William W. Morland, translated from the French the erudite treatise entitled "The Elements of General Pathology," by Dr. A. F. Chomel. This work is an octavo volume of 458 pages, and is a careful, learned, and scientific treatment of the subject. The translation, the chief part of which was done by Dr. Oliver, is in clear, succinct, idiomatic English, and was justly considered a valuable contribution to the literature of the medical profession.

The next year, perhaps in recognition of his service in the before-named translation, he was elected a corresponding member of the Glasgow Medico-Chirurgical Society in Scotland, and likewise the same year he was admitted to membership in the Boston Medical Improvement Society, in which he took an active interest. He was its recording secretary from 1856 to 1860, during which period he prepared for the press extracts from its proceedings, containing valuable observations on the treatment of particular diseases by eminent surgeons and physicians of New England, making one of the eight octavo volumes of its publications.

In 1860 he was appointed editor of the "Boston Medical and Surgical Journal," in connection with Dr. Calvin Ellis. He resigned this office in 1864, having issued three volumes of this valuable and highly scientific magazine.

On the opening of the Boston City Hospital, in 1864, he was appointed one of the visiting physicians, which office he continued to discharge until his resignation, in 1872, when he was appointed a consulting physician of this institution.

For many years he was physician to the House of the Good Samaritan, a private hospital established and conducted by Miss Anne S. Robbins; and on his resignation he continued his connection with the institution by becoming one of its

consulting physicians. At the time of his death he was likewise the senior consulting physician to St. Luke's Convalescent Home.

For ten years, from 1860 to 1870, he was an instructor in *Materia Medica* in the Harvard Medical School. In 1859 he was elected to the professorship of *Materia Medica* in the Berkshire Medical School; but some inconvenience as to the time of giving his lectures induced him to decline the appointment.

In 1872 Dr. Oliver contributed to the State Board of Health an elaborate, able, and scientific paper on the use and abuse of opium, which was printed in the annual report of the Board for that year. The opinions which he obtained from members of the medical profession, and the facts which he gathered as to the abuse in the use of this narcotic present an important and surprising chapter in the history of hygiene in Massachusetts.

Three years later, in 1875, he contributed a similar paper to the same Board, on the "Health of Boston," which was printed in their seventh report. In it he pointed out the diseases on which the variations of the death-rate largely depend, the localities in the city where they had chiefly prevailed, and the causes to which they could be satisfactorily traced. We have not the space here to give an analysis of this able and scientific treatment of a difficult and abstruse subject. Its publication is accompanied by a note which states that it is "commended by the Board to that careful consideration which the reputation of the writer and its thorough research deserve."

As a physician, in the practice of medicine, Dr. Oliver brought to his duties fresh and abundant learning, conscientiousness, unsparing devotion, and the most scrupulous care. He was rewarded by the confidence, gratitude, and love of his patients.

But Dr. Oliver was deeply interested in many subjects lying beyond the limits of his profession. Especially was this true of Massachusetts history, in which his family, in direct as well as in collateral lines, had borne an important and conspicuous part.

Chief Justice Benjamin Lynde, and his son Benjamin Lynde, Jr., who succeeded his father as Chief Justice in the Province

of Massachusetts Bay, left each of them a manuscript diary of current events, which give an admirable picture of the social life of that period. The earliest record of the senior Lynde begins in 1690, and the last record of the junior ends in 1780. They thus cover, more or less completely, a period of ninety years. These distinguished magistrates were ancestors of Dr. Oliver. Inspired by a filial loyalty, he bestowed a great amount of time and care in preparing, by annotation and otherwise, these manuscripts for the press; and they were privately printed in one volume in 1880, just a hundred years after the last entry was made by the younger Lynde, and the year immediately preceding his death. Dr. Oliver has pre-faced the volume with brief but carefully prepared memoirs of the two judges, with much information relating to the Lynde family; while the diaries are illustrated with learned notes, the result of painstaking and unwearied research.

The Hon. Thomas Hutchinson, who had been Chief Justice, and was Governor of the Province of Massachusetts Bay at the breaking out of the Revolution, after his retirement to England as a loyalist, kept a careful journal of events, noting his interviews and conversations with George III., with the members of his cabinet, and persons of influence and distinction, revealing incidentally the motives and springs of action that controlled his official conduct while a citizen of Boston. This diary had remained in manuscript somewhat over a hundred years, and was written not for publication, but for personal reference and for the satisfaction and information of his immediate family.

From a long and careful study of the spirit and motives which controlled the conduct of the great body of the loyalists, it was Dr. Oliver's opinion that much injustice had been done them, and that this was especially true of Governor Hutchinson, "whom," in Dr. Oliver's own words, "American historians have taken pleasure in misrepresenting because of his loyalty to the government he had sworn to defend and serve." He was confident that the publication of the diary would not only throw fresh light upon a most interesting period of Massachusetts history, but remove from Governor Hutchinson the stigma which had been so unjustly placed upon him by some of our leading historians. The manuscript was in the possession of Mr. Peter O. Hutchinson, of Sidmouth, England, a

descendant of the author, with whom Dr. Oliver had for a long time been in intimate correspondence. At length by his urgency it was published, with other related documents, in 1884. It proves to be, what Dr. Oliver anticipated, an important contribution to our Revolutionary history. It makes it plain to the fair-minded, unprejudiced, conscientious student, that in that, as in most critical periods, there are really two sides to be considered; that the vices are not all on one side, and the virtues all on the other.

"He finds with keen discriminating sight,
Black 's not so black, nor white so very white."

The Rev. William Hubbard, of Ipswich, who died in 1704, wrote what he entitled a "General History of New England," covering the period from the year 1620 to the year 1680. The original of the work disappeared at an early period. A copy was made, which still exists, and is in the possession of the Massachusetts Historical Society. From this a copy was made by Chief Justice Oliver, who was an antiquary as well as a learned judge; and when as a loyalist he left Massachusetts in 1776, he took it with him to England, and it is now in the possession of one of his descendants. It is a somewhat singular fact, that this valuable history remained in manuscript until 1815, when the Massachusetts Historical Society printed it in their Collections. Their copy, still in their possession, as before stated, was found to be defective. The copy made by Chief Justice Oliver was complete, and the Committee of Publication made application to the family in England for a copy of such part of the manuscript as would enable them to make the printed edition complete. But the representative of the Oliver family in England, who was then in possession of the manuscript, was not in a mood to grant the request. The beginning and the end of the Society's manuscript were gone, and no one could know how much other parts of the work were modified by the lacking fragments; nevertheless, like the headless and armless statues which we sometimes see in galleries of art, it had a value, which demanded its preservation. Hubbard's History was therefore printed, in 1815, with the great deficiencies above described. All students of Massachusetts history felt deeply the loss occasioned by these defects in the most important and valuable history of early New

England, and especially as the means of making it complete were still in existence. Dr. Oliver shared this common feeling of regret, and was probably the only gentleman in Massachusetts who could hope to exercise any personal influence with the owner of the manuscript in England. After the lapse of more than half a century, after the unsuccessful attempt at completing the work, the manuscript had fortunately passed into the hands of the generous-minded Mr. Peter O. Hutchinson, a great-grandson of both Chief Justice Peter Oliver and of Governor Thomas Hutchinson. Dr. Oliver, who had long been on intimate terms with Mr. Hutchinson, made a courteous request for the missing parts of the manuscript, which was granted cordially and without hesitation.

At the January meeting of the Society in 1878, Dr. Oliver communicated the copy necessary for supplying the deficiencies in the first printed edition, making in all nearly thirty pages of new matter, including a valuable preface by Hubbard of nearly nine pages, in the second and completed edition, which was issued the same year. Dr. Oliver often spoke with pride and satisfaction of his agency in completing this history.

On the death of the Rev. Dr. Nicholas Hoppin, for many years Rector of Christ Church, Cambridge, Dr. Oliver, by appointment, wrote a very appreciative memoir, which was published in the Proceedings of the Historical Society for the year 1887.

In 1890 Dr. Oliver edited and carried through the press a diary left by William Pynchon, a lawyer of distinction in Salem, Massachusetts. The journal extends through somewhat more than thirteen years, with however several breaks, beginning in January, 1776, and ending on the 2d of March, 1789. It covers the Revolutionary period and the early formative years of our general government. It does not discuss political principles, but it casts, at times, suggestive doubts upon the new and untried measures of the reforming party. Mr. Pynchon was a loyalist, and was generally unmolested; but at one time the windows of his house were broken by a "patriotic mob."

The diary is chiefly important as giving incidentally a vivid picture of social life in Salem, and information relating to many prominent families in other parts of the country. Dr. Oliver has added a brief but interesting memoir of Mr. Pyn-

chon, and enriched the whole volume with valuable notes of local and family history. His annotations are models of their kind, clear, concise, and in pure, faultless English.

Besides the publications already mentioned, Dr. Oliver left a large number of papers in manuscript, carefully prepared, and ready for the press. Among them are memoirs of fourteen distinguished persons bearing the name of Oliver, either in the line of his ancestors or in collateral branches of his family. Should these memoirs ever be published, as it is most desirable that they should be, they would constitute a rich contribution to that class of our historical literature to which they belong. He had likewise undertaken a history of the Church of the Advent, Boston, and had carried the work forward, covering somewhat more than a third of the period from its beginning to the present time.

Dr. Oliver was a devout lover, indeed a highly gifted connoisseur, of church music. In this science, to unusual natural gifts he added an exact knowledge and a refined and cultivated taste. He often indulged in original composition, but was too modest or too distrustful of himself to offer anything of his own for publication. In 1852 he published a small work, in which he adapted a selection of Gregorian melodies to the canticles in the Book of Common Prayer, the "Venite, exultemus Domino," "Te Deum laudamus," "Benedicite omnia opera Domini," "Jubilate Deo," "Cantate Domino," and all the rest both in the morning and evening service. To these he added several others, and among them the "De Profundis," his arrangement for which has come to be regarded as a classic. The quality of this publication, as well as the want it supplied, is indicated by the fact that it has already passed through seven editions.

Four years later, in 1856, in association with the Rt. Rev. Bishop Southgate, then Rector of the Church of the Advent in Boston, he edited the Psalter with appropriate chants, which was the first time the Psalter accompanied with music had ever been published in this country.

In 1876 Dr. Oliver was elected a Resident Member of the Massachusetts Historical Society, and four years later was appointed its Cabinet-keeper. This office placed in his charge the Society's portraits and other paintings in oil, its engravings and photographs, its medals and coins, and its *curios*, the

accumulations of many years, the bulk of them significant illustrations of the history of Massachusetts, covering the whole period of its colonial, provincial, and State existence. The portraits and other paintings were systematically arranged on the walls of the gallery, with a convenient method of identification; the coins, medals, *curios*, and objects of *virtu* were disposed in cases under glass, newly constructed for the purpose, where they can be easily seen, and where they may serve the educational purposes for which they were placed in the custody of the Historical Society. A file catalogue was also prepared and printed, in which the paintings, engravings, busts, and *curios* are classified and described under their appropriate heads, with references indicating the source from which they came to the Society. All this, done under the direction of Dr. Oliver, is of permanent value, and occupied much time and thought. Considerable progress was also made towards a catalogue of the Society's medals and coins, but this undertaking was left incomplete.

Dr. Oliver was an ardent lover of his kindred, and knew them well far back in the past generations. He studied their characters with a generous and tender sympathy, and, with his conservative temperament, could hardly fail to imbibe in some degree the principles and sentiments of those, especially, who lived in the later provincial period. He made his home redolent of their memories. Its walls were adorned with large numbers of their portraits, the work of Sir Godfrey Kneller, Smibert, Blackburn, Copley, and of later artists. With them he lived both in the present and in the past. They were constant and prolific ministers of æsthetic pleasure and domestic enjoyment. By them his loyalty to their memories was daily strengthened, and his love and admiration were daily renewed.

He made a valuable collection of Oliverana. It comprises the publications of those bearing the name, discourses, lectures, funeral sermons of which they were the subjects, engravings, pen and ink sketches, and memoirs in manuscript and in print. This rare and precious collection, and its association with the loving thought and care that brought it together, will render it of priceless value both to the family and to others in all future time.

With Dr. Oliver his religion was of vital interest, and entered deeply into his heart and life. It occupied and ab-

sorbed his best thoughts, and directed his will, his purposes, and his aspirations. He identified himself with its institutions on his first entrance upon his profession in Boston. He valued the means which could unfold, enrich, and perfect the religious character. To promote this for himself and for others, he was, to the last, ready to sacrifice all considerations of ease and personal comfort. In 1847 he was elected a member of the Corporation of the Church of the Advent in Boston, a new parish established three years previously, as a free church, under the rectorship of the Rev. Dr. William Crosswell. He continued a member of this corporation to the end of his life, a period of forty-five years. He was its Junior Warden for some years, and its Senior Warden at the time of his death. He was deeply interested in the establishment of this parish, on a principle which he heartily approved, and was thoroughly identified with its inception, its growth, and its work, and for the most part was in sympathy and accord with the various distinguished rectors who have directed its affairs. He was fond of ritual, and believed the symbolism of Christian art to be an aid to devotion, and a useful teacher of religious truth. He loved his church dearly, and strove to render it as dear to others as it was to himself.

At the General Convention of the Protestant Episcopal Church, held in New York in 1889, he was appointed on a Commission for the revision of the Hymnal of the Church. A commission had been appointed some years before, and had presented its final report; but it was thought best to continue the work of revision, and a new commission was appointed, of which Dr. Oliver was a member. The work of the Commission was divided into sections. Dr. Oliver was placed on a committee on "Versions and Emendations," with the Rev. Dr. John S. B. Hodges and Dr. Henry Coppée, with Bishop Paddock of Massachusetts as chairman. The illness of Bishop Paddock and his death, which occurred a year and a half before the report was to be made at the next Convention, placed a large part of the responsibility and the work upon Dr. Oliver. He entered upon the duty with great zeal and energy. He prepared an elaborate, careful, and discriminating report, in which his learning in church music and hymnology came into use, indicating at the same time that he had given to the subject an almost unlimited amount of time and

patient thought. He was also appointed a sub-committee to obtain from living authors their consent to make changes in their hymns, and from authors and publishers authority to print them in the Church Hymnal. This required a voluminous correspondence, both at home and abroad, which was laborious and sometimes difficult and perplexing, but was conducted with a dignity and courtesy which in all cases secured success.

In his later years Dr. Oliver had retired mostly from the practice of medicine, but in no degree from intellectual and literary work. From the brief outline which we have given of his career, it is obvious that he was never an idle man. With the instincts and habits of a scholar, he investigated widely, systematically, and thoroughly. When he entered upon a theme of study, he was not content till he had patiently surveyed the whole field, and gathered in all that was necessary to know. In architecture he might properly be called a connoisseur; he studied it with great delight, and sometimes said of himself that he ought to have been an architect. To the subject of the new version of the Bible recently brought out by the great convention of scholars in England, he gave much careful study, and arrived at conclusions not favorable to its complete excellence, but nevertheless to himself clear and satisfactory. On all subjects which he had carefully considered, he was firm in his convictions, forming his opinions slowly and changing them rarely.

In social life Dr. Oliver was somewhat reticent, but modest, courteous, and dignified, and always an interesting and agreeable companion.

He received the honorary degree of Master of Arts from Trinity College, Hartford, Connecticut, in 1860.

He married, on the 17th of July, 1866, Susan Lawrence Mason, eldest daughter of the Rev. Charles Mason, D.D., and granddaughter of both the celebrated jurist, the Hon Jeremiah Mason, and of Amos Lawrence, a distinguished merchant of Boston. Mrs. Oliver and six children survive him, four sons and two daughters. The eldest son, Charles Edward, is an architect in Boston; the second son, Andrew, a graduate of Harvard College in the Class of 1891, is an instructor in the classical department at Selwyn Hall, Reading, Pennsylvania.

FEBRUARY MEETING, 1894.

THE stated meeting was held on Thursday, the 8th instant, at three o'clock, P. M.; the President, Dr. GEORGE E. ELLIS, in the chair.

In the absence of the Recording Secretary, Mr. SAMUEL F. McCLEARY was appointed Secretary, *pro tempore*.

The record of the last stated meeting and the list of donors to the library were then read.

Communications from the Third Section having been called for, Mr. R. C. WINTHROP, JR., said: —

At the close of a friendly encounter between Mr. Adams and myself, on the subject of his recently published book, I mentioned to him that while I had no intention of again taking up the cudgels on behalf of the historians of Massachusetts, I was disposed to say something more about Emmanuel Downing, but that, in so doing, I should bear in mind his injunction to abstain from unseemly levity. It may be remembered that one of my criticisms was that Mr. Adams, as it appeared to me, had conveyed the impression that from the outset the friends of the Massachusetts Bay Colony in England disapproved of the severities practised here towards those who differed in opinion, and I pointed out that two important letters quoted by him were written many years after the banishment of either Roger Williams or Mrs. Hutchinson and referred to a subsequent state of things. I added that if I were asked for evidence of the state of feeling among friends of the Colony in England at the period of the Antinomian controversy, I should rely somewhat upon a letter of Emmanuel Downing, written only a few weeks after the adjournment of the Synod of 1637, in which he says: —

“ Here [in London] hath been great joy for your great victories, but far more for vanquishing your erroneous opinions than for conquering the Pequots. Our best and worthiest men do much marvel you did not

banish Wheelwright and Hutchinson's wife, but suffer them to sow more sedition among you. Mr. Vane's ill behavior there hath lost all his reputation here."

I then went on to say that by the phrase "our best and worthiest men," Downing undoubtedly referred to prominent persons in the Liberal party, both in and out of Parliament, with whom he is known to have been intimate, and that he probably included several high officials who, as I had shown in an earlier part of my paper, honored him with their confidence and were kindly disposed towards Massachusetts.

In his very able and interesting reply to me Mr. Adams invalidated this testimony by quoting, as he was quite justified in doing, some extremely disparaging remarks about Downing, first printed more than six and twenty years ago, in the "North American Review," by our late associate, James Russell Lowell, who then undertook to pass in review all the Winthrop Papers published by this Society up to that time, including not merely the two separate volumes then recently edited for us by Mr. Charles Deane, but the selections which had previously appeared in others of our Collections. Mr. Lowell thus had before him something like a thousand letters, mostly of the early colonial period and some of them very long ones, concerning which he produced an interesting and valuable article, which attracted deserved attention, and to which he subsequently assigned the place of honor in the second volume of his collected essays, entitling it "New England Two Centuries Ago."¹

In dealing with this mass of material, it is not to be wondered at that Mr. Lowell should have found time to examine portions of it only cursorily, and that, by oversight or haste, some little inaccuracies of statement should have resulted, several of which occur in the passage quoted by Mr. Adams, which I am now about to read to you again. The author had been speaking of men for whom, he says, our respect is heightened by these letters; and he continues as follows:—

"Two other men, Emmanuel Downing and Hugh Peter, leave a positively unpleasant savor in the nostrils. Each is selfish in his own way, — Downing with the shrewdness of an attorney, Peter with that clerical unction which in a vulgar nature easily degenerates into greasiness.

¹ The date 1865 is attached to this essay, which is probably the year in which it was written, but it did not appear in print until October, 1867.

Neither of them was the man for a forlorn hope, and both returned to England when the civil war opened prospect of preferment there. Both, we suspect, were inclined to value their Puritanism for its rewards in this world rather than the next. Downing's son, Sir George, was basely prosperous, making the good cause pay him so long as it was solvent, and then selling out in season to betray his old commander, Colonel Okey, to the shambles at Charing Cross."

With regard to this last sentence I will merely say that the act of baseness attributed to George Downing occurred after his father's death, and is hardly pertinent to any discussion of his father's character and conduct. As to Hugh Peter, no less than seven of the seventy-six pages of this essay are devoted to him; but to save time I will strictly confine myself to what is said of him in the passage just cited. An English correspondent of mine once asked me if I could furnish him with any particulars about Hugh Peter not to be found in ordinary works of reference, and I accordingly sent him the volume containing the thirty-five letters of Peter's here criticised. In reply he wrote me, "These letters were quite a surprise. I had no idea he was so warm-hearted." I mention this only to show the diversity of impression sometimes produced upon different readers of the same correspondence. Had Mr. Lowell contented himself with pronouncing Peter an unpleasantly selfish, vulgar fellow, I could have taken no exception to such an expression of opinion; but, in addition, what I think a misleading statement is made about him. Suppose, if such a thing were possible, some one in this room this afternoon had never before heard of Hugh Peter the regicide. What idea would he obtain from the assertion that he "returned to England when the civil war opened prospect of preferment"? He could hardly fail to suppose that not long after the civil war broke out in 1642, Peter left New England in order to seek employment in the mother country; whereas it is a matter of record that when the news of the civil war reached Boston, Peter had been absent from New England nearly fifteen months, and that he had gone abroad upon no private errand, but as the accredited agent of the Massachusetts Bay Colony, a position he held four years. It was not till 1645, three years after the war began, that he was again in private station and had the alternative of returning to Salem after so prolonged an absence or of embracing military service under Parliament.

He may not, as Mr. Lowell intimates, have been the man to lead a forlorn hope, but, at any rate, he chose the path of danger, and it was one which led him eventually to the block. I think it not unlikely that ambition had something to do with his not going back, but it seems fair to suppose that the distressing condition of his home may have partly influenced him, his second wife having become afflicted with a disordered mind. I may add, before dropping this part of my subject, that, although Hugh Peter undoubtedly inclined to severity during the two first years of his sojourn here, yet he afterward appears more tolerant, as in an interesting letter from England in September, 1646, he exclaims: "None will come to you [in New England] because you persecute. Cannot you mend it?" If Mr. Adams has not already noticed this evidence of a change of heart, it may tend to mollify his opinion of the writer.

Now, as to Emmanuel Downing, nearly sixty of whose letters were contained in the volumes then under review, besides numerous references to him in the letters of others. Had Mr. Lowell contented himself with characterizing him as unpleasantly shrewd and selfish, — "a hard, practical man," and "a perfunctory person," as he styles him on other pages, — he would have been fully entitled to express such an opinion; but, in addition, he indulged in a misleading statement, resulting from some strange misapprehension. As the name Emmanuel Downing is, as a rule, familiar only to the comparatively limited number of students of our early colonial history, there might well have been present at the January meeting members who knew little about him; and, if so, what impression would they have obtained from the assertion that he "returned to England when the civil war opened prospect of preferment"? They would surely have supposed that not long after the civil war broke out in 1642 Downing left New England in order to seek employment in the mother country; whereas it is a matter of record that Downing continued to make his home in Salem for more than twelve years after the breaking out of that war!

The facts are briefly these: Letters of John Humfrey, Isaac Johnson, and others show Downing to have been actively interested in the plantation at least as early as 1629. He invested money in the enterprise, sent out his son James in 1630, but remained behind to settle his affairs and look

after the interests of his associates. For reasons unnecessary to describe, he was delayed in England much longer than he first expected, and did not reach here until October, 1638, when he took up his abode in Salem, where he resided sixteen years, occasionally representing that town in the General Court, but chiefly occupying himself in the development of the industrial resources of the Colony in agriculture, mining, and distilling. During that period his business interests twice caused him to visit England, but he returned as soon as he was able, and his letters show his absences to have been devoted to procuring men and money for the iron-works and prosecuting unsettled claims. With a family of ten children, most of whom were dependent upon him, he was probably tempted to embark in too many ventures, several of which proved unlucky; and he suffered an additional misfortune in the destruction by fire of his house and its contents while its occupants were at church. At the end of ten years from his emigration he found himself much less well off, and on one occasion he pathetically records having sold his saddle-horse for £10 to buy a necessary piece of machinery, and how he had to foot it from Salem to Boston and back to see a friend. It is not until the spring of 1653, more than fourteen years after he settled at Salem, and nearly eleven after the breaking out of the civil war, that there occurs in these letters the slightest suggestion of a possible change in his mode of life. He then mentions that Hugh Peter had written his wife a pressing invitation to them both to visit him in England; and as Peter had lost money in one of Downing's undertakings, and was a little sore about it, this exhibition of hospitality evidently surprised the latter, for he adds, "I suspect George would have us return, and puts Mr. Peters upon the invitation," — "George" being the writer's second son, who, having greatly distinguished himself as a soldier, and been badly wounded at the battle of Dunbar, then held a high command in Scotland. Nothing, however, came of this, and Emmanuel labored on another year and a half at Salem, until, on the 25th of September, 1654, he writes: "I am now purposed, God willing, to go for England with General Sedgwick, which will be within these two months at farthest. . . . I may have much trouble about the subscription for the iron-works." Then follows one of those provoking gaps which often occur in colonial corre-

spondence where letters either miscarried or have since disappeared, the next one being dated more than three years later from Edinburgh, where the writer had been installed in some official position, of which he says "we are here in a comfortable way both for the means of grace and for the outward man." What occurred in the interval no one knows, though a side-light is thrown upon it by Hugh Peter, who wrote John Winthrop, Jr., from London in March, 1655, "Your uncle Downing is at your brother's; no preferment yet, nor debts paid." It would seem that George Downing found it cheaper to obtain public employment for his father than to enable him to arrange with his creditors and return to Salem. Emmanuel was then an old man (he was born in 1585), and did not long survive this appointment, his death having occurred in 1659, though the precise date has not yet been ascertained.

In the peroration of Mr. Adams's reply to me occur these words: "That Emmanuel Downing or Hugh Peter was a better type of the early Puritan than John Milton or John Hampden I utterly deny, and of it demand evidence." Far be it from me to assert anything of the kind. The prose writings of John Milton do not invariably convey the idea of moderation, but he was an immortal poet, and John Hampden an illustrious patriot. As compared with either of them Emmanuel Downing was an obscure person, whose only claim to popular remembrance lies in his having had it in his power at a critical period to render important services to the Massachusetts Colony. The value of those services has been generally recognized by historians, from Governor Winthrop, who spoke of him in 1639 as "a very able man who had done many good offices for the country these ten years," down to Mr. Adams himself, who in that admirable paper on Sir Christopher Gardiner read by him to us in 1883, in describing the famous hearing of the case of the Massachusetts Charter before the Privy Council, says: "On the other side, exerting themselves in the defence of their associates, were Cradock and Saltonstall and Humfrey, potently aided by Downing." He then cites contemporary testimony that Downing was "especially serviceable in this emergency," adding "it may well have been that he had access to influential personages," and so on. That Downing was an opponent of religious toleration in Massachusetts, that he thoroughly approved the successive banishments of

Roger Williams, of John Wheelwright, and of Samuel Gorton, I freely admit; and I will go even farther, and concede that one of his letters does leave an unpleasant savor in nineteenth-century nostrils,—a letter written in 1645 (alluded to both by Lowell and by Doyle), in which he advocates the employment of negro slaves as agricultural laborers, and suggests that in the event of a war with the Indians captives might profitably be exchanged for blacks. All that can be said in extenuation of a letter like that is that the writer only reflected the opinions of his age. It was not until a far later period that the conscience of England was awakened on this subject; and it is a curious fact, with which his admirers have some difficulty in dealing, that one of the earliest speeches in the House of Commons of the present Prime Minister, Mr. Gladstone, was in defence of negro slavery in the West Indies, where his family then owned estates.

If, however, as Mr. Lowell intimates, Downing was one of those men who valued their Puritanism for its rewards in this world rather than in the next, it is difficult to see why he came to New England at all. He was far advanced in middle life. Without being a rich man he was in easy circumstances, with a house in London, a farm in the country, a professional income, a large circle of friends,—to say nothing of a wife who had no particular desire to emigrate. All this he was content to sacrifice; and it does seem a little hard, when a man came over here at the age of fifty-three and labored for sixteen years, under all sorts of discouragement, to develop the industries of Massachusetts, until he found himself, at nearly seventy, in straitened circumstances, that he should now be represented as having turned his back on the Colony “when the civil war opened prospect of preferment.” In referring to his letter of November, 1637, my intention was to cite it as an important, though not necessarily a conclusive, bit of evidence. I agree with Mr. Adams that most people in England were then too busy about other matters to devote much attention to the Antinomian controversy, and among those who found time to interest themselves in it there may well have been some who were disposed to be more tolerant than Downing and his friends. All I contend for is that his intimacies were such as to justify him in speaking with a certain authority of opinions entertained by leading men of the Liberal party. Of the

character of those intimacies I gave some account in my December paper, and I will now only quote another letter of his written a few months later, in March, 1638, in which, after describing a conversation with Lord Brooke, he adds: "All things stand well in the eye of our State concerning your plantation, no word of any murmuring against it. *Your new upstart opinions are here generally cried down.*" Brooke, afterward a leading Parliamentary general, killed in action in 1643, was brother-in-law to Downing's particular friend Sir Arthur Haslerig, who, I need hardly remind you, was one of the members of Parliament whom Charles I. tried to impeach with Pym and Hampden, and subsequently one of Cromwell's staunchest Colonels. He was at one time in charge of Emmanuel Downing's affairs in England, and it was in his house that George Downing found a home when sent abroad to seek his fortune.

Before closing, I will say a few words concerning another apparent misapprehension which may seem a small matter, but readers are often influenced by comparative trifles. In his introductory footnote to the letters of Emmanuel Downing, Mr. Charles Deane described him as "a lawyer of the Inner Temple," for which Mr. Lowell saw fit to substitute the single word "attorney," which he uses more than once, and which Mr. Adams amplifies into the words "self-seeking London attorney." "Self-seeking" is a matter of opinion. "London attorney" implies a fact; in this instance, a somewhat misleading one. In England members of the legal profession not in official station may be roughly divided into three classes: first, Queen's counsel and barristers, who attend the higher courts; second, solicitors, whose occupation is chiefly conveying and the care of property; and third, attorneys, who are largely associated in the public mind with criminal procedure and actions for debt in the lower courts. The social position of an attorney being rarely so good as that of a barrister, the term "attorney" applied to an English lawyer might easily be interpreted in a sense of some little disparagement, and both Mr. Lowell and Mr. Adams appear to have so used it in speaking of Downing; if so, this resulted from a partial misunderstanding. Under the Stuart dynasty there existed a court, long since abolished, named the "Court of Wards and Liveries," the judge of which was styled "Master" and familiarly

known as the "Master of the Wards." It was a position of great dignity and emolument, while among its perquisites was the appointment of certain members of the bar to discharge in this court functions which appear to have been somewhat analogous to those of Masters in Chancery, and who were officially styled Attorneys to the Court of Wards. At the period in question the Master of the Wards was Sir Robert Naunton, a former Secretary of State to James I., well affected to the Puritans and with a liking for lawyers who came from his own county of Suffolk. By his appointment, Downing, a Suffolk man, held for several years one of these attorneyships; but aside from this he was a practising lawyer, first in Dublin, where he married for his first wife the daughter of an Irish judge, Sir James Ware, and subsequently in London, where he became a member of the Inner Temple. Without being a distinguished member of his profession, his letters show that in term-time he was a busy one, and he managed to secure a share of Parliamentary practice, thereby bringing himself into contact with members of the House of Commons.

The question may be asked why the little inaccuracies to which I have alluded, and others of which it was not pertinent for me to speak, were not brought to our attention long ago; and thereby hangs a tale. Soon after the article appeared in the "North American," it became known that Mr. Lowell was the author of it; and the concluding paragraph — a paragraph not included in the collected essays — contained two sentences not wholly agreeable to our lamented associate, Charles Deane. In one of them, while complimenting Mr. Deane's fidelity as an editor, the reviewer observed that he had "noticed a few errors here and there." In the other, a recognition of the "valuable, instructive, and entertaining matter" contained in the thirty-seven volumes of the Society's Collections then in print was qualified by the remark that they also contained "much that is worthless." Mr. Deane was jealous of the reputation of a society to which he devoted so large a part of his life, he was not prepared to admit we had ever published much worthless material, nor was he conscious of any errors worth mentioning in a review of two volumes in editing which he had taken so much pains. To say that he was offended would be to use too strong a word, but he was undoubtedly a little nettled that one of his associates should have indulged in such

public criticism, and he felt strongly tempted to offer a little in return. Upon consultation, however, with his colleagues on the Committee, it was decided to let the matter drop until some opportunity should arise for bringing it up in discussion, an opportunity which has certainly been a long time on the road.

If I have dwelt at some length upon the character and conduct of Emmanuel Downing, it has not been wholly on account of what was said here of him a month ago, but also because I have reason to know that quite a number of persons are interested in learning more about him. He left behind in New England five married children, and descendants of some of them have so multiplied that I am occasionally in receipt of inquiries concerning him from total strangers as well as from personal acquaintances. Of our living Resident Members, at least one, Professor Norton, is a descendant of his; and it was only the other day that another, Professor Smyth, mentioned to me that his wife is similarly descended. A few months ago, Mr. Joseph James Muskett, an English antiquarian engaged on an elaborate work entitled "*Suffolk Manorial Families*," sent me a Downing pedigree, with the request that I would correct and amplify it, which I was particularly glad to do because of the errors and omissions with which most notices of the Downings are studded, the account in Savage's *Genealogical Dictionary* being especially unreliable, as at the time Mr. Savage prepared it few Downing letters had come to light. In England it has been even worse. Some older members may perhaps remember that when my father wrote an introduction to the entertaining letters of the second wife of Emmanuel Downing published by us in 1871, he drew attention to an amusing blunder of the historian Buckle, who had gravely stated that this lady's son George was a charity-boy of unknown parentage and probably illegitimate!¹ Buckle was an omnivorous reader with a very retentive memory; but somehow or other the idea escaped him that within his easy reach, in the British Museum and elsewhere, were works of reference which would have told him George Downing was a graduate of Harvard, and who his father was. It occurs to me to add that the work of Mr. Muskett, to which I have just alluded, is now passing through the press, and will contain all that has been

¹ 5 Mass. Hist. Coll., vol. i. p. xxxiii. See also Proceedings, vol. iv. p. 128.

gradually ascertained concerning the Suffolk Downings, though some facts and dates are still missing.

Dr. SAMUEL A. GREEN then read the following communication:—

Among the recently discovered Bowdoin Papers, mentioned by Mr. Robert C. Winthrop, Jr., at a meeting of this Society more than a year ago, is the following Agreement signed by members of the General Court. It is in the handwriting of the Honorable James Bowdoin, Jr., whose father was then Governor of the Commonwealth, and who himself was afterward Minister to Spain. The Agreement was drawn up during the session of 1786, as in that year all the signers were members of the Legislature; and Artemas Ward, whose name heads the list, was then Speaker of the House. On November 17, 1786, a Report of a Joint Special Committee was adopted, which deals in part with subjects contained in this paper. See also "The Massachusetts Centinel" (Boston), November 29, 1786, for other facts. The document is of special interest at the present time, when some of the topics embodied in it are attracting so much attention throughout the country.

Whereas the Excessive use of Articles of foreign growth and manufacture, has been attended with the most pernicious consequences;— by depriving us of our circulating Medium, and by diffusing a Taste for foreign Frippery, Dress & Extravagance. And Whereas it is of the utmost Importance, to encourage Industry, Frugality and our own Manufactures;—to recover a circulating Medium, to restore public Credit, and to facilitate the Payment of public and private Debts; and thereby to promote the Welfare & Happiness of our Country: With a View to these, and other salutary Purposes: We, the Subscribers, do hereby enter into a solemn Agreement and Association, to refrain from, & as far as in our power to prevent, the excessive use and Consumption of Articles of foreign Manufacture, especially Articles of Luxury & Extravagance. And We do hereby engage to use our utmost Influence to promote Associations for the abovementioned Purposes in the several Towns we represent.

Artemas Ward
Caleb Davis
Aaron Whitney
W^m Shepard

Jas Bowdoin jr
John Carnes.
Hez. Ward
Isaac Thomson

Sam ^l Thompson	Benj. Shepard
David Smead	Nath ^l Marsh
Walter M ^c Farland	James Endicott
Sam ^l Fisk	Ezra Sargeant
Joshua Holt	Benjamin Read
Savel Metcalf	Joseph Hewins
Asahel Wheeler	John Coffin Jones
Robert Hamilton	Joshua Thomas
Jon ^a Hale	Eben ^l Thayer jun ^r
Eben ^l Washburn	John Treadwell
Samuel Moody	Tho ^a Dawes
Jonathan Ward	Nicholas Baylies
Edward Barns	Benj ^a Brown
Benj ^a Bates	Tho. Clarke
Timothy Sibley	Joseph Curtis
Isaac Tobey	John Stinton
Seth Smith Jur	Zacheus Beal
Benjamin Sheldon	Stephen Maynard
Azariah Ashley	Israel Vinal Ju ^r
John Choate	Leonard Williams
Atherton Hall	Jon ^a Brown
Ebenezer Tyler	Saml Harnden
Joseph Farnham	J. Brooks.
W ^m W Cobb	Noah M Littlefield 58
David Nye	John Williams
Sam A Otis	Leo : Jarvis

Dr. GREEN continued : —

More than a year ago I was authorized by our Vice-President, Mr. Charles Francis Adams, to buy a set of rare German prints, whenever or wherever I could find one, which represent views in the town of Boston during the Revolutionary period. Within a few weeks, at a sale in New York, I have succeeded in procuring these engravings, which now in Mr. Adams's name are given to the Society. They are four in number, 12 inches by 15½ in size, and are rather interesting, — on the *lucus a non lucendo* principle, — inasmuch as they probably represent nothing that ever existed in this city. Apparently the original sketches were drawn by an artist who received a verbal description of the places from some person who may have been here. The prints were engraved by François Xavier Habermann, a native of Glatz in Silesia,

where he was born in 1721, but who for many years lived in Augsburg, where he was a well known engraver and publisher, until his death in 1796. The legend underneath each one is given both in German and French, and in the left-hand upper corner is the inscription, "Collection des Prospects." The set now given to the Society is colored, and belongs to a series of Views, made on copper; though a set in the possession of the Boston Public Library is not colored. Perhaps the pictures appeared originally in a volume and also as separate prints. I have seen four similar engravings of Views in New York, several of Views in Philadelphia, and four of Views in Quebec, all made by the same engraver, and also published in Augsburg. Our associate, Mr. William H. Whitmore, tells me that he has seen one of the Views of Quebec, just alluded to, which was identical with one of the Boston pictures, though I have never had an opportunity myself to compare the two side by side.

While there is no date whatever on the copies now given, there is a slight clew on some of the others as to the time when they were made. The Views in New York represent the Destruction of the Royal Statue, which took place on July 10, 1776; the Triumphal Entry of the Royal Troops, and the Disembarkment of the English Troops, both occurring on September 15 of that year; and the Fire in New York on the night of September 21, 1776. These dates show that the New York views were made probably not earlier than 1777, and perhaps not until 1778. Doubtless all the American views were engraved during the same period, and at a time when Boston, New York, and Philadelphia, on account of the Revolution, were attracting considerable attention in Europe, and the excitement from military or political events in America was fresh in the public mind.

The Views are unnumbered, though in the following description I shall speak of them by numbers, at the same time giving a free translation of the legends, and referring to the streets by their modern names.

No. I. has the legend, "View of the Great Street toward the Old South Presbyterian Church in Boston." The plate gives a view in Washington Street looking north from the Old South Meeting-house. A person familiar with the spot can possibly make out the head of Water Street and of State Street, with

the Old State House, though this is somewhat doubtful. The picture furnishes a typical German scene, and shows a few soldiers in the street marching by the side of a mounted gun.

No. II. has the legend, "View of King Street toward the Gate leading to the Country." Soldiers and citizens are seen in the foreground.

No. III. "View of Boston toward the Harbor," — a scene purely imaginary, though perhaps an attempt was made to represent the North Battery and the North Church, as given in the neighborhood.

No. IV. "View of the Street and the Town House," — perhaps a representation of a part of Washington Street, looking toward the Old South. Men and women, including two Indians, appear in the foreground.

These four engravings are so very inaccurate that I am by no means sure I have fully identified the various places.

Mr. JUSTIN WINSOR said that he had long been familiar with these views, and that he had seen a set which bore some traces of re-lettering. He was inclined to think they were old plates intended to represent some city in northern Europe, and that during our Revolutionary War they were revamped and again issued with new lettering describing them as views of Boston. He also pointed out some additions which he thought had been made after one of the plates was first engraved.

Mr. A. C. GOODELL, JR., then spoke as follows : —

I desire to exhibit to the Society an interesting document which has come to my hands since one o'clock this afternoon. It is a formal written declaration of emancipation in Massachusetts of a negro slave in 1776. The names of a distinguished grandson and of two even more illustrious great-grandsons of the author of this declaration are enrolled as members of this Society ; and as all three of these gentlemen have been distinguished for their persistent and zealous opposition to the "wrong and outrage" with the report of which, as the pious Cowper declares, "the earth is filled," — the eloquent voice of the youngest of them even now resounding throughout the land from the national Senate Chamber in an impressive protest against what he deems the sapping of the

very foundations of republican government, — I feel that I may adduce this paper, as a sort of supplement to Francis Galton's writings on the Heredity of Genius, inasmuch as, taken in connection with the career of the writer's descendants, it is a remarkable illustration of the heredity of a high moral instinct. With your permission I will read the document. It is brief.

Know all men by these presents that I John Hoar of Lincoln in the County of Mid^l in the colony of Massachusetts Bay in New England Gentleman — in consideration that my negro man Servant named Cuff Hath been a good and faithfull Servant unto me — and he now desiring to be made free: I do therefore by these presents for my Self fully and absolutely free and Discharge him the s^d Cuff to act for himself So long as he behaves and Conducts himself regularly and well — without the denial or contridiction of me his s^d master.

Witness my hand

JOHN HOAR

LINCOLN May 28th 1776

BENJAMIN DANFORTH

ABIJAH PEIRCE

Mr. WILLIAM S. APPLETON exhibited two very rare medals, and read the following communication: —

I always hesitate about bringing the subject of numismatics into this room; but I obtained last summer two medals of such exceptional interest numismatically and historically, that I have decided to exhibit them here, and to read a short account of their occasion and meaning. They are known to American collectors as the Oswego medal and the Diplomatic medal, and date from 1758 and 1792. The former, struck in the midst of the seven years' war, is of size 20, and bears the head of Louis XV., with the inscription, certainly never exceeded for arrogant assumption, LUDOVICUS XV ORBIS IMPERATOR 1758. And what was the occasion on which the medal with this high-sounding title was struck? What were the events which justified it? This is, or must be supposed to be, explained by the reverse, which shows four fortresses, with the inscription WESEL OSWEGO PORTMAHON EXPUG. S^{TI} DAVIDIS ARCE ET SOLO ÆQUATA. These four French victories, representing respectively Europe, America, Africa, and Asia, hardly figure in history as combats of importance, and, in fact, are not recorded on the roll of great events, but must be dili-

gently sought by the student of history who may read their almost unknown names.

Wesel was of course occupied by the French, when they crossed the Rhine in the spring of 1757. The capture of Oswego in 1756 was an event which at the time caused grief and indignation in the English colonies in America; but the whole number of prisoners taken was only 1,200 or 1,500, and the fate of Canada was in no way affected by this disaster. The fall of Port Mahon in the Mediterranean, made by the stress of circumstances to represent the continent of Africa, has a larger place in history because of ill-fated Admiral Byng, but had no appreciable effect on the course of events, and was wholly undone at the peace of 1763. Fort St. David was an English military post near Pondicherry in Hindostan, and was taken with about 2,000 prisoners, English and natives. The surrender excited the indignation of Clive, but interfered not at all with the gradual extension of British rule, and the almost complete expulsion of the French from India. The medal, in fact, is such a misrepresentation of history as is hardly equalled except by the medal of Napoleon to commemorate his great invasion, with the inscription *FRAPPÉE À LONDRES*; and of this no specimens were struck at the time.

Of the Diplomatic medal the origin and purpose were set forth in the "American Journal of Numismatics" for January, 1875; and its artistic merit in a paper which I read before this Society in March, 1890, on Augustin Dupré, and his work for America. The original broken dies are now in the Boston Public Library, and the medal proves that Dupré made a second set, as he omitted to put on them his name, which is found on the injured ones. The medal is a very beautiful one, but I will not undertake here to describe it technically. It is of size 43; and on the principal side the artist carried out Jefferson's idea of "Columbia (a fine female figure) delivering the emblems of Peace and Commerce to a Mercury."

Both medals are rare. I had been for some time trying to obtain the Oswego medal, and I never expected to become owner of a specimen of the Diplomatic medal. I know of only one other, which is in Philadelphia, and held at a price which positively prohibits its purchase. There may

possibly be more in existence, most likely in Europe, whence I obtained mine, but I have no idea where they can be found.

The Hon. Edward F. Johnson of Woburn was elected a Resident Member.

A new serial was on the table for distribution, containing the proceedings at the December and January meetings.

MARCH MEETING, 1894.

THE stated meeting was held on Thursday, the 8th instant, at three o'clock, P. M. ; the President, Dr. GEORGE E. ELLIS, in the chair.

The record of the last meeting was read and approved ; and the Librarian read the list of donors to the Library since the February meeting.

The PRESIDENT then said : —

Our late associate, Edward Bangs, died in this city February 16. He was a man of rich culture and of fine attainments and accomplishments. In addition to the services performed for us in the less than ten years of his membership of the Society, he would doubtless have done many more, valuable and gladly rendered, had his life been prolonged and leisure allowed him by exemption from many responsible trusts. He turned his legal training to professional uses in the administration of affairs committed to him because of his ability and his high reputation, which won for him the esteem, regard, and confidence of intimate friends and of our community. He might have served in many public offices, had his tastes allowed him to seek or fill them. His special preferences in his rich library were for studies in heraldry and genealogy. We received from him gifts for our Cabinet. He furnished for our Proceedings memoirs of our associates, Francis E. Parker and Henry A. Whitney. He served for a term on the Council and on the Committee for the celebration of the hundredth anniversary of this Society.

William F. Poole, LL.D., who died in Chicago, March 1, was chosen as one of our Corresponding Members in 1878. He had won an honored and deserved reputation in this city as the librarian of the Boston Athenæum. While in that office, besides contributions to periodicals, and many other works requiring labor and research, he prepared and published, with valuable annotations, a new edition of Johnson's "Wonder-

Working Providence." His best known and appreciated work was in the successive issues of his "Index to Periodical Literature." The reputation and eminence he had won as a librarian in the formation and arrangement of collections of books gave him the distinguished and highly responsible position which he filled in Chicago; and his loss is there and elsewhere through the country severely felt as that of a most accomplished master in his field of service.

Rev. Henry F. Jenks and Messrs. Winslow Warren and Edward J. Lowell were appointed a committee to nominate officers to be voted for at the Annual Meeting; the Hon. Roger Wolcott and Mr. Hamilton A. Hill a committee to examine the Treasurer's accounts; and Mr. Henry W. Haynes, the Hon. Mellen Chamberlain, and Mr. Barrett Wendell a committee to examine the Library and Cabinet.

Mr. John Nicholas Brown, of Providence, Rhode Island, was elected a Corresponding Member.

The PRESIDENT called attention to the fact that our venerable and respected associate, Rev. Dr. Lucius R. Paige, entered to-day on the ninety-third year of his age; and it was unanimously

Voted, that the Secretary be directed to send to Dr. Paige an appropriate expression of the sincere interest which the Society takes in his welfare and happiness, together with its cordial congratulations on his reaching in such physical and mental vigor this interesting period of his life.

The TREASURER reported that, in accordance with a vote passed at the November meeting, he had petitioned the Legislature, in behalf of the Society, for authority to hold an additional amount of real and personal property, and that an Act in the terms asked for had been duly passed and had been signed by the Governor. On his motion, the Act was accepted, and it was ordered that the same should be entered on the record. It is as follows:—

CHAPTER 55.

Commonwealth of Massachusetts.

IN THE YEAR ONE THOUSAND EIGHT HUNDRED AND NINETY-FOUR.

An Act to authorize the Massachusetts Historical Society to hold additional real and personal estate.

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives in General Court assembled, and by the authority of the same, as follows:—

SECTION 1. The Massachusetts Historical Society is hereby authorized to hold real and personal estate, in addition to its library and library building and land, to an amount not exceeding six hundred thousand dollars.

SECTION 2. This act shall take effect upon its passage.

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES, February 19, 1894.

Passed to be enacted.

G. V. L. MEYER, *Speaker*.

IN SENATE, February 21, 1894.

Passed to be enacted.

WILLIAM M. BUTLER, *President*.

February 26, 1894.

Approved. FREDERIC T. GREENHALGE.

OFFICE OF THE SECRETARY,
BOSTON, February 28, 1894.

SEAL.

A true copy.

Witness the Seal of the Commonwealth.

ISAAC H. EDGETT,

Deputy Secretary of the Commonwealth.

Dr. SAMUEL A. GREEN said:—

As is known to many members here, Mr. Charles F. Adams, Vice-President of this Society, sailed for Europe yesterday; and before leaving home he requested me to communicate the following copies of original documents, which I now do in his name, adding a few introductory remarks.

In a paper read by Mr. R. C. Winthrop, Jr., at the December meeting, he incidentally mentioned that there had recently been offered him for sale, by Miss A. C. Dethick, what was described as positive evidence, collected during recent years in Lincolnshire and in London, that the benefice of Rev. John

Wheelwright became vacant by a flagrant offence of his own ; and that his biographer, the Hon. Charles H. Bell, and other historical writers, were wrong in asserting that he was "silenced for non-conformity." Mr. Winthrop expressed the opinion that the matter should be investigated, and he subsequently arranged with Miss Dethick that this alleged evidence should be sent to him confidentially on approval, together with copies of other documents, relating to Wheelwright's family, which were also offered for sale, the whole being priced at the lump sum of £5. 4., which amount was remitted to England after the receipt of the copies in January.

In the mean time Mr. Adams became interested in the subject, as he had dealt largely with Wheelwright in several of his works and wished to learn more of the latter's early career. A friendly agreement was therefore made that our Vice-President should become the owner of the papers at the price above named ; but before parting with them Mr. Winthrop prepared the following short list of contents :—

1. Abstract (2 pp. foolscap) of the will of Robert Wheelwright, of Saleby, co. Lincoln, yeoman. Oct. 13, 1611. This was the father of Rev. John Wheelwright. This will was evidently unknown to Governor C. H. Bell, though Colonel Joseph L. Chester may have seen it.

2. Extracts (1 p. f.) from parish-register of Saleby, co. Lincoln, showing interment of Catharine Wheelwright (mother of Rev. John) July 8, 1605, and of the above-named Robert Wheelwright, Feb. 23, 1612[-13]. Evidently unknown to Governor Bell.

3. Extracts (2 pp. f.) from parish-register of Billesby, co. Lincoln, showing marriage of Rev. John Wheelwright to Mary Storre in 1621 ; interment of her father, Rev. Thomas Storre, in 1623 ; baptisms of three sons and three daughters of Rev. John Wheelwright ; interment of an infant son of his ; and interment of the first Mrs. John Wheelwright in 1630. Nearly all these dates were unknown to Governor Bell, who says he is ignorant when Rev. John's first wife died or when he remarried. As the first Mrs. Wheelwright was buried Nov. 4, 1630, and as her husband baptized a child by his second wife May 19, 1632, it seems clear the second marriage must have taken place in 1631.

4. Extracts (1 p. f.) from divers records concerning Rev.

Thomas Storre and Rev. Benjamin Storre, respectively father-in-law and brother-in-law of Rev. John Wheelwright.

5. Three excerpts (3 pp. f.) from official documents (in abbreviated Latin) now in the Public Record Office in London, showing that Rev. John Wheelwright was presented to the vicarage of Billesby, co. Lincoln, April 2, 1623, *by Robert Welby, gent., patron of the living*, and that, on the 11th of January, 1632, "*stylo Angliæ*," he was succeeded by Rev. Philip De la Mott, *upon presentation by the Crown*, said presentation having escheated to the Crown "*per pravitatem simoniæ*."

6. Copies of two Latin "Inductions," from the Bishop of Lincoln's Registry, the one of Rev. John Wheelwright as Vicar of Billesby in 1623, the other of his successor, Rev. Philip De la Mott, in 1632, showing that the living became vacant on account of "*simoniæ pravitatis*."

7. Six pp. f. of Appendix and Notes, furnished by the antiquarian represented by Miss Dethick, explaining how, by the criminal conduct of incumbents, the presentation to a living lapsed to the Crown. Simony (i. e. the buying or selling of church preferment) is an offence at common law by statute of Elizabeth. It appears that if it comes to the knowledge of a bishop that the patron and incumbent of a living have entered into a simoniacal bargain, the bishop may proceed to declare the living vacant and the presentation forfeit to the Crown. It would seem that Wheelwright was tempted by the offer of a sum of money (to be paid to him by the patron of the living, or to be paid jointly to them both) to agree to resign, and that this agreement came to the knowledge of the ecclesiastical authorities. Whether Wheelwright was impecunious, or whether, having in view an emigration to America, he was disposed privately to "sell out," does not appear, but it seems clear that he committed a grave offence in the eye of the law.

8. Copy (1 p. f.) of the certificate of institution of Rev. Hansard Knollys to the vicarage of Humberston, co. Lincoln, in 1631, and of the certificate of his successor in 1633. This has nothing to do with the evidence above-mentioned, and was probably included because Knollys was a particular friend of Wheelwright and came himself to New England.

9. Excerpt from a document in the Public Record Office

(1 p. f.) subsequently sent by Miss Dethick (without charge), furnishing additional evidence that Rev. Philip De la Mott succeeded to a living made vacant "*per pravitatem simoniæ*."

The importance of this new material can be properly appreciated only by carefully collating it with the Hon. Charles H. Bell's memoir of Wheelwright, and with the article on Wheelwright contributed by Col. J. L. Chester to "The New-England Historical and Genealogical Register" (XXI. 363-365) for October, 1867. The copies here follow:—

I.

13th of Oct: 1611.

ROBERT WHEELLEWRIGHT of Salebye in the county of Lincoln yeoman. To the parish church of Sailebye x^s. To the poor of Saleby according to the discretion of my supervisors x^s. To M^r. John Croftes x^s. To M^r. George Scottreth now preacher of Alford as a token of my love x^s. To Katherine Wheelwright my wife three score pounds and also all such implements and household stuff as were late John Morey's her former husband deceased and which shall be within my house at my decease. To Elizabeth Wheelwright my eldest daughter one hundred pounds to be paid at 21. To Kath. my daughter the like sum of one hundred pounds at 21. To Ellen my daughter one hundred pounds at 21. On the death of any of my three daughters or if my son John Wheelwright die under 21 his or her portion to be equally divided amongst the rest. The residue (my debts paid and funeral expenses discharged) to the said John Wheelwright who is sole and only executor, and Thomas Kingerby of Wainflett in the said county my son in law and Christopher Foston now of Saleby supervisors, and I give to either of them forty shillings. The said Thomas Kingerby shall have the disposing of Ellen my daughter for matter of nurture and education and also of her portion and legacy, Christopher Foston in like manner to have the disposing of my daughters Elizabeth and Katharine. Supervisors to put in good security. Legacies given to daughters to be paid by the executor to the supervisors, Hellen's to Thomas Kingerby and Elizabeth's and Katharine's to Christopher Foston ——— Robte Wheelwrighte his m^ke ——— Signed in the presence of William Evison his marke Thomas Evison his marke. ——— Declared by the testator to be his last will the last day of July 1612 in the presence of us Jaack Johnson, John Pearson and Willm [signū] Balderston. ———

Proved 7 March 1612.

(Consistory Court of Lincoln. — Book for 1612, fo. 638.)

II.

PARISH REGISTERS. SALEBY, LINCOLNSHIRE. (BISHOP OF
LINCOLN'S TRANSCRIPTS.)

24 March 1605 to 24 March 1606.

Noia Sepultoř.

Catharine Wheelwright vxor Robti Whelewright July 8°

signed p' me Johēm Crofte.

X Robert Wheelwright	} Churchwardens.
X George Herringe	

Salebie. A true Register of y^e names of al y^e Persons baptized
Maried & buried wⁱⁿ y^e Parish of Salebie from y^e 25th of Marche
1611 vntill y^e 25 of Marche 1612.

Robert Whelewright buried, February 23.

[NOTE. The original Register, as now extant, does not begin until 1661.]

III.

PARISH REGISTERS. BILLESBY, LINCOLNSHIRE. (BISHOP OF
LINCOLN'S TRANSCRIPTS.)

25 March 1621 to 25 March 1622.

Mariage A° Dōi 1621.

M^r John Wheelwright and Maria Storre were maried the eight day of
November Anno 1621.

Tho: Storre vic. itm

[The last transcript signed by Storre.]

25 March 1622^o to 25 March 1623.

Noia Bantzatoř

John the sonne of John Wheelwright the vijth of October.

25 March 1623 to 25 March 1624.

Thomas Storre y ^e faithfull & painefull p ^{er} cher of gods worde was buried	} Martij xxvj ^e

25 March 1624 to 25 March 1625.

Noia Bantzatoř

Thomas son of John Whelewright October 5.

25 March 1626 to 25 March 1627.

Noia Bantzatoř

William son of John Whelewright Feb^r 10.

25 March 1627 to 25 March 1628.

Nola Sepultoř

William son of John Whelewright May 19.

25 March 1628 to 25 March 1629.

Nola Babtizatoř

Susanna daughter of John Whelewright May 22.

25 March 1629 to 25 March 1630.

Nola Sepultoř

Mary wife of M^r John Whelewright May. 18.

25 March 1630 to 25 March 1631.

Nola Babtisatoř

Katharine daughter of John Whelewright Nov : 4.

25 March 1632 to 25 March 1633.

Christnings

May 19 Marie the daughter of John Whelewright was bap.

Philipp de la Motte Vic.

[With the exception of the first and the last, the several Transcripts, extracts from which are here given, are all signed by Wheelwright. It was noticed that in the first two he wrote "Wheelwright," and "Whelewright" in those which follow. The original Register, as now existing at Bilsby, dates only from 1679.]

IV.

Thomas Storre, Clerk, no degree mentioned, was instituted to the Vicarage of Billesbie on Saturday 14 April 1604, having been presented by John Billesbie of Billesbie gentleman.

(Reg^t Chaderton - Linc. Epi., fo. 221.)

October 8, 1604. — Schoolmaster's licence to Thomas Storre, Vicar of Billesby.

(Marriage Licences, Lincoln.)

Benjamin Storre, Clerk, M. A., inducted to the Rectory of Langton-juxta-Partney, 2 January 1627 "p^rmrū Jo. Wheelwright p^rntibus Aug: Storre, Jo: Elsdal, Jo: Jackson & alijs." Collated by John [Williams] Bishop of Lincoln "p^rlapsum semestris temporis."

(Inductions. Archd. Linc. 1611-1692, fo. 80.)

M^r Benamine Storre parson of Wainflet All Saints, aged 28, and Rebecca Clarkson of Wainflet Saint Marie spinster, aged 19. His father and her parents consent. — At Wainflet All Saints. — January 21, 1618.

(Marriage Licence, Lincoln.)

non Officiis dñi Archini Archinaſ Lincolñ ñtime reſpe
 conſtitut in pñtia Reg^a Comp^a pſonaſ Johes Whele-
 wright Clicus in artibus maġr ac introduxit & exhibuit
 mandatū R^{di} in chro prīs ac hon^{mi} dñi dñi Johis p'videntia
 divina Lincolñ Epī magni Sigilli dñi Custodis pdi gereſi
 dat ſecundo die Aprilis 1623^o pro inducōne eiudem
 Johis Whelewright in realē actualem & corporalem pos-
 ſeſſ^{tem} vicarie ppetue ecclie po^{la} de Billesby Com' & dive'
 Linč modo p mortem Thome Storr vlē Incumben' ibm
 vacan' Ad quā p Robtūm Wolbie gen' verū & indubitātū
 vt aſſ' eiudem patronum pñtatus extitit vnde dñs comiſit
 vices ſuas vniū'sis &c ad inducend' eund' &c cū ſuis iuri-
 bus memb^{is} & p'tineñ vniū'sis cuiusd' com^{is} vigore induc-
 tus fuit dñs Johes Whelewright in realē poſſ^{ne} dñe vicarie
 iuriūq & ptineñ ſuoſ vniū'soſ pro vt patet p notulam in
 dorſo eiudem Com^{is} in hec verba viz! By virtue of this
 w'hin written mandatū I Benjamin Storre Clerke parſon
 of Langton iuxta Partney did give to the w'hin named
 John Whelewright peaceable poſſeſſion of the w'hin
 named vicaridge of Billesbie on Wednesday the ixth of
 Aprill 1623 then & there being p'sent Willyam Thorye
 Augustine Storre Robert ffox his m'ke Thomas Holle his
 m'ke Chriſtofor Cabarne his m'ke.

["pro"; this
 to the end in
 another hand;
 evidently (as
 customary)
 added after-
 wards.]

(Episcopal Registry, Lincoln. — Archdeaconry of Lincoln. "Inductions 1611-1692," fo. 60.)

[Translation of the foregoing by Mr. George Bendelari, Instructor in History in Harvard College.]

In the year
 1623.

On the fifth day of the month of April, in the year of our Lord 1623, at Lincoln, before the venerable Roger Parker, Professor of Divinity, Dean of the cathedral church of St. Mary at Lincoln, subrogated for the venerable John Harmerie, doctor of laws, vicar general in spiritual matters etc for the Reverend Father in Christ and most honorable Lord, Lord John, by God's providence Bishop of Lincoln, Keeper of the Great Seal of England; also lawfully appointed Official for the transaction of business of the lord Archdeacon of the Archdeaconry of Lincoln, in the presence of the Registrar, Personally appeared John Whelewright clerk, Master of Arts, and produced and showed a mandate of the Rev. Father in Christ and most hon. Lord, Lord John, by God's providence Bishop of Lincoln, Keeper of the Great Seal of our Lord [the King], afore-said, given on the second day of April, 1623, to induct the same John Whelewright into the real, actual and corporal

possession of the perpetual vicarage of the parish church of Billesby in the county and diocese of Lincoln, now vacant after the death of Thomas Storr, the last incumbent there — to which he stood presented by Robert Wolbie, gentleman, the true and undisputed (as is agreed) patron of the same — wherefore our Lord appointed his substitute for all etc, to induct him etc with all its rights and appurtenances. By virtue of which commission the said John Wheelwright was inducted into the real possession of the said vicarage and of all its rights and appurtenances. As appears by the note on the back of the said commission in these words, to wit :

By virtue of this within written mandatum, I, Benjamin Storre, Clerke, parson of Langton iuxta Partney did give to the within named John Wheelwright peaceable possession of the within named vicaridge of Billesbie on Wednesday the ixth of April 1623 then and there being present Willyam Thorye, Augustine Storre Robert ffox his marke. Thomas Holle his marke Christofer Cabarne his marke.

Billesbie — V. 4^o die mensis Ian^u anno dñi (iux^a &c) 1632 apud Lincoln' coram m^{ro} Georgio Parker clero Sur^{ro} venlis viri Johannis ffarmerie legum dcoris Officialis dñi Archini Archinat Lincolñ l^{ime} const p^{nte} fir: Carr No^{rio} pubeo &c Comp^t p^{son} a^{lr} Philippus De la mott eficus in legibus Bacchus & exhibuit tras mandatar' R^{adi} in chio pr^{is} ac dñi dñi Johannis provideñ divina Lincolñ Ept gereñ dat vndecimo die Jan^u pred pro induc^{one} sua in realem actua^{lem} & corporalem poss^{essionem} vicarie ecclie po^m de Billesbie in com, dio^c, & Archinat Lincolñ iam itie & de iure vacañ Ad quā p' Illimū in chio Principem & dñm nam Carolum dei grā Anglie Scotie ffrancie & Hibñie Regem fidei Defens' &c eiusd' ra^{cone} simoniace pravitatis pro hac vice tantum p^{ronum} p^{ntatus} extitit vnde dñs com^{isit} vices &c vniu^{sis} &c ad inducend' eum Cuius vigore Co^mis fuit induc^t 16 die Jan^u 1632 p' henricū Smith clicū Curatū de Hannay in p^{ntia} Jo: Wolby geñ Jo: Righton laur wolby geñ & aliorū.

[“Cuius” &c.
See a former
note.]

(Episcopal Registry, Lincoln. — Archdeaconry of Lincoln. Inductions 1611-1692, fo. 102.)

[Translation of the foregoing by Mr. Bendelari.]

Billesbie. On the 4th day of the month of January, in the year of our Lord () 1632, at Lincoln before Master George Parker clerk, subrogated for the Venerable John Harmerie,

doctor of Laws, Official of the lord Archdeacon of the Archdeaconry of Lincoln, lawfully appointed, in the presence of Hr. [Fr. ?] Carr, notary public etc, personally appeared Philip de la Mott clerk, bachelor of laws, and showed mandatory letters of the Reverend Father in Christ and Lord, Lord John, by God's providence Bishop of Lincoln, given on the eleventh day of January aforesaid, to induct him into real, actual and corporal possession of the vicarage of the parish church of Billesbie in the county, diocese and archdeaconry of Lincoln now lawfully and by right vacant to which he stood presented by our most illustrious prince in Christ and Lord, Charles, by the grace of God, of England, Scotland, France and Ireland king, defender of the faith, for this same reason of the crime of simony, for this time only patron, wherefore our lord commissioned in his stead etc, to all etc, to induct him. By virtue of which commission he was inducted on the 16th day of January, 1632, by Henry Smith clerk, curate of Hannay, in the presence of John Wolby, gentleman; John Righton, Laurence Wolby gentleman, and others.

[The dates are given exactly as they stand in the original record, but there appears to be some error. As reference is made to a mandate dated January 11, it may be suggested that for "4^o" we should read "14^o." The last previous entry is dated 28 December, 1632, and the next following 19 January, 1632.]

VII.

NOTES.

In the Memoir by C. H. Bell it is said of Wheelwright, with entire truth, that though he had neither resigned nor been removed, his living of Bilsby was treated as vacant by his ecclesiastical superior. "Treated as vacant" is weak, and argues a want of acquaintance with the legal status of a beneficed clergyman; whilst very much weaker is the suggestion that it was "owing to his puritanical views."

When a benefice becomes void, the patron presents to the Bishop such qualified person as he thinks fit, praying that the Bishop will (1) institute and (2) cause him to be inducted.

By Institution the care of the souls of the parishioners is committed to the clerk. It is a function wholly and solely spiritual. Having instituted the clerk, the Bishop at once issues a mandate for his induction, which is a function exclusively temporal. Thereby the clerk is put into the real, actual, and corporal possession of the temporalities of the benefice. Some neighbouring clergyman, accompanied by the churchwardens and other parishioners, conducts the new incumbent to the church, and

delivers to him the key. He thereupon locks himself in the church, and tolls the bell as an intimation to his parishioners of his appointment.

Induction, as has been said, is purely temporal, and hence its main importance is that it lets in the law of the land, as distinguished from the ecclesiastical law. The incumbent has a freehold in his benefice, and any Bishop who should assume to treat a benefice as void, when in fact it was not, would find the temporal courts would quickly undeceive him.

A full copy of the record of the induction of Wheelwright's successor, one Philip De la Mott, forms part of the documents now transmitted. The Bishop of Lincoln's mandate for the induction is known to us only so far as it is set forth in the record of the actual induction. That record was evidently seen by Mr. Bell, or by the person who supplied him with his information, for some of its words are quoted in the Memoir. A dead stop is made at the beginning of the very sentence which clears up the whole matter, but the force of which Mr. Bell wholly fails to perceive. Wheelwright had been guilty of simony, and the plausible conjectures of the author of the Memoir are without even the shadow of foundation.

When a living became vacant by death, or by cession, or by resignation, or by deprivation, that fact was usually stated in the institution, induction, and other documents. Thus, when Wheelwright was inducted to Bilsby, the record runs, "*modo p'mortem Thome Storr vlt Incumbẽñ Ibm vacaũ.*" And again, on the induction of Anthony Tuckney, the successor of John Cotton, we read that the vicarage of Boston was "*p resignacõem vlti Incumbẽñ ibm vacaũ.*" In these cases there was no deviation from the ordinary course of patronage; but when the vacancy arose by reason of circumstances which for the turn diverted the patronage from the person who under other circumstances would have presented, the practice was, and is, for the Bishop, on his responsibility, simply to declare the living lawfully void, and then to set forth (which was the chief point) by what course of law the person presenting acquired the right "*pro hac vice tantum.*"

From 1608 to 1660 the Registers of the Bishops of Lincoln are wanting. The gap is to a certain extent supplied by the records known as "Bishops' Certificates," which are preserved in the Public Record Office in London, and, as respects benefices in the Archdeaconry of Lincoln, by the Induction Register, which is in very fair preservation.

With a view to ensure the payment into the Exchequer of the First Fruits of Benefices, the Bishops were required twice a year to certify to the Barons of the Exchequer the names of all persons whom in the six months preceding they had instituted to benefices, with, in each case, the name of the benefice. These are the "Bishops' Certificates," but they do not extend to benefices of so small a value as to be discharged in the King's Books from the payment of First Fruits.

A copy of the Certificate of the Institution of Wheelwright's successor is sent, and, as will be seen, it confirms with respect to simony what is found in the induction.

Advantage has been taken of the opportunity to send a copy of the Certificate of Institution of another unstable soul, Hansard Knollys, who was also beneficed in Lincolnshire, and who, it will be seen, owed his preferment to its eminent Bishop, John Williams, that great favorer of unsound divines. Knollys held his benefice little more than eighteen months.

"He (John Wheelwright) is heard of in the neighbourhood of Anderby, hard by his old home in Lincolnshire." The Wheelwrights appear to have been connected with this place; for at Lincoln is a license, October 20, 1603, for the marriage of John Wheelwright and Elizabeth Smythe, to be solemnized at Anderby.

Advantage was also taken of the opportunity of access to the original documents remaining on record at Lincoln to obtain the other details now forwarded.

The expression "silenced for non-conformity" is very vague, because it leaves the matter in doubt whether a temporary suspension or a permanent deprivation be intended. Many of the statements in the "Lives of the Puritans," cited by Mr. Bell as his authority in this case, are inexact, especially as regards deprivation. Beneficed clergymen who were disloyal to the Church usually either fled, or had the sense to resign, well knowing there could be only one result if the Bishop put the law in motion. But, as respects Wheelwright, he had forfeited his benefice by simony; and what need then could there be to silence him, and what had his non-conformity to do with the matter? As an unbeneficed priest, he could not officiate at all without the license of the Bishop of the diocese, and neither the Bishop of Lincoln, nor any other Bishop, would license a man who was in the circumstances in which Wheelwright had placed himself. Of course, he is here spoken of in his relations to the church, and in no sense as a non-conforming teacher, if such he became.

The documents which relate to the institution and induction of his successor abundantly bring home, even to the non-legal mind, the fact that Wheelwright had been guilty of a grave offence. To hold otherwise would be to entertain the belief that he was punished by the loss of his living for something of which he was quite innocent, which is absurd.

Notwithstanding, then, that the whole matter is so plain that he who runs may read, after the foregoing Notes had been written, and in the view of obtaining all possible satisfaction, a copy of the record of De la Mott's induction was sent to one of the highest living authorities on ecclesiastical law, and the favour of his views asked on a matter of antiquarian interest. He answered as follows:—

"I should say that the probability is that the incumbent simoniacally agreed to resign, probably with the patron, and so the turn went to the King. I am not sure that a simoniacal contract to present as patron would vacate the benefice, but the other piece of misbehaviour seems to me natural enough and to fit the facts."¹

The facts submitted, it may be said, were simply those disclosed by the record of De la Mott's induction. Nothing can be clearer than the words cited above. Even if Wheelwright had been in the two-fold capacity of incumbent and patron, and as patron had made a simoniacal contract, the writer doubts whether forfeiture of the living would have been incurred. Can anything be more to the point?

It so happens that the present incumbent of Bilsby, the Rev. Charles Mason, is also the patron; but the title-deeds in his possession relative to the advowson do not go back beyond 1826, so that it has not been ascertained whether Wheelwright had acquired the advowson or the next presentation. If he had, it would only have doubled his offence.

VIII.

xxiiij^{to} die Augusti 1631. Nos Johe Lincoln' Epūs contulimus vicariam de Humberston in Com' Lincoln' decanat' Grimsby (ad nram Collaçonem in iure Epātus nri Lincoln' pleno iure spectan') Hansard Knollys Clīcō qui institutus fuit ad eandem die & Anno pd.

Jo: lincoln.

(Bishops' Certificates—Lincoln. sub anno.)

Decimo octavo die Jan^o 1633 iuxta &c nos Johe providen' divina Lincoln' Episcopus contulimus in vicariam de Humberstone Com' Lincoln' decanat' Grimsbie ad Collaçonem donaçoem liberamq disposiçoem nras in iure Epātus nri Lincoln' pleno iure spectan' Anthonium Barnaby clīcū &c.

Jo: Lincoln.

(Bishops' Certificates, Lincoln. sub anno.)

IX.

Phillippus De la Mott Cīcus in Artibz Baccalau^z het consīles lras Pateñ de p'sentaçoē ad vicariam de Bilsby iam līttime & de iure vacañ t ad nram p'sentacoem p prauitatem simonie hac vice spectañ Et dirigunt' he lre Reu'endo in Xpo Pri Dno Iohi Lincoln' Epō. T R: apud Westm t'cio die Octobris.

(Patent Roll 8 Charles I. Part 21 (No 2612), 95.—Public Record Office.)

¹ As permission has not yet been obtained to cite the legal authority here referred to, his name is withheld.

Mr. R. C. WINTHROP, JR., said : —

At the December meeting of 1892 I gave some account of the discovery of a mass of Bowdoin and Temple papers, chiefly of the Revolutionary period, which, by some accident, had found their way to the bottom of a large chest which had been stored in an attic more than fifty years before, under the impression that it contained only probate accounts of the last century. It was impossible for me at that time to do more than communicate a few samples of this new and important material, but I promised that the Society should eventually have the benefit of it for its Collections, after the manuscripts had been thoroughly weeded and arranged in chronological order. This task I have now completed, and it is desirable that a committee should be appointed to make selections for publication. The material comprises six large folio volumes of miscellaneous letters and state-papers, one letter-book of Governor Bowdoin, one letter-book of his son-in-law Sir John Temple, and a smaller volume lettered "Temple Papers, 1767-1770." In addition, there are a number of newspaper cuttings, old pamphlets, and other printed material of varying degrees of interest, which I have had arranged separately. I do not wish to serve as Chairman of the Committee; but Mr. Smith has kindly consented to do so, and Judge Chamberlain has promised us his valuable aid.

Upon motion of Mr. Winthrop, it was then voted that Messrs. C. C. Smith, Mellen Chamberlain, and R. C. Winthrop, Jr., be a Committee to edit one or more volumes of selections from the Bowdoin and Temple papers, whenever the income of the Society's publishing-funds shall justify this outlay consistently with other claims upon them.

The Hon. MELLEN CHAMBERLAIN spoke at some length of the importance of printing historical papers, and stated that great masses of papers essential to a proper understanding of our Revolutionary history still remained in manuscript. He illustrated his remarks by a special reference to the Sugar Bill of 1733, and to the careful consideration which it received in Parliament.

Rev. O. B. FROTHINGHAM communicated, for publication in the Proceedings, the memoir of the late Francis Parkman, which he had been appointed to prepare.

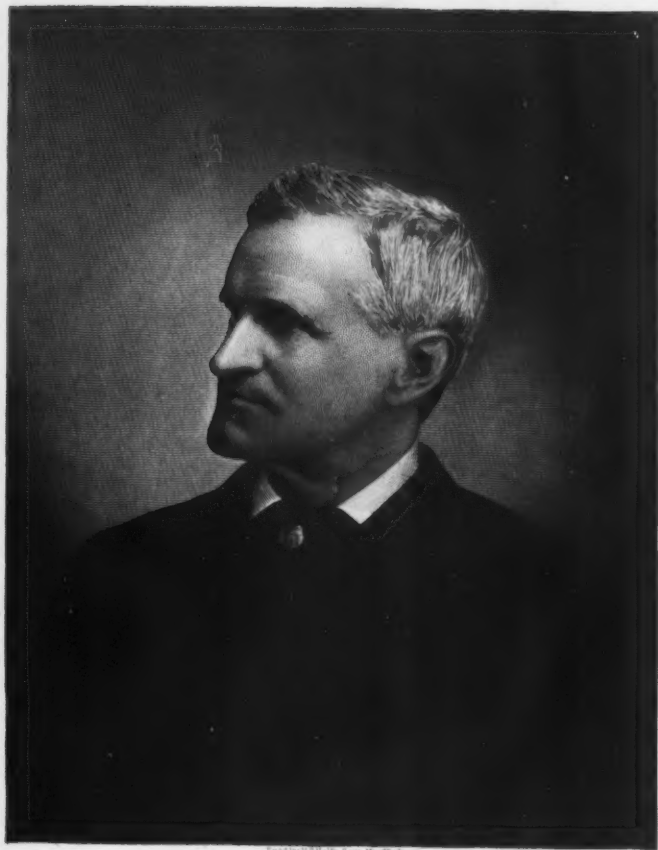
The remaining time of the meeting was occupied in a somewhat desultory conversation on matters of historical or antiquarian interest, in which the PRESIDENT, Dr. S. A. GREEN, the HON. GEORGE S. HALE, Judge CHAMBERLAIN, Professor GOODWIN, Rev. Dr. MCKENZIE, Mr. HENRY W. HAYNES, and other gentlemen took part.

MEMOIR
OF
FRANCIS PARKMAN, LL.D.

BY O. B. FROTHINGHAM.

FRANCIS PARKMAN was born in Somerset Place (now Allston Street) September 16, 1823. When he was four years old the family moved to Green Street, next to the handsome, large house on Bowdoin Square, with a green before it, shaded by chestnut-trees, and a garden behind on Chardon Street. This house was built by Samuel Parkman, the grandfather (taxed in 1822 on \$150,000, the same as Gardiner Greene and P. C. Brooks). When his widow died, the house in Bowdoin Square was occupied by Rev. Dr. Parkman's family. In 1854 the mother of Francis rented it to the United States Government for a court-house, and as such it was used for three years; then it was sold and pulled down. In the mean time she and her family lived in a hired house on Walnut Street. The house in Chestnut Street was bought by the mother of Francis in 1864, and she died at Jamaica Plain in the summer of 1871. The great-grandfather, born in Boston, was a minister at Westborough, Mass. "It is worth mentioning," says Mr. Lowell (in the "Century" for November, 1892), "that a son of this clergyman, at the age of seventeen, served as private in the Massachusetts Regiment, during that 'Old French War,' as it used to be called, to which his grand-nephew has given a deeper meaning, and which he has made alive to us again in all its varied picturesqueness of hardihood and adventure. Another of his sons, returning to Boston, became a successful merchant there, a man of marked character and public spirit, whose fortune, patiently acquired in the wise fashion of those days, would have secured for his grandson a life of lettered ease, had he not made a nobler choice of spending it in strenuous





Eng'd by H. B. Hall, New York.

Francis Parkman

literary labor. One of this merchant's sons, a clergyman, was our author's father. . . . Energy of character and aptitude for culture were a natural inheritance from such ancestors, and both have been abundantly illustrated in the life of their descendant." This last passage may be true, but it is quite idle to pry into the secrets of heredity in the present case. Nothing but general predisposition can be discovered. Mr. Parkman's personality was so unique, his character was so exceptional, his experience so unusual, his taste so extraordinary, his talent so peculiar, that the line of inheritance seems to be all but broken. His positive traits were derived apparently from his mother, especially his moral qualities.

Her name was Caroline, daughter of Nathaniel Hall of Medford. She had by marriage six children, of whom Francis was the eldest, and two, sisters, still survive. She was a fine example of the best type of the New England woman. It must be remembered that Boston at that time was a small place; social lines were sharply drawn; there were few excitements of any kind; no great "causes" or "movements" agitated men. The question of "woman's rights" was hardly, if at all, raised; and it was entertained by a class of women who were then considered out of the pale of respectable regard. The consequence was that the life of ladies was very quiet and domestic. She was a Unitarian by inheritance, but quite uninterested in speculative or dogmatic matters. Her whole endeavor was to cultivate the Christian virtues and to exemplify the Christian graces as well as she could. With questions of doctrine, she did not concern herself, and took no part in the controversies that were raging around her, though she had a profound respect for spiritual things and an undoubting faith in the cardinal principles of religion. Her devotion to her husband and children was with her a sacred duty. Humility, charity, truthfulness, were her prime characteristics. Her conscience was firm and lofty, though never austere. She had a strong sense of right, coupled with perfect charity toward other people; inflexible in principle, she was gentle in practice. Intellectually she could hardly be called brilliant or accomplished, but she had a strong vein of common-sense and practical wisdom, great penetration into character, and a good deal of quiet humor. She loved her home and never wanted

to leave it, and put into it an amount of consecration which would have glorified a more extended sphere. She did not try to shine socially, but she had a large circle of friends, who were much attached to her. Her distinguished son resembled her in many respects, — looking like her more and more as he grew older.

The father, Rev. Dr. Parkman, was, in his way, a remarkable man, — not a great man, not a distinguished man, not a powerful or impressive man, but a cultivated and attractive one. He was graduated at Harvard College, studied theology under the Rev. William E. Channing, contributed a series of papers on moral and religious subjects to one of the Boston journals, was one of the first to visit England, heard medical lectures in Edinburgh, attended theological lectures given by Dr. Ritchie, then Professor of Theology there, read a discourse which received the approbation of the professor, preached in London, was invited to become the associate minister with Mr. Lewin in Liverpool, preached in the First Church, Boston, and in 1813 was ordained pastor of the "New North" Church. In 1829, he founded the Professorship of Pulpit Eloquence and the Pastoral Care in the Theological Department of Harvard College, and took an active part in the concerns of the Society for the Relief of Aged and Indigent Clergymen, which was formed in 1849. He was a man of various information, kindly spirit, simple and yet polished manners. Dr. Isaac Hurd wrote of him: —

"He was a diligent and successful student, moral and exemplary in his whole deportment. He discovered a strong desire for knowledge and an aptitude to avail himself of all the means which presented for general improvement. . . . Nor can I forget the uniform benevolence with which he regarded all around him. It seemed to give him pain to pass a beggar in the street without opening his hand in charity."

The Rev. F. D. Huntington (then a Unitarian minister, now Bishop of Central New York) says: —

"Every aspect of suffering touched him tenderly. There was no hard spot in his breast. His house was the centre of countless mercies to various forms of want; and there were few solicitors of alms, local or itinerant, and whether for private necessity or public benefactions, that his doors did not welcome and send away satisfied. . . . The processes of his mind were practical, however, rather than speculative.

His style was not wanting in force, but distinguished rather for clearness and ease. . . . For many years he has been widely known and esteemed for his efficient interest in some of our most conspicuous and useful institutions of philanthropy. Among these I may especially mention the Massachusetts Bible Society, the Society for Propagating the Gospel, the Orphan Asylum, the Humane Society, the Medical Dispensary, the Society for the Relief of Aged and Destitute Clergymen, and the Congregational Charitable Society. . . . Harvard University, of which he was an Overseer and frequent visitor, was very near to his heart, and its concerns touched his personal pride. Throughout he was a zealous and constant friend of the Unitarian movement, but was too Catholic in his feelings to favor an exclusive policy towards any Christian sect."

Mr. Edwin P. Whipple said of him : —

"Whether he conversed on theology or politics or manners or individual character, or recorded some sad or pleasant experience of his own, the wise and genial humorist was always observable, softening, enlivening, enriching everything he touched; his practical discernments were so sure and keen, his knowledge of the world was so extensive, and his perception of character and motives was so quick and deep that it was impossible to impose on him by any pretence or deception. . . . It was impossible to meet Dr. Parkman in the street or stop a minute to exchange words with him without carrying away with you some phrase or turn of thought so exquisite in its mingled sagacity and humor that it touched the inmost sense of the ludicrous and made the heart smile as well as the lips."

And Mr. Lowell says : —

"He still survives in traditions of an abundant and excellent humor, provoked to wilder hazards and set in stronger relief (as in Sterne) by the decorum of his cloth."

When he died (November 12, 1852) the Boston Association celebrated him as "one who loved his calling and discharged all its duties with untiring devotedness. As a preacher he was practical and evangelical; as a pastor tender and affectionate. He was a man of active and useful charities, a friend to learning, a punctual member or an energetic officer of many literary, philanthropic, and religious associations, as well as a true friend of the worthy poor. He 'loved the brethren'; he was 'given to hospitality,' 'distributing to the necessities of saints.'" Ephraim Peabody, D.D., minister of King's Chapel,

paid to him the best of tributes when he spoke of him as particularly kind to the unattractive.

The son had, from the beginning, an extremely sensitive physical system. In his fragment of autobiography, he speaks of "an inborn irritability of constitution which required gentler treatment than I gave it. . . . My childhood was neither healthful nor buoyant. . . . It was impossible that conditions of the nervous system abnormal as mine had been from infancy, should be without their effects on the mind, and some of these were of a nature highly to exasperate me. This subterranean character of the mischief, early declaring itself at the surface, doubtless increased its intensity, while it saved it from being a nuisance to those around." At eight years of age, being then delicate, he was sent to the farm of his maternal grandfather in Medford, near an extensive tract of wild and rough woodland, called the Middlesex Fells. This tract, which used to be called the "Five-Mile Woods," lies within the bounds of five municipalities, — Medford, Malden, Winchester, Stoneham, and Melrose. It encloses "Spot Pond," which covers an area of two hundred and ninety acres, the entire region containing about four thousand. The highest eminence, — "Bear Hill," — near the upper end of the pond, three hundred and twenty-five feet in elevation, has been taken for use as a park by the town of Stoneham. The whole district abounds in hills, ponds, pools, crags, and is admirably suited for park purposes. The latest history of Medford (Usher's) speaks of it as of volcanic origin, once covered with primeval forests, and later divided into farms, tilled, and, of course, inhabited. There are no remains of this now. The land looks as if it had been always neglected. In fact, it is not easy to see how anything like cultivation was ever possible, so rocky is it, so thin is the soil, so narrow are the interstices between the stones. There are no traces of human habitation, — no ruins, no cellars even. There are stone walls, but they only mark the boundary of wood lots. The forest, infested with small animals, and the deep mould of decaying vegetation, merely suggest the wilderness. The lower end of the Fells was but a few rods from Mr. Hall's land so that an active boy could easily penetrate the woods, which, in Parkman's childhood, must have been ragged and tangled enough for a savage. Indeed, except that there were no In-

dians and no wild beasts, all the features of the waste existed. Four years spent in such a neighborhood were quite sufficient to form a taste for rude nature. Twice a day he walked about a mile to a school in Medford, Mr. John Angier's, which I recollect as an excellent school, though it was unsuited to a lad who was fond of collecting eggs, reptiles, and insects, of trapping squirrels and woodchucks, and attempting to kill birds. He lived mainly in the woods, an out-of-door life, learned all about trees and flowers, and contracted a taste for woodland scenery which only grew with his growth. He spoke of these days, in after life, as being among the pleasantest in his experience. After four years spent in the country, he was brought back to Boston; and this was the time when he practised, so disastrously, the experiments in chemistry which simply injured him. That he had any vigor left is a marvel; for chemicals are dangerous things for boys to play with. After this, being rather depressed and pale in appearance, in a low state of health, as he afterwards acknowledged, the quiet and modest boy, still and reserved, went to Chauncy Place School. When he entered, it is impossible to say, because the earliest records were destroyed in the great fire of 1872; but he was there in 1837, and had evidently come there, says his teacher, with the intention of learning and doing the best he could for himself. He was even then ambitious, and soon was able to join the class that was preparing to enter Harvard College in 1840. He was a good general scholar, especially interested in English composition and the proper use of the English language. Mr. William Russell, a Scotchman of learning and culture, was at that time teaching those branches at Chauncy Hall. Young Parkman availed himself to the utmost of his instructions, and derived great advantage from them. He used to amuse himself at this period with versifying stories of heroic achievement, which seemed to have a great fascination for him; thus he threw into rhyme the "Tournament" in Scott's "Ivanhoe," afterward using it for school declamation. Some portions of the "Eneid" of Virgil were treated in the same way. From Chauncy Hall School he went directly to Harvard College, graduating in the class of 1844. Already, in his Freshman year, according to the biography written for "McClure's Magazine" for January, 1894, "he spent a summer vacation in northern New Hampshire, making the ascent

of Mount Washington in 1841 by the Crawford bridle path, and then proceeding to the Connecticut lakes. From that point, he and a classmate and a native guide pushed on forty-five miles through the unbroken wilderness until they came to the headwaters of the Magalloway River. Where they struck it, it was a mere brook, not more than six feet wide; and the only way in which they could reach civilization again was to descend the stream. They constructed a canoe of birch bark which they lost in the rapids, and a raft which they then built was torn in pieces in the same way. They passed through some rough experiences, but Parkman, then in his eighteenth year, was vigorous and hardy beyond his years and did not know fear."

In his Sophomore year his plans had already crystallized into a scheme of writing the story of what was then known as the "Old French War," that is, the war that ended in the conquest of Canada. The plan was afterwards enlarged so as to take in the whole course of the contest in America between France and England. He was a fair scholar at Cambridge, though not a distinguished one, his interest in the college studies being overruled by his own historical pursuits. His vacations were spent mostly in Canada or in the woods of Maine, which he visited again and again and became perfectly familiar with. He is said to have passed a whole month in exploring Lake George, admiring its picturesque banks, scaling its mountains, and studying all the historic places, the battle-fields where French, English, and savages shed so much blood to so little purpose. In his Junior year he received an injury, which obliged him to go to Europe. No one knows exactly the nature of the misfortune he met with. Some say it was a trouble with his eyes that disabled him; others affirm that he met with an accident in the gymnasium at Cambridge which occasioned a dis-order of the heart. This hardly seems possible, considering the exposures, the long walks, the mountain climbing, the repeated ascensions to the top of cathedral churches in Italy, Paris, London, such as Milan and St. Paul's, which none but a strong man could undertake. At all events, he was sent abroad for his health. He sailed in a packet-ship to Gibraltar, and though miserably seasick, he could admire the waves, the color of the water, and the hues of the dolphin. "It was a noble sight," he says in his diary, "when at intervals the sun

broke out over the savage waves, changing their blackness to a rich blue almost as dark ; while the foam that flew over it seemed like whirling snow-wreaths on the mountain." Again, "As soon as it was day break, I went on deck. Two or three sails were set, the vessel scouring along, leaning over so that her lee gunwale scooped up the water ; the water in a foam, and clouds of spray flying over us, frequently as high as the main yard. The spray was driven with such force that it pricked the cheek like needles. I stayed on deck two or three hours, when, being thoroughly salted, I went down, changed my clothes, and read 'Don Quixote,' till Mr. Snow appeared at the door with, 'You are the man that wants to see a gale, are ye? Now is your chance ; only just come up on deck.' Accordingly I went. The wind was yelling and howling in the rigging in a fashion that reminded me of a storm in a Canadian forest. . . . The sailors clung, half-drowned, to whatever they could lay hold of, for the vessel was, at times, half inverted and tons of water washed from side to side of her deck." This shows the resolution, courage, patience, wild joyousness of the man.

Arrived at Gibraltar, he visited all the scenes ; was tireless in exploring the fortress and the town. From thence he sailed to Malta. He was there but a few hours, yet long enough to get an impression of the island. Then he went to Sicily, saw all the chief towns, and even the little villages, going through the whole island, in fact, over the roughest passes and roads, undaunted by fatigue, weather, bad inns, hard fare or none at all, intractable guides, and ignorance of the language, always enchanted by the scenery, and delighted to get upon a high point which commanded a view. From Sicily he journeyed to Naples, where the old passion for sight-seeing was renewed. He ascended Vesuvius with Theodore Parker, went as far as he could into the crater, drank Falernian wine, traversed what was called the "Old Town," "where the streets are seldom more than ten feet wide and often not half so large, though the ancient stone houses rise to six and eight stories" ; penetrated to a quarter of the city "inhabited exclusively by three thousand ladies whom the policy and morality of Ferdinand keeps close prisoners, a place very edifying and curious to look at" ; attended the great theatre San Carlo, but was more interested in the small ones where the people went, the chief comic

theatres where "Pulcinella" was to be seen. Little is said of the great Museum, and nothing of the beautiful Bay. From Naples he went to Rome, which he explored with his usual diligence, but the sight of which does not seem greatly to have impressed him. He writes in his diary, "I would not give a — for all the churches and ruins in Rome; at least, such are my sentiments at present. There is an unbounded sublimity in the Colosseum by moonlight, — that cannot be denied. St. Peter's, too, is a miracle in its way, but I would give them all for one ride on horseback among the Apennines."

The indomitable youth went everywhere, and saw everything. As, when in Naples, he visited the environs, — Pompeii, Posilippo, Baïæ, the tomb of Virgil, — so in Rome, there was not a famous spot that did not attract his notice. He rode with Mr. and Mrs. Parker to Tivoli, then on donkey back climbed up to Albano, far above the lake, the waters of which, black as ink, looked deep and sullen far below. He circled round among rocks and woods till he came to the old, large, gloomy convent, which Mr. Parkman wanted to enter in order to study for a few days, from the inside, the life of the Roman Catholic priests. "The superior came out of his cell like a rat out of his hole. I told him what I wanted. He said he was very sorry, but the rules of his order would not allow him to receive me without permission from his Superior in Rome." So he walked over to the Lake of Nemi. Returning to Rome, he went to the monastery of the Capuchins for permission to stay there. This was peremptorily refused, "but the Passionists told me to come again at night and they would tell me if I could be admitted. I came as directed and was shown a room in the middle of the building. . . . The secret of my getting in so easily was explained. There were about thirty Italians retired from the world, preparing for the general confession." The Passionists, it must be understood, were the strictest order of monks, wearing the hair shirt and scourging themselves with whips loaded with iron. He gave a description of his few days at the convent in "Harper's Magazine" for August, 1890, but in the diary he tells of the efforts to convert him, and the horror with which the lay Italians looked upon him as a Protestant heretic; and when he told a brother that he was a Unitarian, great was the dismay. But he learned his lesson, and learned it well. The convent was near the Colosseum,

and as he looked out of the window of his cell (contrary to orders, by the way), the ruins, in all their majesty, rose before him. He came out just at the beginning of Holy Week, of which he speaks very disrespectfully thus: "These ceremonies of Holy Week, about which so much is said, would not be worth seeing, were it not for the crowd of people they draw together." Nevertheless, he entered fully into the ceremonies and saw all the shows that were exhibited. He visited several of the studios, and was particularly struck with the paintings of the German Overbeck, who was living then in Rome, — his works scarcely more than sketches, but "vivid and expressive, and clearly revealing the earnest, devout character of the artist." He was several weeks in this city, and says in his journal: "I have now been three or four weeks in Rome; have been presented to his Holiness, the Pope; have visited churches, convents, cemeteries, catacombs, common sewers, including the Cloaca Maxima, and the ten thousand works of art. This will I say of Rome, that a place on every account more interesting, and which has a more vivifying and quickening influence on the faculties, could not be found on the face of the earth, — or, at least, I should not wish to go to it if it could." From Rome, he proceeded by diligence to Florence, where in a few days he found time to run through the picture galleries, see the churches, admire the scenery. Then he passed, by Bologna, Modena, Parma, to Milan. At Milan he went all over the Cathedral, descending to the shrine of Cardinal Borromeo, ascending to the roof, and thought the church quite worthy to be compared with St. Peter's. Thence he travelled to the Lake of Como, which he described in words that are quite worth quoting: "I have seen nothing at home or abroad more beautiful than this lake. It reminds me of Lake George, — the same extent, the same figure, the same crystal purity of waters, the same wild and beautiful mountains on either side. But the comparison will not go further. There are a hundred palaces and villages scattered along the water's edge and up the delicious declivities. There is none of that shaggy, untamed aspect in the mountains, — no piles of rocks grown over with stunted bushes, or half-decayed logs. There are none of those little islands, covered with rough and moss-grown pine-trees, which give a certain savage character to the beauties of Lake George. All here is like a finished picture; even the wildest

rocks seem softened in the air of Italy. Give me Lake George and the smell of the pine and fir!" This love of wild nature, fostered in his boyhood and rising to a passion in his early manhood, gaining full control over the literary pursuits in which he was engaged, and in college adding a purpose to his study of the great masters of English speech, clung to him all through his journeyings. He was enamoured of powerful, massive, striking things, — the mountains of the Waldstätter See, the Rhine at Basle, the Alps from the Arch in Milan. His passion for the Indians and Indian life is curious. At the little village of Civitella, he entertains his landlord with tales of Indian life; at Modena he finds a translation of Cooper's "Last of the Mohicans"; all through Sicily, he discovers translations of Cooper's works, and in London, he makes immediately for Catlin's Museum of Indian curiosities. Its glory, alas, had departed, and the hall where it had been placed was occupied, to his immense disgust, by "Gen." Tom Thumb, who was strutting up and down a platform, singing very big songs in a very small voice, and amusing crowds of idle people. From Como, he went to Splügen and Zurich; from there to Basle and Strasburg, on his way to Paris. Of Paris he says little. The following is the most striking passage: "If a man has a mind to make a fool or a vagabond of himself, he can do it admirably in Paris, whereof I have seen many instances. If a man has a mind to amuse himself, there is no place like it on earth; diversions of every character, form, and degree, waiting for him at every step; let him taste them — then get into the diligence and ride away, or stay and go to the devil." London interested him scarcely more. He was seven or eight days there, and saw, of course, all the sights, going even up the river to Richmond in a steamboat. "St. Paul's, which the English ridiculously compare to St. Peter's, is without exception the dirtiest and gloomiest church I have been in yet. I went up to the ball at the top of the cupola, where the prospect is certainly a most wonderful one. I have been on mountains where nothing could be seen but unbroken forests, stretching in every direction to the horizon, and I enjoyed the sight, but to look down from St. Paul's and see tiled roofs and steeples, half hid in smoke and mist, a filthy river covered with craft running through the midst, and to hear the incessant hum and to smell the coal smoke that pollutes the air —

all this is very curious and amusing for a while, but I would scarce trouble myself to look again. All was dirty and foul, the air was chilly and charged with fog and sleet, though it is the genial month of May. The smoke that you could see streaming in the wind from ten thousand earthen chimney-pots, mingled with the vapors and obscured the prospect like a veil. It was an indistinct, but limitless panorama. The taller church spires alone rose above the cloud into a comparatively clear atmosphere, and these could be seen faintly far off on the horizon, to show how far this wilderness of houses reached." He says nothing about Liverpool, to which he goes from London, but he is in his element when he gets north to Carlisle and Scotland. He admires Edinburgh, follows the steps of Sir Walter Scott, goes to Abbotsford, walks up to Arthur's Seat, fishes in the Tweed, and wants to fish in all the brooks that flow from the Cheviot Hills. He sees the blood of Rizzio at Holyrood Palace, inspects the regalia in the Castle, enjoys the view from the Calton Hill, and revels in the traditions of the town. Thence he goes to Glasgow and Liverpool again to take the vessel for America, which he reaches in June.

This was by no means his last visit abroad. In 1858 he went for his health; in 1869 he went for his health and to collect material for his histories. In 1872 he went again to collect material. In 1880 he went mainly for manuscripts. In 1881 he went for the same purpose. In 1887 he travelled for his health again. This time he made for Spain, sailing for Santander in company with his friend Dr. Algernon Coolidge; but a sudden attack of lameness seized him in Madrid and prevented his going farther; so he came at once home after an absence of a few weeks only.

On reviewing this first trip and gathering up my impressions, I am struck with these particulars: his love of pictures, as shown in his visit to different galleries, his indifference to music, of which he says no word, and his comparative indifference to architecture, which impresses him mainly by its vastness, and general grandeur of effect. But his appreciation of power, space, dignity, and of human greatness is universal. Crowds are always interesting to him. He tries to get at the heart of the common people, has no prejudices of a social kind, likes simplicity, honesty, steadfastness of purpose,

energy of mind. His respect for individuality is very strong, and he finds it mostly where the arts of civilized life have not come to prevail over the natural impulses of mankind. The infirmity for which he went abroad in 1844 was not, apparently, removed, but it left no impression beyond that of temporary inconvenience and disappointment, as preventing his visiting certain places that he wanted to see. He speaks of it once as "neuralgia," but what precisely he means by this is not evident. At all events, the disease made no permanent mark upon him.

On his return home, the special malady that sent him to Europe not being cured, but his general health being excellent, and his mind being not only enlarged, but stored with interesting memories by his journey, he immediately joined his class at Cambridge, took part in the exercises of Commencement Day, got his degree, and was chosen a member of the Phi Beta Kappa Society, which included, that year, twenty-one out of a class of sixty-two; the year before, there were nineteen in a class of seventy; the year before that there were nineteen in a class of fifty-six; in 1841 there were sixteen in a class of forty-six. After leaving college Mr. Parkman joined the Law School; but his stay there was comparatively short, and it was only in name that he took up legal pursuits. The study of abstract principles, the search after precedents, was not to his taste; the authority of prescription galled him. The truth is that his mind was in the wilderness. He was devoted to the reading of history, especially Indian history, his general study converging to that. He loved freedom, space, open air, exercise, and was even then probably meditating the trip to the Far West which proved so unfortunate. There was for him a charm in solitude. The Far West at that time was almost unknown; it was an immense desert, trodden by the feet of wandering savages, by an occasional hunter, or an adventurous pioneer. The whole region was unexplored by civilized man. Already preparations had been made for this journey. The experiences in the forests of Maine and Canada had made him familiar with every kind of woodcraft, which he later brought to perfection, and which was the foundation probably of his love for horticulture. He was used to watching the winds, to tracing the almost invisible trail of footsteps; he was intimate with trees of every kind, with the

effect of light and shade on masses of foliage. While he was at the Law School the manager of a circus troupe in Boston was giving lessons in horse-back riding. Parkman joined a class, chose the hardest horses, practised riding in every form, with or without a saddle or stirrups; could run, leap, jump on a charger at full speed, — in short, perform feats which only a "professional" could execute. He kept fire-arms in his room, was acquainted with the rifle practice, could tramp through the woods hours at a time, and in the spring of 1846 he set out on his journey.

"I remember," he says in the preface to "The Oregon Trail," "as we rode by the foot of Pike's Peak, when for a fortnight we met no face of man, my companion remarked, in a tone anything but complacent, that a time would come when those plains would be a grazing country, the buffalo give place to tame cattle, houses be scattered along the water courses, and wolves, bears, and Indians be numbered among the things that were. We condoled with each other on so melancholy a prospect, but with little thought what the future had in store. We knew that there was more or less gold in the seams of those untrodden mountains, but we did not foresee that it would build cities in the West, and plant hotels and gambling houses among the haunts of the grizzly bear. We knew that a few fanatical outcasts were groping their way across the plains to seek an asylum from Gentile persecution; but we did not imagine that the polygamous hordes of Mormons would rear a swarming Jerusalem in the bosom of solitude itself. We knew that more and more, year after year, the trains of emigrant wagons would creep in slow procession towards barbarous Oregon or wild and distant California; but we did not dream how Commerce and Gold would breed nations along the Pacific, the disenchanting screech of the locomotive break the spell of weird, mysterious mountains, woman's rights invade the fastnesses of the Arapahoes, and despairing savagery, assailed in front and rear, veil its scalp-locks and feathers before triumphant commonplace. We were no prophets to foresee all this; and, had we foreseen it, perhaps some perverse regret might have tempered the ardor of our rejoicing."

A brief summary of this expedition as bearing on his own health, is given in his autobiography. I must quote his own words, merely premising that he speaks of himself in the third person, as if he was describing somebody else:—

"A specific sign of mischief soon appeared in a weakness of sight, increasing with an ominous rapidity. Doubtless to study with the eyes

of another is practicable, yet the expedient is not an eligible one, and the writer bethought him of an alternative. It was essential to his plans to give an inside view of Indian life. This, then, was the time at once to accomplish the object and rest his failing vision. Accordingly he went to the Rocky Mountains, but he had reckoned without his host. A complication of severe disorders here seized him, and at one time nearly missed bringing both him and his schemes to an abrupt termination, but yielding to a system of starvation, at length assumed an intermittent and much less threatening form. A concurrence of circumstances left him but one means of accomplishing his purpose. This was to follow a large band of Ogillallah Indians, known to have crossed the Black Hill range a short time before. Reeling in the saddle with weakness and pain, he set forth, attended by a Canadian hunter. With much difficulty the trail was found, the Black Hills crossed, the reluctance of his follower overcome, and the Indians discovered on the fifth day encamped near the Medicine Bow range of the Rocky Mountains. On a journey of a hundred miles over a country in parts of the roughest, he had gained rather than lost in strength, while his horse was knocked up and his companion disconsolate with a painful cough. Joining the Indians, he followed their wanderings for several weeks. To have worn the airs of an invalid would certainly have been an indiscretion, since in that case a horse, a rifle, a pair of pistols, and a red shirt might have offered temptations too strong for aboriginal virtue. Yet to hunt buffalo on horseback, over a broken country, when, without the tonic of the chase, he could scarcely sit upright in the saddle, was not strictly necessary for maintaining the requisite prestige. The sport, however, was good, and the faith undoubting that, to tame the devil, it is best to take him by the horns."

An account of the expedition is given fully and in the minutest detail in the "Oregon Trail," which is the first book he wrote, published in 1847 and dictated at Brattleboro', Vt., to his companion, Quincy Adams Shaw, "the comrade of a summer and the friend of a lifetime." It was an effort of memory, assisted by rough notes only, and a singular illustration of the clearness and precision of his intellectual powers at that time. The story is one of hardship, exposure, fatigue, danger; but as I read the book over again recently, when preparing this memoir, I was struck with the enthusiasm that runs through all its pages, — the jubilant sense of freedom, the enchantment of the scenery, the rapture in the presence of forest and mountain, the joy of movement, the excitement of the chase, the general ecstasy of existence. It is hard to believe

that his infirmities began with this experience; they must have had a deeper root in his constitution. Undoubtedly they were hurried, increased, aggravated, intensified, by this trip to the West, but it seems impossible that they could have originated there, though from that moment all the worse symptoms appeared, and Mr. Parkman himself has referred to that period the chief disasters of his career.

It has already been said that Mr. Parkman's constitution was nervous, high-strung, and delicate. He himself tells us that, and describes his method of treatment, which was singularly unfortunate.

"Unconscious," he tells us, "of the character and origin [of the conditions of the nervous system], and ignorant that with time and confirmed health they would have disappeared, he had no other thought than that of crushing them by force, and accordingly applied himself to the work. Hence resulted a state of mental tension, habitual for several years and abundantly mischievous in its effects. With a mind overstrained and a body overtaxed, he was burning his candle at both ends." "As to the advantages of this method of dealing with that subtle personage [the devil], some question may have arisen in his mind when, returning after a few months to the settlement, he found himself in a condition but ill-adapted to support his theory. To the maladies of the prairie, succeeded a suite of exhausting disorders, so reducing him that circulation of the extremities ceased, the light of the sun became insupportable, and a wild whirl possessed his brain, joined to a universal turmoil of the nervous system which put his philosophy to the sharpest test it had hitherto known. All collapsed, in short, but the tenacious strength of muscles, hardened by long activity."

The process of "crushing out by force" his infirmities apparently succeeded at first, for a classmate of his assures me that in college he was sturdy and vigorous, and was regarded as an enviable man for health and strength. Even as late as 1848, his disability was regarded as merely temporary, though it afterward proved to be chronic.

"One year, four years, and numerous short intervals lasting from a day to a month, represent the literary interruptions since the work in hand was begun. Under the most favorable conditions, it was a slow and doubtful navigation, beset with reefs and breakers, demanding a constant lookout and a constant throwing of the lead. Of late years, however, the condition of the sight has so far improved as to permit reading,

not exceeding on the average five minutes at one time. This modicum of power, though apparently trifling, proves of the greatest service, since, by a cautious management, its application may be extended. By reading for one minute, and then resting for an equal time, this alternate process may only be continued for about half an hour. Then, after a sufficient interval, it may be repeated, often three or four times in the course of the day. By this means nearly the whole of the volume now offered has been composed. When the conditions were such as to render systematic application possible, a reader has been employed, usually a pupil of the public schools."

The story is infinitely touching, and is relieved only by the patient heroism with which the misery was borne. Such fortitude combined with so much sweetness, I, at least, never read of. That he could have written at all under the circumstances is simply amazing; that he could have written so much and so well, is one of the marvels of biography.

In May, 1850, he married Catherine Scollay, daughter of Jacob Bigelow, the famous Boston physician. Of this union, were three children: Grace (now Mrs. Charles P. Coffin), Francis (who died in infancy), and Catherine S. (now Mrs. J. T. Coolidge, Jr.). The marriage, so far as they were personally concerned, was perfectly happy. The two were devoted to each other, and the only clouds that gathered about them were "providential" and not of their own creating. The lameness of the husband was always a cross, and the death of the little boy was a fearful blow, the grief of which is supposed to have hastened the mother's death, in 1858. In the early part of this marriage, "The Conspiracy of Pontiac," perhaps the most fascinating of his books, was published, in 1851. This alone would prove the harmonious action of his faculties. But the "Oregon Trail," written in 1847, immediately after his travel through the West, is earlier evidence of this. The existence of such a book is a refutation, in my judgment, of the idea that this excursion had impaired the mental force of the man who wrote it. The strain must have been severe, but the conflict it provoked is abundantly atoned for by the display of intellectual energy which we should not have had without it; for the charm of Parkman's productions lies in the inordinate pressure of nervous vitality. They were forced out of him. He himself mentions gratefully the assistance he received from the gentler part of creation. During

the winter of 1851-52, he was confined to his room at Dr. Bigelow's in Summer Street by lameness. The following winter he was confined by the same cause in the house in Bowdoin Square. He could not walk, and wheeled himself about the room, taking his exercise on the piazza by splitting wood. Fortunately, the apartments in which he was confined were on the same floor, so that he did not have to go up or down stairs. In the spring of that year he went to Northampton to take advantage of the water cure. He had already been to Brattleboro', Vt., for the same purpose. During his marriage, he spent his winters at Dr. Bigelow's in part, and partly in Bowdoin Square; his summers he passed out of town,—one in Dorchester, near Milton; then in a hired cottage at Brookline; after that, at Jamaica Plain, where he bought a place on the edge of the pond, about 1851. It was during his married life that he wrote his only novel, "Vassall Morton." He did this for amusement, to expend his superfluous vitality, not being able to do more serious work. The book was not very cordially welcomed by the public, and he never regarded it with favor; was unwilling, in fact, to hear it spoken of. The reason for this is not evident, for the work was not one to be ashamed of. The incidents are spirited, the characters are interesting, the style is direct and vigorous,—not as glowing as in his historical books; not as picturesque and sunny; not as aromatic. There are no exquisite descriptions, like that of the Indian summer in "Pontiac," the woods in winter, the effect of morning and evening among the trees; but it is full of the characteristic qualities of the man, of courage, the love of adventure, the traits of perseverance, hardihood, and tenderness. The story ends with a significant passage. The hero and heroine meet after years of separation and disappointment. He says: "It is a brave heart that can hide a deep thought under a smile." She replies: "And a weak one that is always crouching among the shadows." He exclaims: "There is an abounding spirit of faith in you,—the essence which makes heroes, from Joan of Arc to Jennie Deans." She answers, "I know no one with faith like yours, which could hold to you through all your years of living burial." "Mine!" he cries; "it was wrenched to its uttermost roots. I thought the world was given over to the devil." She rejoins, "But that was only for the moment." It is evident, however, that

novel-writing was not Francis Parkman's strong point. "Vassall Morton" was wanting in color, elasticity, ease of movement, and combination. The characters were presented strongly, but there was lack of grouping, of illustration by means of side lights. It was too straightforward, too much on a line; above all, its purpose was too grave. M. Cousin, in his preface to "Jacqueline Pascal," says admirably: "Un homme sérieux n'écrit que par nécessité, et parceque autrement il ne peut atteindre son but." It is at least possible that when Parkman became immersed in his grand project he looked back with something like contempt on a work that simply occupied him in days when he could do nothing better.

It must not be supposed that Mr. Parkman did not attempt all the methods of cure. It has been said that he went twice to a water-cure establishment. He consulted the best physicians in Paris. He received all kinds of advice; he submitted to painful experiments. One doctor even thought he would never be better. An eminent specialist in nervous diseases watched him for three months, supposing that his disease must end in insanity, but he found none. His best physician, after all, was his garden on Jamaica Pond, where he lost himself in the cultivation of flowers. Into this art he threw all the ardor which afterwards appeared in his histories. Seven summers he spent, with the utmost nicety of experiment in hybridization, in the production of a certain kind of lily, called the *Lilium Parkmani*. In the cultivation of roses he was even distinguished. His "Book of Roses" appeared in 1866. The domain was small, only about three acres; he kept but one man; and all his compost was furnished by a horse, a cow, and a pig, with such leaves as he was able to rake together. But it was enough, and by mixing mind with his soil, as, according to the story, the eminent painter mixed brains with his pigments, Parkman produced roses and lilies that were famous. Still, the best product was his own enjoyment and health. The cultivation of flowers tempted him out of doors, gave him an interest, supplied his over-active intellect with exercise, besides feeding his love for beauty and fragrance. Flowers were a part of Nature, which was his delight, and his supreme excellence in their culture was perhaps due to the same passionate enthusiasm that his historical works display. For several years he was President of the Horticultural Society. He was also

for a short time Professor of Horticulture at the Bussey Institution, a department of Harvard University.

His horticultural labors, carried on in the open air, amid delightful surroundings, partially restored his health. When he was able he took long walks, rowed on the pond, or exercised on horseback. When he could no longer do this, it was his habit to take a drive every day in a carriage. In his literary work there was no sign of illness or weariness. Even in conversation there was no allusion to his ill-health, but always the most remarkable buoyancy. I have the testimony of an eminent physician to the effect that always when speaking of his health he showed the utmost common-sense and quietness. He was apprehensive, at one time, that his style might be affected by the condition of his disease, but it was, to the last, as fresh and vigorous as it ever had been, and betrayed no sign of weakness. Indeed, his restless activity did not flag even for an instant, but his extreme perseverance continued unwearied to the end. Not until his work was done did he find any rest; then his eyes grew better and he was comparatively at ease. Sainte-Beuve, in his paper on Taine's "English Literature," says: "All things considered, every allowance being made for general or particular elements and for circumstances, there still remain place and space enough around men of talent wherein they can move and turn themselves with entire freedom. And, moreover, were the circle drawn round each a very contracted one, every man of talent, every genius, in so far as he is in some degree a magician and an enchanter, possesses a secret entirely his own, whereby to perform prodigies within this circle and work wonders there." Francis Parkman is a brilliant illustration of the truth of these words.

His triumph over pain and physical disability is universally known, and justly celebrated as a signal example of the supremacy of mind over matter. But his triumph over nervous irritability was much more remarkable. Again and again he had to restrain the impulse to say vehement things, or to do violent deeds without the least provocation, but he maintained so absolutely his moral self-control that none but the closest observer would notice any deviation from the most perfect calm and serenity. The tremendous conflict between two unseen forces was unnoticeable by any ordinary vision. May it not be in consequence of this prodigious effort of will that

the portrait of the man was sometimes sardonic and almost stern? Several photographs of him were taken, some of them fairly good; the portrait in this volume is one of the best; but the sun cannot see qualities that do not appear on the surface; the consequence is that the interior man is not revealed. It must be confessed that the lineaments of Mr. Parkman lent themselves to some misapprehension. The strong underjaw, the firm mouth, the penetrating eye, the rather long nose, led to even caricature; but the portraits, as a rule, did not do him justice. His manner was direct and warm; his greeting cordial; while a gleam of humor was even fascinating. He was a favorite in society, much loved by his friends, of whom he had many, and was in great demand on all festive occasions. At the special meeting of the Historical Society held in his honor, Judge Lowell, a very old and intimate acquaintance, used these words: "In private life, Mr. Parkman was not only a most entertaining companion, but the truest of friends. He knew and remembered everything which affected or interested those with whom he was intimate. He knew their children and grandchildren, by name and by character. He knew their affections and all their history. I belonged to a little club of which he was a member, which used to meet every fortnight during the season. He was very fond of meeting with these few companions. After he had become unable, from infirmity, to climb the stairs, he came one evening, I remember, to my house in town. We all went down to the hall and had a most agreeable chat with him as long as he could stay, which was not very long." At the same meeting, the Hon. Leverett Saltonstall, his classmate, wrote: "Francis Parkman was a beloved member of the class of 1844. . . . He was selected by the class at the last Commencement to respond at the next Alumni dinner, according to custom, for the class which graduated fifty years ago, and, evidently gratified with this mark of his classmates' regard, he was looking forward with much satisfaction to performing his duty." He was full of original anecdote, his conversation was easy and flowing, and he gave out his stores of memory without the least show of assumption, affectation, or superiority. I have met him at the annual festivals at Dr. G. E. Ellis's, when he could not even stand long on his crutches, but, as he sat in an easy-chair he entertained numbers of gentlemen, who always were eager to

get near him. His very presence seemed to give an air of assurance and cheerfulness to any company he was able to grace.

A word or two must be said about his religious character, if we would have a full sketch of the man. He detested cant in every form, but especially in religion. All dogmatism in regard to spiritual things was his aversion. He felt that he knew nothing and that nobody else knew anything; consequently he held his peace. What his private opinions were, or whether he had any, his intimate friends could not tell. He probably was not so much a disbeliever as a non-believer, one who made no positive conclusions. The Abbé Casgrain, of Quebec, says, echoing a sentiment that has been expressed elsewhere: —

“Let us say without circumlocution, regarding principles alone, the work of Mr. Parkman is a denial of all religious credence. The author rejects as well the Protestant idea as the Catholic dogma. He is really a rationalist. He admits no other principle than that vague theory which they call modern civilization. . . . The work of Mr. Parkman is a Procrustes’ bed, in which he reduces everything to his own size. Rejecting the supernatural, he loses himself in conjectures, supposing a thousand human motives as explanation of the acts of heroism which faith and Apostolic zeal inspired in our ancestors.”

And yet this same man quotes as follows from the “Jesuits in North America”: —

“On the seventeenth of May, 1642, Maisonneuve’s little flotilla — a pinnace, a flat-bottomed craft moved by sails, and two row-boats — approached Montreal, and all on board raised in unison a hymn of praise. Montmagny was with them to deliver the island, in behalf of the Company of the Hundred Associates, to Maisonneuve, representative of the associates of Montreal. And here too, was Father Vimont, Superior of the missions, for the Jesuits had been prudently invited to accept the spiritual charge of the young colony. On the following day they glided along the green and solitary shores now thronged with the life of a busy city, and landed on the spot where Champlain, thirty-one years before, had chosen the fit site of a settlement. It was a tongue or triangle of land, formed by the junction of a rivulet with the St. Lawrence, and known afterwards as Point Callière. The rivulet was bordered by a meadow, and beyond rose the forest with its vanguard of scattered trees. Early spring flowers were blooming in the young grass, and birds of varied plumage flitted among the boughs.

"Maisonneuve sprang ashore, and fell on his knees. His followers imitated his example; and all joined their voices in enthusiastic songs of thanksgiving. Tents, baggage, arms, and stores were lauded. An altar was raised on a pleasant spot near at hand; and Mademoiselle Mance, with Madame de la Peltrie, aided by her servant Charlotte Barré, decorated it with a taste which was the admiration of the beholders. Now all the company gathered before the shrine. Here stood Vimont in the rich vestment of his office. Here were the two ladies, with their servant; Montmagny, no very willing spectator; and Maisonneuve, a warlike figure, erect and tall, his men clustering around him — soldiers, sailors, artisans, and laborers, — all alike soldiers at need. They kneeled in reverent silence as the Host was raised aloft; and when the rite was over, the priest turned and addressed them: 'You are a grain of mustard seed, that shall rise and grow till its branches overshadow the earth. You are few, but your work is the work of God. His smile is on you, and your children shall fill the land.' The afternoon waned; the sun sank behind the western forest, and twilight came on. Fireflies were twinkling over the darkened meadow. They caught them, tied them with threads into shining festoons, and hung them before the altar, where the Host remained exposed. Then they pitched their tents, lighted their bivouac fires, stationed their guards, and lay down to rest. Such was the birth-night of Montreal."

And this: —

"Meanwhile from Old France to New came succors and reinforcements to the missions of the forest. More Jesuits crossed the sea to urge on the work of conversion. These were no stern exiles, seeking on barbarous shores an asylum for a persecuted faith. Rank, wealth, power, and royalty itself, smiled on their enterprise, and bade them God-speed. Yet, withal, a fervor more intense, a self-abnegation more complete, a self-devotion more constant and enduring, will scarcely find its record on the page of human history."

And this: —

"But when we see them in the gloomy February of 1637, and the gloomier months that followed, toiling on foot from one town to another, wading through the sodden snow, under the bare and drifting forests, drenched with incessant rains, till they despaired at length through the storm the clustered dwellings of some barbarous hamlet; when we see them entering, one after another, these wretched abodes of misery and darkness, and all for one sole end, the baptism of the sick and dying, — we may smile at the futility of the object, but we must needs admire the self-sacrificing zeal with which it was pursued."

Examples might be multiplied, but I will take only one more from the same volume:—

“The companions of Druilletes were all converts, who looked on him as a friend and a father. There were prayers, confessions, masses, and invocations of St. Joseph. They built their bark chapel at every camp, and no festival of the church passed unobserved. On Good Friday they laid their best robe of beaver-skin on the snow, placed on it a crucifix, and knelt around it in prayer. What was that prayer? It was a petition for the forgiveness and the conversion of their enemies, the Iroquois. Those who know the intensity and tenacity of an Indian's hatred will see in this something more than a change from one superstition to another. An idea had been presented to the mind of the savage, to which he had previously been an utter stranger. This is the most remarkable record of success in the whole body of the Jesuit ‘Relations’; but it is very far from being the only evidence that, in teaching the dogmas and observances of the Roman Church, the missionaries taught the morals of Christianity. When we look for the results of these missions, we soon become aware that the influence of the French and the Jesuits extended far beyond the circle of converts. It eventually modified and softened the manners of many unconverted tribes. In the wars of the next century we do not often find those examples of diabolic atrocity with which the earlier annals were crowded. The savage burned his enemies alive, it is true, but he rarely ate them; neither did he torment them with the same deliberation and persistency. He was a savage still, but not so often a devil. The improvement was not great, but it was distinct; and it seems to have taken place wherever Indian tribes were in close relations with any respectable community of white men. Thus Philip's war in New England, cruel as it was, was less ferocious, judging from Canadian experience, than it would have been if a generation of civilized intercourse had not worn down the sharpest asperities of barbarism. Yet it was to French priests and colonists, mingled as they were soon to be among the tribes of the vast interior, that the change is chiefly to be ascribed. In this softening of manners, such as it was, and in the obedient Catholicity of a few hundred tamed savages, gathered at stationary missions in various parts of Canada, we find, after a century had elapsed, all the results of the heroic toil of the Jesuits. The missions had failed because the Indians had ceased to exist. Of the great tribes on whom rested the hopes of the early Canadian fathers, nearly all were virtually extinct. The missionaries built laboriously and well, but they were doomed to build on a failing foundation. The Indians melted away, not because civilization destroyed them, but because their own ferocity and intractable indolence made it impossible that they should exist in its presence.

Either the plastic energies of a higher race or the servile pliancy of a lower one would, each in its way, have preserved them; as it was, their extinction was a foregone conclusion. As for the religion which the Jesuits taught them, however Protestants may carp at it, it was the only form of Christianity likely to take root in their crude and barbarous nature."

Is it possible that the man who could write thus was destitute of a sense of the value of religious faith? His appreciation of nobleness is always quick and constant, and he never fails to do perfect justice to all the victories of conscience. Witness, too, his earnest search after truth, as shown in his entering the convent of the Passionists in Rome, and his living among the Indians in the West. Even M. Alexander Delouche, in a criticism on the "Pioneers," writes: "Anglo-Saxon and Protestant as he is, we must not ask of Mr. Parkman definite judgments on us; nevertheless, if the love of his race and the ardors of his belief sometimes make him blind, his loyalty is superior to his prejudices. . . . He abounds in facts which no one can read with a dry eye; on the other hand he renders to us the most precious testimony."

His largeness of view was also very extraordinary. At Catania, in Sicily, the youth was very much struck by the church of the Benedictines, and says: "They are mistaken who sneer at its ceremonies as a mere mechanical force; they have a powerful and salutary effect on the mind. Those who have witnessed the services in this Benedictine church and deny what I say, must either be peculiarly stupid, or insensible by nature, or rendered so by prejudice." That he was an Agnostic must be conceded, but his Agnosticism was not that of indifference or insensibility. He simply would not profess what he did not comprehend. He claimed for himself no special revelations of truth. He was not a seer, but felt very much as the Old Testament poet did, who cried, "Who can by searching find out God?" He did by his own faculties all that he could do to advance the interests of mankind, and more than that can hardly be asked. Perhaps Hooker's famous sentence best explains his position: "It is dangerous for the feeble brain of man to wade far into the doings of the Most High, whom although to know be life, and joy to make mention of His Name, yet our minutest knowledge is to know

that we know Him not as indeed He is, neither can know Him, and that our safest eloquence concerning Him is our silence, whereby we confess, without confession, that His glory is inexplicable, His greatness beyond our capacity and reach." He never went to church, partly because he could not; but even if he could, a deep, thoughtful man like him would hardly be fed, while for ecclesiastical and sentimental religion he had no special liking. The truth is he was an historian, not a poet, not a theologian, not a mystic. Of Christianity as a power in the world he has spoken with the greatest respect. He never failed to take the best view of the Church, and the power of the spiritual life was never denied by him. This historical attitude, coupled with his manifest unfitness for abstract research, and the physical disability that compelled him to follow his own line of investigation, was quite sufficient to keep his mind from religious speculation.

Still, M. Casgrain may be substantially correct, — substantially, not literally; for unless "civilization" be understood in its best sense, as implying the exercise of the highest rational powers, the statement is misleading. Mr Parkman belonged rather to the ethical than to the spiritual order of men, — those who are so admirably described by Rev. James Martineau in his discourse on the "Christian Doctrine of Merit." "Till somebody has a conscience, nobody can feel a law. Accordingly, we everywhere meet with a higher order of men, who not only comprehend the wishes, but respect the rights, of others; who are ruled, not by expectation without, but by the sense of obligation within; who do, not the agreeable, but the just; and even amid the storm of public rage, can stand fast, with rooted foot and airy brow, like the granite mountain in the sea. Noble, however, as this foundation of uprightness always is, there may arise from it a self-estimate too proud and firm. If the stern consciousness of personal worth have no kindling of diviner aspiration, it will give the lofty sense of personal merit that makes the stoic and misses the saint. We do nothing well till we know our worth; nothing best till we forget it." One could hardly expect Parkman to resign his will, the supreme attribute of his being; and if sainthood demands that, he must be excluded from the class of saints; for he had more will than Saint Ignatius, Saint Charles, or Saint Francis. But that he had no regard for the Supreme Will, no one may

venture to affirm. The hero, in his case, barely missed the saint.

His political views are more easily explained, and well exhibit the unenthusiastic cast of his mind. He was not a thorough-going American, as that phrase is commonly understood; not a "Democrat" in the usual sense of the word,—not a believer, that is, in the raw material of human nature; certainly not a favorer of monarchy or oligarchy, or aristocracy as founded on rank, wealth, position, power, or any temporal condition whatever. His faith was in cultivated humanity; in man as he ought to be and might be; not in men or institutions as they were. I cannot forbear quoting here some passages from an article of his on "The Failure of Universal Suffrage," in the "North American Review" for July-August, 1878.

"If a politician would let him alone, Demos would be the exact embodiment of the average intelligence and worth of a great people; but deluded and perverted as he is, he falls below this mark and passes for worse than his real self. . . . He is a type of collective folly as well as wisdom, collective ignorance as well as knowledge, and collective frailty as well as strength. In short, he is utterly mortal, and must rise or fall as he is faithful or false to the great laws that regulate the destinies of man. . . . A single human mind may engender thoughts which the combined efforts of millions of lower intelligences cannot conceive. . . . Shall we look for ideal society in that which tends to a barren average and a weary uniformity, treats men like cattle, counts them by the head, and gives them a vote apiece, without asking whether or not they have the sense to use it; or in that which recognizes the inherent differences between man and man, gives the preponderance of power to character and intelligence, yet removes artificial barriers, keeps circulation free through all its parts, and rewards merit wherever it appears, with added influence? This, of course, is a mere idea, never to be fully realized; but it makes vast difference at what a republic aims, and whether it builds on numbers or on worth. The methods by which it tries to reach its mark may be more or less effective, but it is all-important that the mark should be a true one. What the times need are convictions and the courage to enforce them. The hope lies in an organized and determined effort to rouse the better half of the people to a sense that honest and trained capacity in our public service is essential to our well-being, and that the present odious and contemptible system is kept up in the interests of the few and not of the whole. . . . There are those that call on imperialism to help us;

but, supposing this heroic cure to be possible, we should rue the day that brought us to it. Our emperor would be nothing but a demagogue on a throne, forced to conciliate the masses by giving efficacy to their worst desires. . . . A nation is judged by its best product. To stand in the foremost rank, it must give to the human race great types of mankind, and add new thought to the treasury of the world. No extent of territory, no growth of population, no material prosperity, no average of intelligence will ever be accepted as substitutes. They may excite fear, wonder, or even a kind of admiration, but they will never win nor deserve the highest place."

This is a high ideal, and Mr. Parkman labored with all his might to make it real. His friends were among the most honest, brave, and independent of our citizens. The paper that he read most was devoted to the truest advancement of the country. There were three concerns that he always had at heart, — the Nation, the Schools, and the Libraries. He was bitterly disappointed that he could not go to the war, — partly, perhaps, because he loved the life of adventure, exposure, hardship, and danger; but partly, too, because he had a very strong belief in the triumph of republican principles. He took the greatest interest in the young men of his acquaintance who were able to go, and loved to encourage their highest anticipations. That there was a martial strain in his composition might be inferred from his writings, but he has freely avowed it. Thus, in the "Jesuits," speaking of Maisonneuve, he says: "The religion which animated him had not destroyed the soldierly pride which takes root so readily and so strongly in a manly nature." He wrote earnestly about our common schools, making time for that out of the few moments that were allowed him for his historical researches. For thirteen years he was one of the Corporation of Harvard College, and for six years he was one of the Overseers, — thus keeping up the tradition of the family which founded two professorships at Cambridge. His connection with the Historical Society dates far back. He became a member in 1852; at the annual meeting of the society held in April, 1885, he was chosen Vice-President. He gave to the library, which is in a fire-proof building, a hundred and twenty-six volumes of manuscript, only twenty-four of which were unbound, together with miscellaneous papers, note-books, etc.

He had small faith in sentimental philanthropists or reform-

ers. His opposition to woman suffrage was vehement and often expressed, being a matter of intense feeling on his part, and grounded as well in principle as in expediency. His reading of history had taught him to distrust feminine influence in government, and his philosophy told him to distrust feminine qualities in administrative affairs. In a pamphlet which he wrote and which was published at the request of an association of women, he says:—

“The suffragists’ idea of government is not practical, but utterly unpractical. It is not American, but French. It is that government of abstractions and generalities which found its realization in the French Revolution and its apostle in Jean Jacques Rousseau. The French had an excuse for their frenzy in the crushing oppression they had just flung off and in their inexperience of freedom. We have no excuse. Since the nation began we have been free, and our liberty is in danger from nothing but its own excesses. Since France learned to subject the ideas of Rousseau to the principles of stable freedom, embodied in the parliamentary government of England and in our own republicanism, she has emerged from alternate tumult and despotism to enter the paths of hope and progress. . . . Progress, to be genuine, must be in accord with natural law. If it is not, it ends in failure and in retrogression. To give women a thorough and wholesome training both of body and mind; to prepare such of them as have strength and opportunity, for various occupations different from what they usually exercise, and above all for the practice of medicine, in which we believe that they may render valuable service; to rear them in more serious views of life and its responsibilities, — are all in the way of normal and healthy development. But to plunge them into politics, where they are not needed and for which they are unfit, would be scarcely more a movement of progress than to force them to bear arms and fight. . . . In the politics of the future, the predominant, if not the engrossing, questions will be to all appearance those of finance and the relations of labor and capital. From the nature of their occupations, as well as other causes, women in general are ignorant of these matters, and not well fit to deal with them. They require an experience, a careful attention, a deliberation and coolness of judgment, and a freedom from passion, so rare that at the best their political treatment is full of difficulty and danger. If these qualities are rare in men, they are still more so in women, and feminine instinct will not in the present case supply their place. . . . In the full and normal developments of womanhood lie the best interests of the world. Let us labor earnestly for them; and, that we may not labor in vain, let us save women from the barren perturbations of American politics.”

From these extracts it will be seen that he was eminently rationalistic in his treatment of great social questions, that his reliance was on experience; and while "general principles" had but little charm for him, there was plenty of shrewd common-sense, practical wisdom, and that faculty which we know as judgment. The idealists of either the philosophic or the enthusiastic school could not claim him. There was a vein of conservatism in him which he himself acknowledged, and which he attributed to his father. But his father did not grow reactionary as he grew older, while the son, besides sharing the push of a later generation, had distinct anticipations of improvement in present conditions. He was by no means a man who worshipped the past, but he felt obliged to consult it. He saw the shadows on the landscape, the ballast in the ship. He was a critic, noting the things that are, as well as the things that may be, and measuring literal facts leaving to others the ecstasy of following glowing imaginations. In other words, his method was that of an historian, not that of a poet. But there was no exalted aspiration of man to which he did not heartily respond. If he could not respond, it was because he did not feel that it was exalted.

With the Puritan spirit — the spirit of dogmatism and exclusiveness — he had no sympathy; and, while he admired its moral quality, as illustrated by its leaders, he abhorred its intellectual harshness. Mr. Parkman dreaded the influence of French-Canadian Catholics. In his judgment, they were trying to subvert the New England ideas, to substitute the French language for English, to overthrow our system of common schools, and, in a word, to transfer their civilization to our native soil.

The problems involved in the treatment of the modern Indian did not interest him supremely. The experiments at Hampton and Carlisle did not awaken his enthusiasm. "The Indian of to-day, armed with a revolver and crowned with an old hat, cased, possibly, in trousers or muffled in a tawdry shirt, is an Indian still, but an Indian shorn of the picturesqueness which was his most conspicuous merit." The *primitive* savage, with his paint and feathers and hunting equipments, did not command his entire respect. "The Oregon Trail" is full of stories of his rapacity, ferocity, cruelty, cowardice, superstition, cunning, love of gambling, and greediness. (See pages 222, 227-229, 231-234, 236, 238, 258, 261, 267, 281.)

"The Indian," he says, "never launches into speculation and conjecture; his reason moves in its beaten track. His soul is dormant, and no exertions of the missionaries, Jesuit or Puritan, of the Old World or of the New, have as yet availed to arouse it." "In the primitive Indian's conception of a God, the idea of moral good has no part. His deity does not dispense justice for this world or the next, but he leaves mankind under the power of a subordinate spirit who controlled the universe." "The primitive Indian believed in the immortality of the soul, but he did not always believe in a state of future reward and punishment. Nor, when such a belief existed, was the good to be rewarded a moral good, or the evil to be punished a moral evil. Skilful hunters, brave warriors, men of influence and consideration, went, after death, to the happy hunting-ground; while the slothful, the cowardly, and the weak were doomed to eat serpents and ashes in dreary regions of mist and darkness." "The first point with the priests was of course to bring the object of their zeal to an acceptance of the fundamental doctrines of the Roman Church; but as the mind of the savage was by no means that beautiful blank which some have represented it, there was much to be erased as well as to be written. They must renounce a host of superstitions, to which they were attached with a strong tenacity, or which may rather be said to have been engrained in their very natures." ("The Jesuits," p. 134.) "It was the inert mass of pride, sensuality, indolence, and superstition that opposed the march of the Faith, and in which the Devil lay intrenched as behind impregnable bulwarks." "It was a strange and miserable spectacle to behold the savages of this continent, at the time when the knell of their own common ruin had already sounded. Civilization had gained a foothold on their borders. The long and gloomy reign of barbarism was drawing near its close, and their united efforts could scarcely have availed to sustain it. Yet, in this crisis of their destiny, these doomed tribes were tearing each other's throats in selfish fury, joined to an intelligence that served little purpose but mutual destruction." "To sum up the results of this examination, the primitive Indian was a savage in his religion as in his life. His gods were no whit better than himself. Even when he borrows from Christianity the idea of a Supreme and Universal Spirit, his tendency is to reduce him to a local habitation and a bodily shape; and this tendency disappears only in tribes that have been long in contact with civilized white men. The primitive Indian, yielding his untutored homage to One All Pervading and Omnipotent Spirit, is a dream of poets, rhetoricians, and sentimentalists." "The very traits that raise him above the servile races are hostile to the kind and degree of civilization which those races so easily attain. His intractable spirit of independence and the pride which forbids him to be an imitator, reinforces but too strongly that savage lethargy of mind

from which it is so hard to rouse him. No race, perhaps, ever offered greater difficulties to those laboring for its improvement." ("Jesuits," 21st edition, 1885, p. lxxxix of Introduction.) "For the most part, a civilized white man can discover very few points of sympathy between his own nature and that of an Indian. With every disposition to do justice to their qualities, he must be conscious that an impassable gulf lies between him and his red brethren. Nay, so alien to himself do they appear that, after breathing the air of the prairie for a few months or weeks, he begins to look upon them as a troublesome and dangerous species of wild beast." ("The Oregon Trail," 8th edition, revised, 1885, p. 287.)

Mr. Parkman was unquestionably aware that these sentiments would not be welcome to friends of the Indians; but they were his, and they were expressed, not from prejudice, but in all sincerity. No one would have been more pleased than he to find his interpretation unjustified by experience; for he demanded that the savage should be fairly understood and honorably treated. With sentimentalism of every kind he had no patience, but if the Indian could be civilized, could be made an industrious farmer, a law-abiding citizen, a faithful scout, a disciplined soldier, he would gladly have confessed himself in error. They who find fault with his opinions should not forget that his physical condition forbade his visiting Hampton or Carlisle, attending public meetings, conversing with General Armstrong, the founder of Hampton, or with Captain Pratt, the Superintendent of Carlisle; and that owing to the suffering in his head he was often debarred from conversation on subjects that interested him. He always supposed that he had a candid appreciation of the Indian nature, but he was ever ready to revise it if opportunity offered; for he was one of those absolutely truthful men who could neither be bribed, deceived, nor brow-beaten.

But it is as an historian that Parkman will be always remembered. Here he was famous, and deservedly so. At a meeting in Sanders Theatre at Cambridge, on December 6, 1893, Mr. Justin Winsor and Mr. John Fiske, eminent authorities on historical subjects, paid glowing tributes to his fidelity, accuracy, thoroughness of treatment, freedom from prejudice, and picturesqueness of style.

At that meeting, which was presided over by President Eliot, of Harvard University, Mr. Winsor is reported to have

said: "Francis Parkman believed that the real record of events, and not a paraphrase, was a true one. Honesty of citation was the greatest thing that Parkman stood for. He made the course of events carry its own philosophy. He stood for the integrity of his art. His love for art did not swerve him from his life-long purpose. He represented the picturesque element in history, but we are apt to forget the consummate research that he always used. He was a scholar, but he was also an artist, and he never forgot proportion." Mr. John Fiske, himself the master of a graphic pen, spoke of the "wonderful picturesqueness in Parkman's writings. His eyes saw nothing dull or commonplace. He pictured the West, with all its wildness and barbarity, with wonderful vividness, even to the details of scenes and characters. He has made for his men a place in literature. Parkman is the most American of all our historians, because he deals with purely American history; but at the same time he is a historian for all mankind, and all time, one of the greatest that ever lived." This was high praise from such men, for they spoke of things they knew; they spoke as experts, and not as those who uttered what a feeling of mere pleasure dictated. Theirs were calm and meditated words.

Parkman's range was necessarily somewhat extended. It seemed narrow because he fixed his reader's attention on the point to which several long lines converged. That he was a critical student like the English Freeman or the French Martin is not claimed. He was not an expert in American history, like Bancroft; or in Colonial history, like Savage, Deane, or Winthrop; but he was familiar with everything that belonged to his subject. The roots of this went deep and struck out far, and he followed each sucker to the end. His account of Acadia is as complete and at the same time as minute as anybody could desire. Causes were traced as carefully as incidents. He had great respect for the truths of history, and, therefore, small patience with the romance that clouded it. The poet was admirable in his place, he thought, but his place was not among the chroniclers. It should be added that he had read history ever since his youth; his hunger for facts was insatiable; while an exceedingly tenacious memory held vast stores of information ready for use as argument or illustration. Thus it is impossible to say exactly how wide his circuit was.

That it reached to the confines of his themes is evident; that it reached beyond them is quite probable, in fact is almost certain in view of his swift intelligence and all-devouring curiosity. The task of measuring the scope of Mr. Parkman's historical acquirements is rendered more difficult by the extreme reticence of the man. The compulsion that the condition of his nervous system laid him under to repress his private feelings extended itself to his whole mind, forcing him to keep to himself his deepest thoughts, and to say nothing about matters that interested him. He was one of the few men of whom it is safe to say that he hid more than he revealed. There were deeps in him which never were sounded.

As Mr. Parkman's histories were composed from original documents, no ultimate reliance being placed on secondary sources, the accumulation of manuscripts was naturally larger than his collection of volumes even in his own department. He was never a book fancier or gatherer; he had not a large library, — no divinity; no philosophy; no science; no general literature, to speak of. The Greek and Roman Classics came from his father. So did the volumes of theology, and most of those of a miscellaneous character. Many books and pamphlets were sent by their authors. The bulk of his library was historical. Little of this was rare or costly. The works of travel or biography, the treatises on the Indians, and such like were not hard to obtain. The library of Harvard University has about twenty-five hundred volumes of his, almost all he had, either of his own or his father's. There were, of course, heaps of notes on roses, lilies, as well as on characters and events, but these are not commonly reckoned among the contents of a library.

Little difficulty was found in gaining access to foreign archives. The elder Margry, Superintendent of the Archives des Marines, in Paris, was his warm friend; and his son, who succeeded him, could not have thrown serious obstacles in his way, for Parkman was instrumental among others, under the leadership of Mr. Washburne and General Garfield, in obtaining a grant of \$10,000 from Congress for the publication, in six volumes, of the very documents he himself had got copied at great expense some time before. Naturally their relations were friendly. His manuscripts went to the Historical Society, as has been said; the books, including several maps, to Har-

vard, where they will be most useful to students in his field. That Mr. Parkman investigated everything connected with his subject cannot be questioned. In truth, he was exceedingly particular about his details. As one illustration of this it may be mentioned that, before writing a certain description which required the effect of moonlight he applied to a distinguished astronomer to know the exact position of the moon at that time. He was faithful in the smallest matters as well as in the greatest, though he made no display of information. He indeed made his own subject, and exhausted it. George W. Curtis, in reviewing "The Discovery of the Great West," speaks thus : —

"This is a subject which Mr. Parkman has made as much his own as Motley the Dutch Republic, or Macaulay the English Revolution. He is a thorough master of his material, which is much scattered and exists largely in manuscript; and his imagination, his picturesque narrative style, and his admirable perception of the true point of interest give to his historical works a wonderful charm and symmetry. It is to the pages of Mr. Parkman that we must go for the American Indian. Cooper so bewitches our young fancy with Uncas and the red heroes that it is very difficult to divest our estimate of the Indian of a false and foolish glamour."

In the Preface to "Montcalm and Wolfe," Mr. Parkman says : —

"A very large amount of unpublished material has been used in its preparation, consisting for the most part of documents copied from the Archives and Libraries of France and England, especially from the Archives de la Marine et des Colonies, the Archives de la Guerre, and the Archives Nationales at Paris, and the Public Record Office and the British Museum at London. The papers copied for the present work in France alone exceeded six thousand folio pages of manuscript, additional and supplementary to the 'Paris Documents' procured for the State of New York under the agency of Mr. Brodhead. The copies made in England form ten volumes, besides many English documents consulted in the original manuscript. Great numbers of autograph letters, diaries, and other writings of persons engaged in the war have also been examined on this side of the Atlantic."

In the preface to "Frontenac," he writes : —

"The authorities on which the book rests are drawn chiefly from the manuscript collections of the French government in the Archives Nationales, the Bibliothèque Nationale, and, above all, the vast repository

ries of the Archives of the Marine and Colonies. Others are from Canadian and American sources. I have, besides, availed myself of the collection of French, English, and Dutch documents published by the State of New York, under the excellent editorship of Dr. O'Callaghan, and of the manuscript collections made in France by the governments of Canada and of Massachusetts. A considerable number of books, contemporary or nearly so with the events described, also help to throw light upon them; and these have all been examined. The citations in the margins represent but a small part of the authorities consulted. This mass of material has been studied with extreme care, and peculiar pains have been taken to secure accuracy of statement." "In the preface of 'The Old Régime,' I wrote: 'Some of the results here reached are of a character which I regret, since they cannot be agreeable to persons for whom I have a very cordial regard. The conclusions drawn from the facts may be matter of opinion; but it will be remembered that the facts themselves can be overthrown only by overthrowing the evidence on which they rest, or bringing forward counter-evidence of equal or greater strength; and neither task will be found an easy one.'"

When we consider his natural repugnance to investigations of this kind, the fact that the documents were written in old French, which is hard enough to read even in short passages, and the enormous mass of manuscript which he had to wade through, the labor must have been not only frightful in amount but most irksome. He was dependent almost entirely upon the fidelity of others, for he could keep no regular amanuensis, owing to his inability to work steadily. He could employ a reader for special purposes and short periods only, though abroad he was able to use the services of trained copyists, while at home he was blessed in having the help of his own household when he needed it.

Thus his method was entirely his own. The manuscripts were read over to him slowly, one by one. First the chief points were considered, then the details of the story were gone over carefully and minutely. As the reading went on, he made notes, first of essential matters, then of non-essential. After this he welded everything together, made the narrative completely his own, infused into it his own fire, quickened it by his own imagination, and made it as it were a living experience, so that his books read like personal reminiscences. It was certainly a slow and painful process, but the result more than justified the labor. These materials, it has been said,

were given to the Massachusetts Historical Society, and deposited in a handsome cabinet made by the order of the author himself. The books came out as follows: "The Oregon Trail" (first called "California and Oregon Trail") was originally published in 1847; "The Conspiracy of Pontiac" appeared in 1851; "The Pioneers of France in the New World" in 1865; "The Jesuits in North America" in 1867; "La Salle" (first called "Discovery of the Great West") in 1869; "The Old Régime" in 1874; "Frontenac" in 1877; "Montcalm and Wolfe" in 1884; "The Half-Century of Conflict," the close of the series, in 1892. Each work was designed to be a unit in itself, independent of the rest; but the whole, taken as a series, form a connected history of France in the New World. Writing in 1866 to his friend, Mr. Martin Brimmer, Mr. Parkman says: "Taking the last forty years as a whole, the capacity of literary work which during that time has fallen to my share has, I am confident, been considerably less than a fourth part of what it would have been under normal conditions." Certainly the work done more than justifies the author, and is truly wonderful as performed under such circumstances. Most of his books were written from dictation. For many years, he used his "gridiron," as he used to call it, his wire frame-work; but as his eyes got better, he gave it up, and could write a rough copy in pencil on yellow paper without looking steadily on it, and from this he dictated. Thus it will be seen that his "help to read" was merely an incident in his literary achievement.

It is quite true that each book might stand by itself as a distinct story, but the whole narrative is so attractive that one section of it is not enough. The reader is led on by an irresistible fascination through the various episodes until the end is reached. First came the close study of the American Indian, his mode of life, his manners, his character, his plottings and fightings, his grandeurs and his meannesses; then, as his plan was enlarged, the wonderful history is told in the "Pioneers of France in the New World" of the attempt to build up the Gallic power in the wilderness of Canada; the heroic labors of the Jesuits were next recited with singular candor and glow; this relation was succeeded by a description of the effort to explore the vast regions of the Mississippi River and the Lakes. The grand figures of La Salle, Mar-

quette, Joliet, Hennepin were presented, along with their discoveries. "The Old Régime in Canada" tells of the early condition of the territory, from 1653 to 1680, brilliantly pictures life in the wilds at that time, and throws a great deal of new light on future events. It is most important to one who would understand the actual state of the Dominion. A volume was devoted to Count Frontenac, his character and his exertions to establish the colony. Then came the struggle between Wolfe and Montcalm, which overthrew the French supremacy. The two men were livingly portrayed, and there were thrilling scenes all along. Here the unhappy tale of Acadia is closed. Washington comes in, Braddock, Pitt, Frederick of Prussia; portraits of many other actors in the great drama of conquest, wrought in the cabinet or on the field of battle, are painted at length. This was the end; the other book, "A Half-Century of Conflict," simply filled the space between "Frontenac" and "Montcalm and Wolfe," being number VI. of the series, from 1700 to 1748. Here we have Lovewell's Fight, the siege of Louisbourg, the founding of Detroit, the massacre at Deerfield, the search for the Pacific Ocean. There is more of Acadia, and a special chapter on Shirley's relation to it is printed in an appendix, containing original letters. Perhaps no volumes in the series are so remarkable as showing the carefulness of research displayed in the preparation. On reading them one is more than ever impressed by the unwearied pains that the writer must have taken. No scrap of paper escaped his eye that could throw light on his subject. He even goes back to Louis XIV. and the War of the Spanish Succession. That "gorgeous monarch," as he calls him, chose to "obey his own vanity and arrogance,"—a course which involved "crushing taxation, misery, and ruin, till France burst out at last in a frenzy, drunk with the wild dreams of Rousseau."

Our historians have, for the most part, chosen romantic themes for their narratives. Irving had Washington, Columbus, and, in the distance, the palace of the Alhambra. Prescott had Spain, Granada, Mexico, and Peru. Motley had the fascinating tale of the Dutch Republic, its towering figures, its exciting drama.

"As year by year his tapestry unrolled,
What varied wealth its growing length displayed!
What long processions framed in cloth of gold,
What stately forms their flowing robes arrayed!"

Parkman had the American wilderness. "For here, as it seemed to me, the forest drama was more stirring and the forest stage more thronged with appropriate actors than in any other passage of our history. It was not till some years later that I enlarged the plan to include the whole course of the American conflict between France and England, or, in other words, the history of the American forest, for this was the light in which I regarded it. My theme fascinated me, and I was haunted with wilderness images day and night." The subject was anything but barren or narrow. Here were the primeval woods with their depth of mould, where decaying trees had for generations accumulated their dust. Here were the silent, irresistible processes of nature. Here was the broad expanse of sky, the boundless horizon, the unlimited prairie, the whispering breeze through the foliage. Here were the mysterious sounds and silences, the voices of animals in the woods, the trails of the savage. "Mr. Parkman," says the Abbé Casgrain, "belongs to the romantic school. History as he conceives it, is not a dry skeleton, which one drags from the tomb; it is a vanished shadow which must be reanimated, clothed with flesh and muscle, filled with red blood, and made to palpitate with an immortal breath." "The rays of Mr. Parkman's style against the blue sky of our history resemble the splendors of the Aurora Borealis, and produce upon the mind the same sort of fascination." His books are full of descriptions. Indeed, as Mr. Winsor has intimated, the beauty of his pages has obscured somewhat the groundwork of truth on which the narrative rests. His volumes have all the enchantment of words of fiction. An excellent example of this was furnished me the other day by a gentleman whose two children, a little boy and a little girl, listened, before they went to bed, to a chapter that was read them by their mother. They had engaged with each other that neither should be absent when the reading went on. The mother read volume after volume, ten volumes in succession, and when she closed the last one, she shut up the book, and said, "That is the end." "Now that," said the little boy, "I call plaguy mean. If Mr. Parkman could n't write more than that, he'd better not have written at all." No sounder testimony than this could be desired.

But, after all, the man was more admirable than any of his books. His moral courage and force of will were almost

superhuman. The current of nervous energy that rushed through him was incessant day and night. The worst part of his insomnia was the surging of this force. He compares himself to "a rider whose horse runs headlong, the bit between his teeth, or a locomotive, built of indifferent material, under a head of steam too great for its strength, hissing at a score of crevices, yet rushing on with accelerating speed to the inevitable smash." "The Conspiracy of Pontiac" was written in one of these periods of nervous irritability, simply as an escape from the storm of restless energy. He must either control it or dissipate it by toil. And the difficulty of restraining these wild steeds was the severest effort of his life. And yet very few could guess what was going on in the man, for he rarely spoke of himself, never, if he could avoid it, his modesty being equal to his courage. The reserved power of his character was something tremendous; even in the most casual conversation the impression of a concealed strength was apparent. The vigor of conscience was one of his characteristics. A relative of his in a letter says: "His power of indignation with wrong was always the greatest delight to me, no less than the rare vigor in his expression of it. In this respect he is a distinct loss to the community, so few are there now who have the same keen sense of iniquity or anything like the same power of uttering it." That he had an extraordinary memory we all know. That he had an intense hatred of shams and pretences of all kinds is clearly revealed in his works, but that he was remarkable for his psychological power, his insight into human character, his judgment of public concerns, is known to few, while his kindness of heart and readiness to serve others, was revealed to those only who had occasion to avail themselves of it, as many did. One instance of this I shall never forget. The son of an old acquaintance of mine, an entire stranger to him, wanted the benefit of his knowledge of Canadian affairs. He gave it freely, had the young man at his house, lent him money, offered his literary advice, had the manuscript read to him of a book the man had written, talked it over with a friend, and did all he could to further his project; and this at a time when he was warned against mental strain.

In truth, he was a man of great depth of feeling. He was very fond of children; their innocence and frankness inter-

ested him ; their playfulness amused him. In his early life, he read a great deal of the best English prose and verse. I recollect years ago, it must have been when he was in college, at his father's house on Bowdoin Square, a question arose in regard to Dr. Johnson, and Francis expressed an idea of the Doctor's character which showed him to be familiar with his writings. This love of the best English literature he kept alive through college and all his life. He had a great enthusiasm as a youth for Milton. Shakespeare he always had by him. In mottoes prefixed to his "Vassall Morton," I find the names of thirty poets. It would not be safe, of course, to presume that he had read all these, but it is safe to say that Shakespeare, Pope, Scott, Byron, the "Percy Reliques," Sir David Lindsay, Campbell, Molière, were familiar to him. His taste was for heroic and not for sentimental writing. I should say that he might prefer the book of Proverbs to the book of Psalms ; the Gospel of Matthew to the Gospel of John ; Scott to Shelley ; for he had no relish for metaphysics or abstractions of any kind, scientific or other. His dislike of everything morbid — melancholy, misanthropy, depression — amounted to abhorrence, and if he could not be cheerful he went away if he was able ; and if he was not, he held his tongue, or turned to merry thoughts.

His last summer was most enjoyable ; he delighted in his daughters and their children, and in the old Wentworth House at Portsmouth, New Hampshire, where one of them lived. In the autumn, he came back to his beloved home at Jamaica Plain, busied himself with his flowers, and amused himself on the lake every pleasant day. He was rowing the Sunday before he died. On his return, he felt ill, gradually grew worse, and passed away on Wednesday. On Tuesday evening, he rallied so much that a surgical operation was talked of ; but on Wednesday morning all thought of that had to be given up, as he began to sink, and the hope of benefit from any such interference was abandoned. His final illness and death were the result of peritonitis. He died peacefully on the 8th of November, 1893, about noon, and spoke a few words to his nurse about ten minutes before he breathed his last. His death was in singular contrast to his life, one so quiet and easy, the other so racked with pain and so restless with energy. There was a singular felicity too in his decease.

The work of his life was done; his beautiful home in the country was soon to be destroyed in order to make way for the city park, — thus involving, as was usual with him, the sacrifice of individual pleasure for the enjoyment of multitudes.

Then rose a loud and universal voice of acclaim. He had been honored before. The St. Botolph Club, an association of literary men and artists, numbering among its earliest members some of the most distinguished of our citizens, then newly organized, chose him in January, 1880, its first President, and he continued in that office as long as his strength permitted. In 1889, Harvard College made him an LL.D.; McGill made him one in 1879; Williams, in 1885. He was Professor of Horticulture; a Fellow of Harvard College from 1875 to 1888; and twice an Overseer, in 1868 and 1874, each time for three years; a Fellow of the American Academy; an Honorary Fellow of the Society of Antiquaries in London; an Honorary Member of the Literary and Historical Society of Quebec; a Corresponding Member of the Royal Society in Canada; and a Vice-President of the Massachusetts Historical Society. It was proposed to give his name to a new township in the county of Quebec. Mr. Parkman did nothing whatever to promote his own personal reputation, being singularly retiring, seldom seen on the streets, and never at public gatherings. He lived plainly and simply, without the least ostentation, and gave his whole interest to matters of public import, writing occasional articles, as he was able, to newspapers and magazines, when he was not employed in his own peculiar branch of study.

But after his decease all the honors that he had received were as nothing. There was a genuine apotheosis, a glorification, something like a canonization. He was placed by the side of the great historians of the world. He was raised to the heaven of the supreme artists in letters. Special meetings were called in his memory. The Massachusetts Historical Society held one on November 21, 1893, at which the venerable Robert C. Winthrop made a tribute of praise, and Dr. O. W. Holmes read a poem. Harvard College held another at Sanders Theatre, at which its President presided; the Horticultural Society held another; the St. Botolph Club held another; resolutions expressive of sorrow and of praise came from

several quarters. The best of all was that every expression was deserved.

It has been said, by way of disparagement, that Parkman could not have written a long, evenly sustained history like that of Hume or Gibbon or Froude or Macaulay or Green. Probably not, for every author has his own province, and Parkman seems to have demanded an element of strenuous personal life, natural, impetuous, bold, — a setting too of woodland scenery, wild and beautiful. It is quite possible also that his creative faculty may have been due to the torrent of nervous force that streamed through his organization, and which must have vent somewhere, either through the nerves that led upward or the nerves that led downward. It is quite possible that he was impelled to write, driven to toil by an irresistible necessity which compelled him to labor whether he wanted to or not; that is to say, he possessed *genius*. He obeyed his angel; he followed his star. That it shone in the sky was everything. Surely an intellectual bent is higher than an animal one. Surely it is nobler to use the fragments of life in the achievement of a mental purpose than it is to waste them in selfish indulgence, in the excitements of travel, the gratifications of appetite, or the luxury of sloth. An ordinary creature would have complained of being a victim of his temperament, would simply have given up in despair, and would have resigned himself, if he had practised resignation at all, to indolence, thanking fortune that he was in easy circumstances, and accepting the devotion of friends as if it was his right.

We must learn how to bestow aright our admiration. In the present case, our praise cannot be too loud for the man who showed us the mental and moral capabilities of human nature, nor our respect too profound for one who was able to surmount so much for our benefit. The man too certainly merits the greatest honor we can render who accepts the highest traditions of his family and carries them out, in new lines, to their perfection. A more excellent example of his type of character could not be found, — clear-headed, reasonable, sensible, moderate, sober in expectation, high-toned in principle. The Stoics never had a nobler disciple than Francis Parkman.

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